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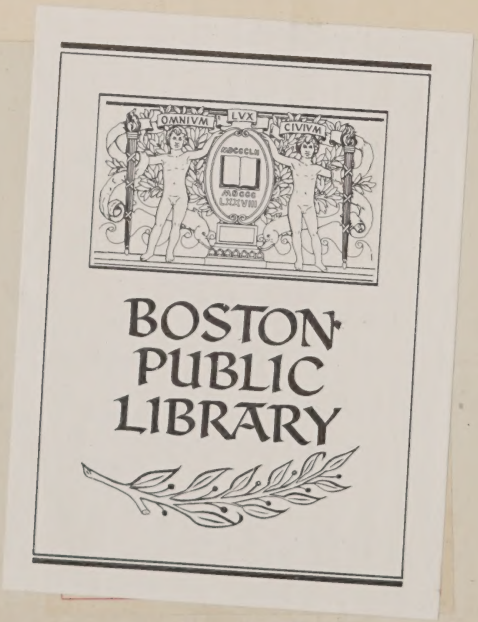

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1871.

The Week.

THE latter half of 1870, so wonderfully memorable in the history of Europe, has closed with a series of events fully worthy to be reckoned among the most momentous or most interesting of that extraordinary period. The Prussians have, for the first time, achieved the reduction of one of the forts defending Paris, and thus advanced a considerable step towards the reduction of that capital itself. The South-western States of Germany, with the exception of Bavaria, have ratified the treaties with the North German Confederation, which expand the latter into a new German Empire, under the rule of the victorious Prussian Hohenzollern. Another Hohenzollern prince, Charles of Roumania, has proclaimed the full independence of his country, which adds another complication to the Eastern question. Victor Emanuel has entered Rome, the new capital of Italy, now truly and completely united from the Alps to the Adria, and from the Alps to the Straits. And the fortunate Italian king's son, Amadeus, has entered his new country, Spain, there to ascend a throne offered him by the most brilliant of modern Spanish statesmen, Juan Prim, who, however, at that very moment—at the moment he seemed to have crowned a revolution begun by himself—falls a victim to assassination, inspired by party rage; thus, perhaps, saving the new king from a similar fate.

General Prim was assassinated just as he was about to witness the consummation of his long labors for the establishment of a monarchy, and 'his death' is certainly, taken in connection with the insurrections with which the Republicans have sought to lighten the tedium of the interregnum, as good proof as he could desire of the soundness of his position that there were no republicans—that is, republicans of the kind required for setting up a republic—in Spain. There are in Spain, as in France, large numbers of persons who desire a republic, but the number of those who have patience and self-control enough to make one is very small. Prim was nearer being a statesman than any Spaniard of his time—nearer than Espartero, Narvaez, O'Donnell, or Serrano. But he belonged to a type of statesman found only in Spain—the ready, dashing, brave, unscrupulous, intriguing sort, made up of soldier, conspirator, filibuster, and adventurer in about equal parts, never much cast down, nor much elated, having about the same feeling towards the crown and the people that the Prætorian Guard may be supposed to have had at Rome, but more patriotism. He was the best soldier Spain has produced for a long while—an army which makes revolutions being always a poor school—and probably wished to give Spaniards peace and good government more than most of his comrades. His military exploits have been exaggerated by the daily papers. His 'valuable service in Turkey,' in 1853, of which the *Tribune* speaks, was simply a promenade. His share in the affair of Oltenitza consisted in looking at it from the opposite bank of the Danube, and he had nothing to do with the siege of Silistria, having returned to Spain long before it occurred. His only glimpse worth mention of real war was obtained in Morocco, in his short and brilliant campaign against the Moors.

The probability is that the assassination will affect Spanish feeling favorably to the new King, who, the latest despatches say, has been receiving an enthusiastic reception on the road to the capital, and his speeches have produced a very favorable impression, but it yet remains to be seen whether it is really possible any longer, even by taking as young a man as the Duc d'Aosta, and one sprung from as famous a house as his, to make a king to order. The founding of dynasties in foreign countries seems to be a thing of the past. Isabella has, in the meantime, from her retirement at Geneva, solemnly protested against the whole business on behalf of her son, Don Alfonso de Bourbon, in whose favor she has abdicated, and whose advent to the throne would not only make the Spaniards perfectly happy, but fill 'her maternal heart' with joy.

Contrary to the general expectation that an attempt by the Prussians to reduce some of the forts encircling Paris would be made—if made at all—from the south, and that Issy, Vanves, or Montrouge would be their first target, the fire of the besiegers was first directed in earnest against Fort Avron, an outer stronghold in front of Forts Rosny and Noisy, on the east. The bombardment was opened on the morning of December 27, by heavy batteries posted at intervals from Noisy-le-Grand, on the Marne, to Raincy, near the southern border of the Forest of Bondy. The assailed fort replied furiously, but irregularly, and its fire soon slackened. The Germans continued their shelling on the following day until the fort was silenced, and, in the evening, as it appears, the garrison retired into Paris, leaving some arms and munitions of war behind them. The loss in men on either side was insignificant. The Germans also shelled Noisy-le-Sec, Merlan, Bondy, and other villages and stations on the east and northeast of the city, dislodging the French from a number of advanced posts lately occupied and covered with batteries. The generals commanding in the city made no attempt to interrupt the bombardment by a new sortie, and the fire of the forts in the rear proved ineffective to quell it; but no attempt by the besiegers to reduce the latter, which would render them masters of Paris, has yet been reported.

Like Pfalzburg and Montmédy, Mézières has finally surrendered after a number of frustrated attacks. Thus of the fortified places in all the northeast section of France, between the Rhine and the Meuse, embracing all Alsace, the main parts of Lorraine, and a portion of Champagne, only the little mountain fastness Bitsch, Longwy, and the citadel of Givet—on the northern border—and Belfort, at the southwest extremity of Alsace, remain unreduced by the Germans. Of all these only Belfort is important, both by its strength and position, and its besiegers have lately made vigorous but unsuccessful attempts to capture it, meeting, according to somewhat vague reports, with severe repulses. Its capture would be the more desirable to the Germans, the more uncertain their occupation of the adjoining parts of Franche-Comté has become in consequence of the advance of the French from Burgundy under Garibaldi, Cremer, and others, before whom General Von Werder has successively evacuated Dijon, Gray, and Vesoul. A battle is said to be imminent near Héricourt, between the latter place and Belfort. Von Werder's hasty retreat makes it probable that the French forces lately operating against him on the defensive, between Autun and Dijon, have been reinforced by a portion of Bourbaki's command, or aided by a co-operative movement on the part of that French general, whose doings after his retreat from Orléans, in a southeast direction along the Loire, almost entirely escaped the observation of our Cable reporters, until they were told from Bordeaux that he was marching eastward on a mission 'to cut the Prussian lines of communication in all directions in that quarter.' This may possibly mean an advance from the Loire through northern Nivernais and Burgundy, in the direction of Langres.

North of the Loire, too, some retrograde movements are reported in the operations of the Prussians, owing, perhaps, to a desire of strengthening the besieging circle around Paris at the moment when assaults on the forts without and famine within might drive its defenders to more desperate efforts to break through that circle than those hitherto made. There was some desultory fighting, without important results on either side, near St. Calais and La Chartre, in the Department

of Sarthe, and at Montoire and Vendôme, in Loir-et-Cher; but no serious attack on General Chanzy's army in its positions near Le Mans has as yet been made by either Prince Frederic Charles or the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg. Some fighting south-east of Orléans is reported, and also the investment of Meung, between that city and Blois. Much more activity is displayed by the forces commanded by General Manteuffel in the north, and simultaneously operating against Havre, which they threaten from the north-east, occupying positions between the Seine and the Channel, mainly near Bolbec; against Honfleur, opposite Havre, south of the Seine; against Peronne, on the Somme, which they have invested; and against General Faidherbe, whom they have forced to abandon Arras and to seek a stronger position near Douai, the fortified centre of the powerful quadrilateral formed by Arras, Lille, Valenciennes, and Cambrai.

The pertinacity of the French resistance is exciting astonishment and doubt as to the result, solely because of the rapidity and completeness of the earlier victories of the campaign. Nobody dreamed last June that Germany would, under the most favorable circumstances, have overcome all resistance and brought France to her knees in six months; and yet, because she has not done it, and because France has in six months managed to raise and equip two very indifferent armies, many people are disposed to imagine the position of the Germans very precarious, and the result of the war uncertain. The fighting of the new French armies has been very poor; there is nothing to praise in them but the fact that they fought at all, and were not captured wholesale like the Imperial forces; and nothing that is known of their spirit will warrant any calm observer in looking for a conflict *à outrance*. Gambetta, Crémieux, and Glais-Bizoin have let the world know that D'Aurelles de Paladines had 200,000 men and 500 guns before the recent battles at Orleans. He had, moreover, three strong and fortified lines, not one of which he was able to hold, and he crossed the Loire, not in absolute flight, but in great disorder. The English Commissioner at the Prussian headquarters was with Prince Frederic Charles during these engagements, and has sent home an account of the Prussian strength, which shows that it fell short of 90,000 all told.

We have, moreover, read carefully a great mass of the European correspondence from both camps, written during the operations, and they agree throughout as to the want of discipline, organization, and enthusiasm on the part of the French, and as to the extraordinary excellence of the Germans on all these points, and the strong French partisans give even a more dismal account of the condition of the French than their enemies. Gambetta's readiness to call for an armistice after the defeat at Orléans, which seems to be well authenticated, shows that he has himself no great reliance on the popular tenacity, and feels that he may any moment reach the end of his tether. There is no doubt, however, that French armies will continue to move about and give the Prussians more or less trouble and fighting till Paris falls. As long as that holds out, it is comparatively easy to keep alive the hope of some great blow; but once it has fallen, and 400,000 men more are disarmed and prisoners, there is little doubt that there will be no disposition left to keep up an exhausting struggle, even to save Alsace and Lorraine, which the Prussians now hold, and hold impregnably. We have been unable to discover in any quarter any evidence of readiness on the part of the French people 'to die in the last ditch' or 'fight to the bitter end.' Those who remember the amount of this kind of stuff which was talked at the South towards the close of our rebellion know what it is worth. France is far from exhausted, but in modern times men do not fight till they have nothing left in the world, except to avoid death or slavery. Frenchmen are not threatened with either.

It looks as if Victor Hugo or Wendell Phillips, whichever of them occupies the position of Head Sentimentalist, would have to resign it in favor of M. de Chaudordy, the French 'Minister Delegate for Foreign Affairs.' He has published an appeal to neutral nations on behalf of France which, for indifference to facts, surpasses any composition which has yet issued from the school. He says that for 'two months appalled Europe has been at a loss to understand the continuance of an unexampled war, which has become as purposeless as disastrous.' 'People,' he says, 'ask with amazement what can be the cause and what the object of such a struggle.' 'What are we to think?' he enquires; 'can it be that our enemies really wish to destroy us?' And he declares 'that it is a war of extermination Prussia pursues,' and that she 'pursues it in disregard of all ideas of justice, right, and civilization in the world. When you have destroyed the armies of your enemy and overturned that enemy himself, is it just you should continue the war for no other purpose than that of annihilating or forcing to surrender a great capital teeming with the riches of art, science, and industry?'

When one remembers that Prussia has again and again made known that her object in continuing the war is to secure a 'better strategic frontier,' namely, the surrender of Alsace and part of Lorraine; that the cession of territory by the vanquished has been a usual result of war since the dawn of history; that France is herself largely made up of annexations procured through war; that she obtained Alsace and Lorraine in this way; that she asked Prussia for the Rhine Provinces, and took Savoy from the Italians, for the very same reason for which Germany now seeks to push her dominion to the Vosges; and that Paris is an immense stronghold, with great fortifications, prepared expressly, thirty years ago, for the reception of French armies in case they were worsted when making forays on neighboring nations; that it now contains 400,000 fighting men ready to pursue the Prussians in their retreat, in case they should retire—it must be admitted that M. de Chaudordy surpasses even our own Phillips in effrontery. He reminds one strongly of the burglar who, having been detected in a gentleman's bedroom removing his watch and jewellery, and having fired a pistol at the owner, and offered a determined resistance when he attempted to arrest him, but having been finally secured, and the police called in, thus expostulated with his captors: 'You have taken my swag and my pistol and knife from me, and you know perfectly well that, if you let me go, I am ready to leave the house; what then are you holding me for? Do you want to tear the clothes off my back or to murder me? Are you civilized men, as you pretend to be, or savage cut-throats? It is true I have robbed you before, but my name was then Smith; I now change it to Brown, so that from Smith you have nothing to fear hereafter. I am well-educated, and have been brought up under Christian influences, and have a house in which I can show a well-selected library, and a few pictures, which, though I say it that shouldn't, are of no small value. I long to be back among them, and pursue my studies in peace. I have tried to rob and murder you, to be sure, but I have failed, and I own myself beaten. What more do you want? Is there no justice in heaven?'

Victor Emanuel has made his appearance at Rome, where he was enthusiastically received, the only portion of the population which testified their hatred to him being the Papal office-holders, a sorry and incapable lot, whose numbers the new Government is about to cut down by one-half, and who will hereafter be compelled to attend to their official duties exclusively, instead of running about Rome and doing odd jobs besides as hitherto. As might be supposed, they consider this kind of reform impracticable; it might do in England, or France, or Prussia, but any change in Rome will work ruin. The Pope has launched his last thunderbolt at the usurper in the shape of the *excommunicatio major*, which he has hitherto held in reserve. This is the most comprehensive of modern curses, and leaves its victims in a very bad way.

The San Domingo business has, of course, made no further progress owing to the holidays. The story goes that the opponents of the measure intend to stave it off as long as possible, in the hope that the next Congress may deal differently with it, or that it may die of inanition—a course which its friends pronounce 'unmanly.' There is talk of the President having sent for Mr. Horace Greeley, and remained 'closeted' with him a long time, from which it is inferred that Mr.

Greeley is to have a place offered him in the proposed commission of enquiry. Senator Sumner is severely rated by the country press, even that portion of it which is opposed to the San Domingo scheme, for the violence of his language about the President. They say they are 'pained' by his conduct, though some are simply surprised. One would think he had been long remarkable for the calm, moderation, and accuracy of his language. We ought to mention, in connection with this San Domingo business, a fact on which we have commented elsewhere, that the promoters of a meeting to be held here to celebrate the completion of the great work of Italian unification have found it impossible to get a single politician of note either to attend the meeting or express sympathy with its objects—so great and widespread is the terror already inspired amongst this class by the Catholic Church in this country. That church is, as we have said, virtually established in this State, and there are absolutely no limits to its pretensions. Of any man who, in view of this fact, works to secure the admission to the Union of a State peopled by Spanish Catholic blacks, we shall only say that he must be a remarkable person.

In business circles the year closes rather gloomily. The extraordinary decline in the Union Pacific Railroad securities is having a more widespread influence than was at first expected. At least one New England firm, reputed immensely wealthy, is announced as in difficulties; though how even a much worse decline on two millions of bonds, to which the suspension is attributed, could cripple a concern estimated to be worth many millions, seems to need explanation, unless the concern was otherwise expanded. A large fire insurance company, likewise belonging to New England, and likewise presided over by one of the recent Union Pacific directors, though this may be a mere accidental coincidence, succumbed at the same time; while, in addition to acknowledged facts, rumors of every kind continue to be spread for speculative purposes. The price of the Pacific securities rallied on the last day of the year; but apart from its being known that the rally was effected by interested persons, the blow to credit has been too serious to be looked upon as a mere Wall-Street manœuvre. Money has continued scarce, in spite of the utmost liberality on the part of the banks, who show great confidence in the state of affairs, and who attribute all recent disturbances to tricks of speculators. General business, thought light, continues steady and apparently healthy. Cotton receipts have fallen off materially, still the price has barely held its own. Meats are coming forward freely, and breadstuffs have been firm in price. The great commerce of the country appears to be sound enough; the undeniable and widespread uneasiness now prevailing appears to be more directed to great corporations and to the speculation in real estate, which latter appears to great disadvantage in the public sales under foreclosure, now taking place almost daily, while the investigation of the Hartford Home Insurance Company discloses a state of affairs positively scandalous. Reduction of wages is going on in almost every branch of industry, and large numbers of people are reported out of employment.

We spoke a fortnight ago of the preparations made by Governor Holden of North Carolina for his approaching trial and impeachment, by being converted and publicly baptized. Recently, the negro members of the Legislature have issued an address, adopting him as a martyr to his advocacy of their cause, and comparing him to Mordecai, and his enemies to Haman, and alleging that 'since Haman plotted the destruction of the Jews that dwelt in the Persian dominion, no wickedness hath been devised that will bear any comparison with some of the measures proposed by the dominant party in the present General Assembly.' They say that after his impeachment his enemies will not be satisfied till he is hanged, and that 'the arm of flesh' is powerless to save him. They have therefore appointed January 13 as a day of fasting and prayer for his deliverance, and direct abstinence from 'luxuries' for the three days preceding it, and request maid-servants who cannot stop work in the morning to devote the afternoon to praying for the governor. The proclamation, as a political document, will look funny to a good many, but the signers are evidently in sober earnest, and their extravagance falls on the whole short of that of the crazier white brethren engaged in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. Some of these shouted for prayer-meetings all over the country, to pray not that justice might be done, but that the verdict might be guilty.

There is something pleasant in the spectacle of Mr. Seward's peregrinations, whether viewed as the sequel of his career as a minister of foreign affairs, or as the intelligent choice of an old man released from civil duties. His reception, even in Mexico, where some things were conveniently forgotten, has been everywhere flattering not only to himself, but to his country. In October last, he had the extraordinary, indeed unprecedented, honor of a reception in Yedo, by the Mikado, the full details of which have but just reached us. It appears that the Foreign Ministers of the Japanese monarch were prepared on Mr. Seward's arrival at Yokohama to offer him a state breakfast, at which the Prime Minister and other functionaries would be present. This was subsequently abandoned on representations from the American Minister, who informed them that Mr. Seward intended going up to Yedo, and would be pleased to pay his respects to them. This was responded to by an invitation to meet the Mikado in person, in an informal manner, on the morning of the 8th of October. Mr. Seward's acceptance having been signified, provision was made by the Japanese to avoid all embarrassment on the occasion; and with a delicacy and forethought not surpassed at European courts, the American party were furnished with a plan of the room where the ceremony was to take place, the position to be occupied by every participant, and a copy of the proposed remarks of the Mikado. In return, a copy of the replies was requested, and, thus arranged beyond the possibility of failure or awkwardness, the interview came off. The remarkable feature of it was the absence of any concealment of the Mikado's person, and of any display of guards and attendants. The Prime Minister neatly observed, that 'your majesty having graciously invited him to this audience, it is altogether unnecessary that I should dwell upon the character or fame of this eminent statesman;' which led the way for words of welcome from the Mikado, a proper acknowledgment from Mr. Seward, a request from his majesty for suggestions (to the Prime Minister) towards promoting friendly intercourse between Japan and the Treaty Powers, and a disclaimer from Mr. Seward of any authority to speak for his government; but a desire to be instructed as to 'what policy and measures may have a tendency as well to secure the happiest possible relations between Japan and the United States, as also to promote civilization and progress throughout both hemispheres.'

Gen. Howard's annual report brings the Freedmen's Bureau for nearly the last time to public notice, it being now occupied in winding up its affairs as expeditiously as possible. Besides its educational work during the past year, which has not been extensive nor extended for want of funds, the Bureau has been chiefly occupied in pension, pay, prize, and bounty settlements with colored soldiers and sailors, whom it has saved as far as it could from excessive attorney's fees, as well as the national Treasury from fraudulent claims. In spite of all the mismanagement that has been charged upon its officers—and that some has been proved at headquarters we cannot deny—we believe the general action of the Bureau to have been truly economic, both in a pecuniary and a moral sense, to the country. The entire cost of its operations from the beginning would make but a small item in the plunder of the Ring of this city during the same period. As a purely charitable organization, it has been worth all it ever cost, if only in discharging a national obligation to those whom the war left homeless and friendless. Its greatest value and largest claim to grateful remembrance undoubtedly have been in establishing schools in a land of almost heathen ignorance. It has accomplished little, measured by the field in which it worked, but it is no mean record of accomplishment to be able to say, as does Superintendent Alvord on retiring, that a majority of the teachers now employed in the Bureau's schools are colored men and women, who have been trained, moreover, in high, normal, or industrial schools.

THE GAINS OF THE YEAR.

If events had merely a spectacular interest for those not engaged in them, the year 1870 would probably, for lookers-on, have to yield precedence in point of interest to several that have gone before it. A good many have contained things that made a far deeper impression on the imagination of mankind than anything it has produced. The capture of Rome by Alaric, the fall of Constantinople and of the Eastern Empire, the discovery of America, the outbreak of the Reformation, and the downfall of Napoleon I., were all events which, whether the significance was great or small, produced a far greater sensation than anything that has occurred, and, we might almost say, anything that can occur in our day. Politics has not been reduced to a science; but the relation of cause and effect in the political world has been sufficiently studied to prepare people in a general way for results which came on our forefathers like a thunderclap. And then our imaginations have been nearly dried up by the white light of science; with hardly a corner left for mystery, with security firmly established, and with law substituted for authority, there is little left to feed the fancy or shake the nerves.

But if we judge the dead year by the importance of its contributions to the work of human progress, it would perhaps be difficult to find one to match it. It has delivered the world from one great anxiety by the overthrow and discredit of French imperialism. There were many, and these by no means the least shrewd or thoughtful, who feared that Louis Napoleon had set up in France the goal to which modern democracy was everywhere tending, and that the first use the majority would make of their newly acquired rights would be to lay them at the feet of a Cæsar, asking nothing in return but bread and amusement. Some of the best Frenchmen of our day turned to Tacitus for a faithful picture of their own times, and heard with a shudder the Bonapartist lawyers preaching before venal judges the old doctrine of Justinian, which really formed the basis of the French constitution, that the Emperor's will was law, because by electing him 'the people' had bestowed on him all its own power and authority. The best French liberals, too, those who dread revolutions most, felt reluctant to come to any compromise with the dynasty, lest they should help it to escape that sudden and violent end which, only, they thought would suffice to undo the evil it had wrought and dissipate the base hopes it had raised. Their patience has certainly had its reward. The whole system of which the dynasty was the embodiment has perished, and perished miserably. Justice overtook it, *flagrante delicto*, and slew it in the light, after not only its badness, but its incapacity had been fully revealed. Eighteen-hundred-and-seventy will, therefore, be famous as the year in which the world was taught that, wherever the majority undertakes the work of government, it must do it; that it can find no substitute or lieutenant; that, whether it governs well or ill, govern it must, and that anybody who is not satisfied with its government must try not to take its burdens off its shoulders, but to make the shoulders better able to bear them.

The year has been not more fortunate, however, in the death of imperialism than in the instruments by which it was wrought. We care little, and everybody may care little, about King William's toryism, or Bismarck's unscrupulousness, or the arrogance of the Prussian Junkers. The King will pass away, and so will Bismarck, and so will the Junkers. It is not they who have conquered France, and delivered Europe from a foul and dangerous example. The foes under whose mighty blows Cæsarism has perished are knowledge, training, fidelity, exactness, and punctuality—the qualities, in short, which make man the only great thing in this world, and which, as long as the race lasts, will prove its glory and salvation. Renan said in 1866 that 'it was the universities which conquered at Sadowa,' by which he meant that it was the general culture of the German people which made them such good soldiers. But culture does not mean the possession of knowledge simply; it means, most of all, a proper appreciation of the value of knowledge. And a man who has this cannot be called wholly uncultivated, even if he cannot write. The Germans have been able to overrun France in half a year simply because Germans have learnt what Frenchmen have not learnt—that training is essential to efficiency, and that without training a man is only half a man after all. This is simply another way of saying that they have learnt the value of truth; for the readiness to look facts in the face, and regulate their lives by them, is nothing but the spirit of truthfulness. Disinclination to look at one's defects, or acknowledge one's ignorance or weakness; eagerness to take comfortable views of one's own capacity, and to paint one's own powers and tendencies in gorgeous colors, though ordinarily called vanity, are really forms of falsehood. The German military system may not be the best, but its principles are applicable nôt only to all military systems, but to the whole conduct of life; and their striking vindication on the battle-field has come most opportunely at the moment when democracy is just entering into power under the full influence of a reaction against everything mediæval, including obedience and authority of all kinds, and of what might almost be called frantic cultivation of individualism.

The overthrow of the temporal power of the Pope, too, is in itself a small matter. He has been deprived of his dominions before now, and has come back again. What gives the recent revolution in Rome its significance is, that it is but the expression of an idea, which has only taken hold of the world in our day, that the state and the church are two separate and distinct interests, to be transacted on different bases for different ends, and secured by different sanctions. The identity of the church and state was a cardinal doctrine of the creed of Christendom for fifteen hundred years. It has been decaying slowly ever since the Reformation, but has, nevertheless, exercised a powerful influence on the civilization of the Western world. The complete separation of the two in the United States gave it a serious blow, and the rapid democratization of European institutions has for the last thirty years been giving it the air of a dream. The Pope's loss of his temporal power virtually gives it a death-blow. It was a great and noble idea when it first took its rise, and for centuries gave a miserable world almost its only glimpses of heaven. It has perished before the growth of the very civilization which it saved and cherished. The effect of its disappearance on religion and society it is too soon to speculate about; but our experience here justifies the belief that religion everywhere will gain greatly in real influence by its loss of all official recognition.

The whole history of the temporal power has been in the highest degree dramatic. That power took its rise amidst the desolation of a decayed and ruined Italy; it vanishes after a thousand years before the advent of the new Italian nation; and it would be foolish either for Italians or for the rest of the world to forget that, of all the great creations of Italian genius, the Papacy has not been the least wonderful. The race whose patient hands and valiant hearts built up the Roman empire, and whose cunning brains wrought the great web of the Roman law, might perhaps afford to treat the Popedom as a mere reminder of its weakness or misfortunes; but the new Italy, which the Popedom neither frets nor oppresses, will hardly so regard it. To have erected, in a world made up of crouching slaves and barbarian invaders, a dominion vaster and more powerful than that of the Cæsars, which found its authority and distributed its rewards in an unseen world, and which, through ages of the darkest periods of human history, raised the only voice that spoke for justice, for truth, and for purity, was certainly a rare exploit, and it was Italians who performed it.

The Italians in America are to celebrate in a few days, after fifteen hundred weary and woful years, the re-entrance of an Italian king and army to the old capital, and the relegation of the Pope to those purely spiritual functions which in the earlier and better days of the church were his only ones, and for which the decayed and destroyed civil power, whose place he mercifully took, is now once more ready to release him. The occasion is solemn and splendid, and the year which witnesses it is certainly a great and memorable year. One would imagine that in the country which afforded the first successful example of the separation of church and state, and whose whole life is a constant protest against the doctrines and maxims of government and society of which the Papacy has made itself the exponent, there would be no lack of politicians, as well as of ministers and philanthropists, to rejoice with them; and yet, we believe, such is the emasculating effect on mind and morals of a political career as the average politician pursues it, that the committee

find themselves not only unable to extract speeches, but even expressions of interest and sympathy for the celebration of the greatest event of our time, the downfall of a decrepit and soul-destroying despotism, and the resurrection of a great people. For the transparent imposture called the French 'Republic,' there is not a politician among us who has not his breeches pockets bursting with felicitations; but over the restoration of Rome to Italians not one of them—we speak by authority—can be got to utter a word of rejoicing. We doubt if a more significant fact has made its way to the light for a long while, and we call the attention of the public to it as a striking indication of the extent to which the coarse and brutal despotism, half-thievish, half-priestly, to which we are subjected here in New York, has extended its sway over the *political class* in all parts of the country. We suppose it would be possible to collect a hundred professional politicians, even of high standing, in a room together, and not find heart or courage enough for one honest man among them all; and he would not be a rash or uncharitable person who should deduce from their cowardly silence with regard to this revolution at Rome, contrasted with their ebullient 'sympathy' for all other rows, tumults, and rebellions, the conclusion that they are preparing another series of the base compliances which marked the whole course of the slavery struggle, and which at last made its end bloody and disastrous.

THE NEXT PHASE OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE 'Black Sea question,' which is the name now given to what every one feels, but nobody likes to admit, is really the old Eastern question, a little disguised, does not make much progress toward satisfactory solution, and, in fact, has received fresh complication during the week from the declaration of independence which is reported to have been issued by Roumania. Russia is undoubtedly getting ready for war, but it is quite plain she is not nearly as ready for it as she wishes to have it appear. In the Emperor Nicholas's day, her influence in Germany and in Eastern Europe was largely maintained by the circulation of reports about her armaments which the state of her press, and the difficulties of travel and investigation within her borders, made it impossible to check, but of which the war of 1853 exposed the wild exaggeration. The force which invaded the Principalities was stopped easily and forced to retire by a small Turkish entrenchment, and the garrison 100,000 strong which, in all the philo-Russian papers, held Sebastopol, dwindled on the approach of the allies to 40,000, and the rapid exhaustion wrought by the siege proved how little 'staying power' even the largest empire can boast in the absence of a dense population, of great accumulated wealth, and a high stage of manufacturing industry. The approach of another attempt to restore her influence in Eastern Europe is being heralded now by the usual flight of rumors about her prodigious naval and military resources, but the secrecy of the Nicholas régime has passed away, and we hear enough of what is passing in the interior to enable us to calculate pretty accurately the extent of her preparations.

The most important of these is, of course, the remodelling of her army on the Prussian plan. Her own system of a conscription of grossly ignorant peasants, practically for a life-service, with noble officers, and a severe discipline maintained by the stick, is as much out of date as the flint-lock musket, and it is creditable to the intelligence and patriotism of the people that they should see it, and accept with satisfaction the proposed imposition of the military burden on all classes alike. Along with it comes the substitution of breech-loaders for muzzle-loaders, which is going on, though apparently slowly, the expense being great and money scarce. It is very probable, however, that the modifications in the army and armament are serious enough to make war just now somewhat inconvenient, and there is every reason to believe that though a great military harbor, and probably the materials for a great fleet, are accumulated at Nicolaieff, there is nothing as yet in the Black Sea or the adjacent waters capable of making head against the Turkish and much less against the British fleet. While, therefore, Russia declares herself released from the restrictions imposed on her with regard to the Black Sea by the treaty of 1856, she does nothing, for the present, to prove her release, and bides her time. Time, it must be admitted, works for her. The longer the treaty remains in its present condition, and the more familiar Europe becomes with the idea of its being broken, the less heinous does the act of breaking it appear, and the weaker will be the resolution of the co-signataries to oppose it. Moreover, the spirit of the Russian population is likely to rise and the efficiency of her armies to increase with delay.

In the meantime, the difficulties of the co-signataries certainly do not diminish. That Austria will ever let Russia go down to Constantinople by land, and take possession of it, or that England and France will ever permit it by sea, supposing France to have recovered from her domestic troubles sufficiently to take hold once more of the broken threads of her foreign policy, no rational and well-informed person believes. A vast military empire, stretching from the Arctic Ocean to the Bosphorus, and controlling the Black Sea and Mediterranean, is something which Europe will not permit to be set up in our time. There is just as little chance of Germany submitting to it as of France, if the work of unification were once off her hands. And we can already picture to ourselves the cynical sneer with which Bismarck will reply to a Russian demand for his connivance at any such scheme, as soon as he gets either the King or his successor safely seated on the imperial throne. But, then, nothing is plainer than that the hostility of Western Europe to the Russian pretensions must speedily secure some better basis than the right of the Sultan as an independent sovereign to the integrity of his dominions. A claim so purely technical does not last long, and in the Sultan's case it is fairly worn out. The defences of him which were put forward in England in 1853 on this ground would now sound ridiculous.

The fact is that better materials for the establishment of a young, vigorous, and progressive state do not exist anywhere than are to be found in the region which is roughly designated as European Turkey, if Western Europe could be got to undertake the task of building it up after having given the Turks notice to quit. The theory on which the Crimean War was undertaken, was that Turkey had entered on a process of transformation which, if let alone, the Turks were capable of carrying out, and that the result would be the creation of a great modern state in which Mussulman and Christian would be equal before the law, and participate equally in the work of government. After fourteen years' trial, and every assistance that money could give from England, this theory has now been thoroughly exploded. The Turks are not capable either of establishing or maintaining any régime in which equality is a leading element. Indeed, to all Turks in a healthy moral condition, the very notion of equality is blasphemous folly, and the attempts of the Sultan and his semi-Gallicized ministers to carry it out so many signs of corruption and degeneracy. What is still more fatal to the scheme is, that the Christian population does not want equality with Turks, and will make no active exertions to bring it about. Sitting with Turks in a legislative body is, to those who have grown up under Turkish rule, repulsive and ridiculous. Co-operation between the two races for any purpose is impossible, and the notion that the Sultan can acquire any real hold on the allegiance of the rayahs an idle dream. The idea of law, too, as a rule based on considerations of utilitarianism, and having no necessary religious source, is an idea foreign to the Turkish mind and manners, and which, if we may judge from the history of the race, it would take the exposure of many generations to new influences to work into its brains. This is a strange assertion to make of a people whose cousins, the Magyars, stand in the very first rank in point of political sense; but the Magyars have been European Christians for 800 years. In short, no settlement of the Eastern question is possible in which the Turks are not excluded from the problem as far as Europe is concerned.

The question, What is to take their place? would then come up for discussion; and it is by frankly addressing themselves to its solution that the Western powers will put an end to Russian designs on Constantinople, and not by keeping Russian fleets out of the Black Sea. And in dealing with this, one of the great defects of Turkish rule turns out to be one of its most valuable legacies. Its great peculiarity is that it attempted nothing in the shape of administration. It taxed the Christians, and gave them nothing in return for their taxes—neither justice, police, nor roads; but it interfered in no way with the

management of their own affairs, either civil or ecclesiastical. More complete local self-government than that which the European rayahs have long enjoyed, or more complete religious freedom, is not to be found anywhere—not even in New England. Every Bulgarian and Roumelian village has for ages managed its own affairs without any guidance or interference except from the bishop. To be sure, its affairs were few and simple; but the habit of dealing with them, and of expecting nothing from the general government, is none the less strong, healthy, and useful for the building-up of a new state. With what facility and success a people long ground down by Turkish oppression, at the time when the pasha was really a robber and murderer, can pass into the full enjoyment of political independence, and the skilful and progressive conduct of its own affairs, has been shown in the case of Servia. There is every reason to expect results little less gratifying in the case of Bosnia and Bulgaria, though in Bosnia the Mussulman (not Turkish) element in the Slave population is unfortunately large. As we get into Roumelia and approach Constantinople, the preponderance of the Greek or blatherskite element would throw difficulties in the way of building up a stable government; for the Greek, though a very shrewd business man, is in politics a confirmed Sentimentalist; and to work him into any healthy, rational, and decent political organization will for a long while prove a very difficult task. Nevertheless, after every allowance has been made for the obstacles of all kinds —ethnological, religious, historical—there can hardly be a question that the same amount of effort and sacrifice in blood and money which the Western powers have been making on behalf of Turkey since 1829, would long ere this have set up and firmly established on the Bosphorus a young, strong, and growing Christian state, which would command the sympathy and moral support of the civilized world, and put an end for ever to the Russian dream of a southern capital. If Servia could be got to cast in her lot with it, she would supply skill and experience both in civil and military organization, which is all the Bosnians and Bulgarians need to make them really good politicians. As regards the Turkish population, it might be left to take care of itself. There would be no need to provide for its expulsion. The Turks retire of their own accord from Christian rule and even Christian preponderance. They have disappeared from Hungary, Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, in all of which they were once numerous. For many years they have been steadily moving out of Bulgaria, unable to bear the growth of their Christian neighbors in wealth, intelligence, and independence; and, indeed, the stream of Mussulman emigration flows over the Bosphorus into Asia, if not in a strong, in a very steady current. The genuine Turk will not accept modern ideas; and with his declining faith in the durability of Ottoman rule in Europe, his desire to lay his bones in Asia—the soil from which his fathers sprang, on which his creed is still deeply rooted—grows stronger. Whatever becomes of European Turkey, it will before many years contain but few Turks outside the great towns.

THE TREASURY CASH BALANCE.

According to the last debt statement, Mr. Boutwell had on hand somewhat over 125 millions of dollars in cash—nearly 100 millions in coin, and 25 millions in currency. During the recent stringency of money, repeatedly referred to in these columns, a very animated discussion arose among business-men as to the propriety of so large an amount of money being locked up in the Treasury and withdrawn from the uses of commerce and trade. The discussion is deserving of more general interest than it receives, for it concerns the whole community far more nearly than it does the men of business, who seldom trouble themselves about public measures, except when they think they directly influence their interests of the moment. Indeed, as far as the condition of the money market is concerned, it cannot possibly be benefited by the discussion; for no action of Congress, which alone could interfere, can be speedy enough to affect the present stringency, and before the influence of any legislation can be felt the markets may have returned to the condition of ease and abundance which characterized them some months ago. But the interest of the general public is permanent, and requires that so important a subject as the long-continued hoarding of so much public money be thoroughly examined.

For the last five years the Treasury balance has rarely fallen below 100 millions, and has repeatedly exceeded 140 millions, the average probably being rather above than below 120 millions, the interest on which sum amounts to over seven millions of dollars per annum, and for the whole period would reach the large figure (at compound interest) of nearly forty millions of dollars. For a people suffering from excessive taxation, this sum is surely large enough to be well worth the enquiry whether the whole or any portion of it can be saved in future.

Of the balance of 125 millions of dollars, an average of twenty millions consists of coin deposits belonging to private individuals, on which the Treasury pays no interest; so that, as far as the annual cost to the country in interest is concerned, these might be omitted in the account. But the question at once arises, Why should the Treasury be burdened with the care, responsibility, and expense of taking charge of the money of private individuals? That it is an expense is evident from the simple fact that these deposits are incessantly, daily, almost hourly, changing, and that for each deposit new certificates are issued, the old ones being invariably cancelled. That it is a care and a very grave responsibility, such as no government should incur unnecessarily, is too palpable to need explanation. At the time when these deposits were first authorized, there was much to be said in their favor; they were a real boon to the community, and a convenience to the Treasury itself. But to-day, especially in view of the evident disposition of the country to return to specie payments at an early day, there is absolutely not one single reason for the continuance of the system that would not apply with greater force to the immediate substitution of greenbacks for every dollar of national bank-notes in existence. If there is to be any change in the Treasury system, these coin certificates should be one of the first things to be abolished, and the money of all individuals transferred to their own keeping, where it properly belongs.

The withdrawal of the deposits represented by these certificates would reduce the average Treasury balance to about 105 millions, on which sum alone the people lose the interest, and which alone is the sum that we have now to deal with. Why should the Treasury hold this enormous hoard, costing the people from six to seven millions per annum in interest? There are only two reasons that have ever been given. One is, that the Treasury requires a portion of this amount as a working balance; and the other, that the rest is held in anticipation of resumption. That the Treasury requires a certain amount as a working balance is no doubt true; but when the income of an institution like our Government exceeds its expenditures at the rate of a hundred millions or more per annum, and is estimated by the present Secretary to exceed them at least fifty millions even under the most unfavorable circumstances, it is evident that the working balance need not be a large one. Indeed, we have frequently seen this working balance fall to fifteen millions and below, without any inconvenience; and the best financial authorities are agreed that a sum of fifteen millions in currency, in the present condition of our revenues, would be ample for all practical purposes. On the 1st of December, Mr. Boutwell held nearly double this amount *in currency*, so that he certainly held nearly fifteen millions more than was necessary.

The *gold* balance, after deducting the private deposits just referred to, amounted to 81 millions of dollars. Of this amount over ten millions was due for interest which the owners had failed to collect, many persons being dilatory in presenting their coupons. It would seem that this is an amount which the Treasury should wisely have on hand always; yet the very fact that at all times, under all circumstances, a certain number of persons invariably fail to cash their interest until long after its maturity, shows that the holding of this amount is not by any means imperative. But let it, for prudence' sake, be considered necessary to have it on hand always. Beyond this amount, and the trifling sums required for our naval and diplomatic expenditures abroad, the Treasury has only its annual coin interest on the debt to provide for. The largest amount of interest maturing at any one time is now about 27 millions of dollars; so that, if the Secretary starts on January 1 with a coin balance of 27 millions, it is as absolutely certain as any human calculation can make it that he will be in receipt of coin income enough from month to month to meet his interest am-

ply as it matures. The coin receipts throughout the present year have exceeded the interest requirements fully fifty per cent., so that a corresponding reduction, due to a great commercial or financial crisis, might take place without in the least endangering the ability of the Treasury to meet its engagements promptly. But even a great commercial or financial crisis could scarcely, by any conceivable result, reduce our income in the proportion named. On the 1st of January next, the balance in the Treasury will have risen from 81 millions, as it stood December 1, to very near, if not over, 90 millions. If we deduct the 27 millions of interest then maturing, and the 10 millions of uncollected interest, together with 3 millions for national expenses abroad, in all, 40 millions, we make full allowance for all possible calls upon the Treasury, and yet find that it has a surplus of 50 millions of coin on hand beyond its wants.

These figures may seem unnecessary and tedious; but the loose opinions that prevail on all matters connected with our finances can only be met by a strict adherence to figures, and only by correcting the prevalent loose opinions can intelligent, practical action be obtained. We find, then, the condition of the Treasury cash balance to be, that the Secretary has on hand fifteen millions in currency and fifty millions in gold more than he has any practical use or occasion for; while he is, at the same time, paying six and seven per cent. interest on the money which the people owe. In other words, the people are annually taxed from four to five millions of dollars for the privilege of having a uselessly, unnecessarily, mischievously large 'balance in bank.' For the fifteen millions of currency held in this way, there can be no intelligible reason assigned. But the fifty millions of gold have been looked upon by the people as in some indefinite way connected with the resumption of specie payments. Let us examine.

Without now discussing the possible or probable methods of resumption, suffice it to say that no prudent financier would for one moment justify an attempt at resumption with only 50 millions in coin to meet 400 millions of outstanding paper. That we have no more than fifty millions to devote to the purpose is clear from what we have stated. It is also clear that the calculations daily paraded before us of the ease with which we could resume upon our present coin balance of 100 millions, lack nothing but a basis of fact. But many able financiers believe that with a coin balance of 100 millions, with a real balance of that amount *belonging to the Treasury*, resumption might be attempted with safety. Now, if the fifty millions of coin at present in the Treasury are to be used as a nucleus for the accumulation of the 100 millions or more necessary for resumption—well and good. But let it be understood that they are held for that purpose, *and let the accumulation go on until completed!* At present, the sole object which could excuse or justify the holding of this coin balance is entirely lost sight of, as the habitual sale of all the gold that comes into the Treasury above that amount renders accumulation impossible. If accumulation is the object, let us accumulate! If accumulation is not the object, then let the idle balance in the Treasury be disposed of, and the people be saved the enormous expense which it has heretofore involved. If this superfluous balance of fifty millions of coin could have been permanently disposed of five years ago, it would have produced almost enough by this time with compound interest to buy the whole sum of gold necessary for resumption. The apparent loss to the people by the hoarding of these fifty millions of coin for five years is not much less than fifty millions additional in currency. The continued hoarding of this amount, even to-day, involves a loss of nearly four millions per annum; and what certainty have we that five years from to-day we shall not be as far off from resumption as we are now? Unless this national waste is to continue indefinitely, it is absolutely necessary that the public should positively decide what to do in regard to resumption. Either fix an amount of coin hoards which, when reached, shall be the signal for resumption, and accumulate all surplus coin in the Treasury until that amount is reached; or else allow the present hoard to be disposed of, so that this utterly unnecessary annual loss may be avoided. The present system is mere helpless drifting, and very expensive drifting at that. It is time that the general public should understand that they are very directly interested in the question of resumption.

Notes.

The publishers of the *Radical*, which was lately suspended, announce its revival next month, with a full list of its old contributors and new ones in addition. It will again be issued from Boston, beginning its eighth volume, at the price of three dollars a year. 'It will endeavor to represent, as heretofore, the thoughtful radical sentiment of the country on religious, social, scientific, and political questions.'

.—We have of late, upon one or two occasions, alluded to the probability that one result of the great war now raging in Europe would be to place collections of books and works of art within the reach of English and American purchasers. It appears now that the Count de Gobineau offers for sale a valuable set of Persian manuscripts and of engraved stones; the latter containing over five hundred specimens, and illustrating the whole history of the art in Asia, from its very earliest beginnings down to modern times. Of the manuscripts there are about a hundred, all of exceptional value, either from their rarity or from the elegance of their workmanship and the splendor of their decoration. There is a full descriptive catalogue of them in existence; but it is not accessible until the Prussians shall have opened the gates of Paris. It is doubtful whether any American institution is in condition to make a bid for these unique collections; but there are many American gentlemen who could well enough procure them as a New Year's gift to some institution, and gain the eternal gratitude of the lovers of art and literature in our country. The Smithsonian Institution at Washington would put any such person in communication with the collector and present owner. M. Gobineau is celebrated both as literary man and as diplomatist, and his long residence in Persia as French Ambassador furnished the opportunity, as the preparation of his 'History of Persia' gave in part the occasion, of the collections. Upon these last, we should add, no fixed price has been set; they are open to competition.

—It may also interest some of our readers to learn that Mr. Frederick Muller, bookseller of Amsterdam, is in the possession of a collection of Hebrew and Jewish works, comprising about 2,800 volumes, which he intends to sell *en bloc*. Amongst these books are a large number of the greatest variety and highest importance. So far as we know, there is not a single public library in the United States, nor, we believe, a private library either—unless some Rabbi is the lucky owner of a thousand Hebrew volumes or more—in which the immensely rich post-biblical Hebrew literature has, to a respectable degree, found a place. The great Hebrew libraries of London and Oxford, of Leyden and Paris, of Berlin and Munich, of Vienna and Parma, have not the least parallel in America. Is not the present a fit opportunity to lay the *foundation* of a decent Hebrew library, by acquiring Mr. Muller's collection for this country? This is not the place to reproduce the whole catalogue. But in order to give an idea of what the collection contains, it may be proper to summarize somewhat, and to state that the *Hebraica* of this collection comprise: I. of Bibles and Parts of the Bible, with and without commentaries, 280 vols.; II. Commentaries and Versions of the Bible and Parts thereof, 760 vols.; III. Talmud, 115 vols.; IV. Commentaries of the Talmud, 200 vols.; V. Ritualism, 380 vols.; VI. Responses, 90 vols.; VII. Midrash, 25 vols.; VIII. Cabala, 80 vols.; IX. Sermons, 95 vols.; X. Liturgy, 150 vols.; XI. Philosophy and Ethics, 220 vols.; XII. Medicine, Astronomy, Geometry, etc., 30 vols.; XIII. Grammar, Dictionaries, Concordances, etc., 310 vols.; XIV. Geography, History, Biography, 225 vols.; XV. Belles-lettres, Criticisms, Periodicals, Literary History, Bibliography, 225 vols., etc., etc.

—The widespread fame of the late Rev. Albert Barnes, who died on the 23d of December in Philadelphia, is, above all his other works, due to his 'Notes on the Gospels,' of which upward of a million copies have been sold. They came as a relief from the pious dulness of Scott and even from the elaborate quaintness of Matthew Henry; there was a freshness of style, a fertility of illustration, a simplicity of statement, a candor of judgment, a pointedness of application, and a fervor of devotion, that threw a charm over the 'Notes' for the family and the Sunday-school, and even for the pulpit, in regions where libraries were scarce and small. The progress of Biblical criticism and of Oriental research has led the present generation far beyond the starting-point of Mr. Barnes; the results of German scholarship have been made accessible through English translations—notably through Clark's 'Foreign Theological Library;' and English scholarship has given us Alford, Conybeare and Howson, Eadie, Ellicott, Henderson, Wordsworth, and the great Bible Dictionary of Smith, now amplified by

Dr. Hackett of Rochester and Mr. Abbot of Cambridge. But the popularity and usefulness of Mr. Barnes's 'Notes' are attested by their immense circulation in this country and in Great Britain, their translation into many foreign tongues, including the Welsh, and their steady sale in face of all competition. Indeed, these 'Notes' created a market for all that have come after them. Some of Mr. Barnes's later commentaries, as those on Isaiah, Job, Daniel, and Psalms, without deviating from his practical plan, have a more scholarly tone and a higher method of treatment, which will give them permanent value as books of reference. Others, especially the 'Notes on the Epistle to the Romans,' are a valuable contribution to the theological literature of the country, and are inseparably connected with the history of polemics. It was these 'Notes' that gave color to the prosecution of Mr. Barnes for heresy before the Presbytery of Philadelphia, —a prosecution which resulted in his acquittal by that body, then his condemnation by the Synod of Philadelphia in 1835, and his suspension from the exercise of the functions of a Gospel minister, until he was restored upon his own appeal to the General Assembly at Pittsburgh. The acquittal of Mr. Barnes by that Assembly rankled in the minds of his opponents, and in 1837, finding themselves in an accidental majority, they exscinded by wholesale the Presbyteries and Synods supposed to be infected with the 'New School' Theology. The spirit of reunion is at present so strong in the Presbyterian Church, that justice will hardly be done to what Mr. Barnes achieved toward emancipating theology from the rigors of a necessarian philosophy, and bringing it again within the sphere of reason and free-will. The defects of Mr. Barnes's style are too obvious to call for animadversion: chief among them is the redundancy both of words and of illustration. This may be in part excused by his own statement that he wrote 'for the young and the uneducated;' but the same fault appears in his more elaborate treatises—his introduction to Butler's 'Analogy' and his 'Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity'—works which do the highest credit to his intellect as a Christian apologist. In the endeavor to be simple and emphatic, Mr. Barnes was unconsciously repetitious to a fault; and he wrote too easily and too much to prune his style or to condense his thoughts. He was ever in sympathy with humanity and progress; wrote ably against slavery, and used his pen freely in good causes. He published several volumes of sermons, a book of prayers, and essays and reviews upon a great variety of subjects. In character, he was a man of rare simplicity and of uniform kindliness; and his quiet, instantaneous death, while on a visit of condolence to a friend, was in harmony with the serenity of his life and the dignity of his faith.

—In the death, last week, of Professor Cutler, of Harvard, American literature suffered a considerable loss. For though Mr. Cutler was not widely known, and though he had published but little, and though it would not be true to say that the little he published was of high excellence, it nevertheless gave to such as had knowledge of it, and had knowledge of our literature and its needs, sufficient proof that its author had claims to respect. It showed him to be a man with a sedulously cultivated taste, a mind well stored, possessed of some of the sterling gifts of the poet, as well as of more of the superficial and acquired graces, and possessed, too, of a literary conscience which, while sometimes it revealed itself as fastidiousness, yet made its owner always incapable of slovenly workmanship. These are not common qualities. If an examination of the two little volumes—one entitled 'War Poems' and the other entitled 'Stella'—which, unless we are mistaken, constitute Mr. Cutler's entire acknowledged contribution to literature, should be thought to give indications of less of strength and cheerfulness and hopefulness than is to be seen in those minds and spirits from which thoroughly valuable work may with any confidence be expected, it is at the same time to be remembered that for many years—and he died when not far past thirty—he had been in ill-health, and that not the quantity only of his work was, in consequence of his wearing illness, made small, but that its tone also was injuriously affected. Further, it is to be remembered that, to his unacknowledged work, consisting of criticisms written for several journals—the New York *Evening Post*, the *North American Review*, and the Boston *Advertiser* among others—Mr. Cutler brought both abilities and acquirements; and these are so rare among American critics that American criticism, speaking generally, may almost be said to be without knowledge and without sense. Still further, we have to regret in this loss the loss of a translation of the 'Iliad,' which, if we are to judge by some small specimens given in 'War Poems,' would have been worth having. Probably his best-known piece is that called 'Reveille,' which obtained its circulation in a rather curious way. It was written and published at some time during the early part of the late rebellion, and is expressive of patriotic determination, and of the belief that the cause of the North was sacred, and would in virtue of its justice at last prevail. In the copy of 'War Poems' now before us we find a manuscript note in the author's hand, which is in these words: '"Reveille" was reprinted in the South during the war with such changes as made it serve the Confederate cause. It was afterwards reprinted in England as evincing the spirit which animated the Confederates.' We may here say of this poem, as of the author's other poems, that its chief merits are smoothness of versification, occasional happiness of phrase due to a clear perception of the thing to be expressed, and an absence of any but morally good sentiments. We should say, too, that a perusal of them will confirm the author's friends and acquaintances in the belief—of which it is necessary oftener than many of us think to give some kind of assurance, even to those who know most about us—that close beneath an exterior which may have seemed to promise something of cynicism there was an affectionate heart, perhaps a heart too dependent upon sympathy. Indeed, as for cynicism, it might doubtless be plausibly maintained that usually it is no more than armor of defense—as if the turtle's bonelessness were the reason of its shell. Mr. Cutler had long been sick with a spinal disease; and though it appeared likely that he would recover from his last prostrating attack, he himself, we believe, had little faith in the hopes held out to him, but felt a presentiment that he should never fill the chair to which he had been newly elected—that of Modern Languages. Doubtless there was in this something morbid and chargeable to the low spirits of continued illness. At all events, it was an unforeseen attack of erysipelas which at last ended his life. As an instructor, Professor Cutler was very successful in gaining the confidence of his pupils and interesting them in their studies.

—Apropos of the unlimited grant of condemned ordnance to Mr. Clark Mills for the casting of his remarkable equestrian statue of Gen. Rawlins, a correspondent sends us the annexed extract from the N. Y. *Evening Post* (apparently an issue of March, 1865). We presume the document to be authentic, and while Mr. Mills's sympathies with the late rebellion have nothing to do with his artistic capacity, they certainly seem repugnant to the work last committed to him—that of commemorating a conspicuous Federal officer. What Gen. Rawlins had done to merit this double infliction, we do not know:

The march of our troops through the insurgent States is making some singular disclosures. Here is the copy of a letter, for instance, found in the State House at Columbia, South Carolina, which our correspondent with General Sherman's army sends for our instruction. The original has been transmitted to the War Department:

'WASHINGTON, December 7, 1861.

'Hon. H. W. Gist, Governor:

'SIR: So deep is the interest which I feel in South Carolina, my adopted State, that under present circumstances I cannot refrain from offering to her my services in what I consider her need.

'I propose for her sake to lay aside my favorite art, and to engage in the manufacture of bronze cannon, and these to be of a quality, both in regard to material and effect, much superior to any now in use in the United States.

'I am not aware that there are in use now (with the exception, perhaps, of those belonging to the General Government) any cannon foundries in the South, and never while I live, for price or favor, will I aid in any manner to advance in the slightest degree the interests of the North.

'You will greatly oblige me by the favor of an early answer on the subject.

'Most truly and respectfully, CLARK MILLS.'

This Mr. Clark Mills, who wrote this precious epistle, is, we believe, the sculptor who made the very bad statue of Jackson which now stands in one of the squares at Washington, and who since, if we mistake not, has been in the employ of the Government.

—Mr. William H. Whitmore, whose last work that we had the pleasure of noticing was 'The American Genealogist,' has just completed another valuable work, which will render much assistance to those engaged in genealogical researches. 'The Massachusetts Civil List, for the Colonial and Provincial Periods, 1630–1774: being a list of the names and dates of appointment of all the civil officers constituted by authority of the charters, or the local government' (Albany: Joel Munsell), is the full title. The List is preceded by an account of the various modes of electing the charter officers during the colonial period, 1629–1686, and is supplemented throughout by historical notes, which add materially to its usefulness. The compiler in his preface hints at some of the topics suggested by a study of the List, but confines himself to stating one general conclusion—viz., 'that, prior to the Revolution, the offices, if not the controlling power, were in the hands of a few families; and other investigations will show these families to have been closely allied by marriages. From this state of affairs the Revolution rescued us; the reader will doubtless form

his own opinion as to the influence the presence of such an oligarchy had in causing that event.' Some idea may be had of the patience necessary for Mr. Whitmore's task by considering that the index (the least part of it) contains some 1,200 names, which are found scattered among 150 pages.

—We lately, as our readers will remember, asked for some information as to the nature and value of the examinations instituted by Mr. Boutwell in his department. All we have received up to this date has been copies of two of the papers of questions for candidates; but these, as we pointed out, amounted to no more than the examiners chose to make of them. Meantime, we have been favored with a fragment of a note addressed by a customs employee to a gentleman of this city. As nearly as we can decipher it and represent it with types, it reads as follows:

Dec 1 1870.

—— i Did Not For got yu Note as i Had No Money But as Sune as I get Som i Will giv yu all or iff i Cant giv yu all i Will give you as Mutch as i Can at Wounce Soe Dont Think That i Hav Fo got yu.

—The new 'Atlantic Almanac,' like its two or three predecessors, and unlike most almanacs, contains some things designed for a class of purchasers quite different from those of whom it may be said that they read nothing except what the almanac beguiles them into spelling through. It might perhaps be doubted if this latter class does not include pretty much all readers for whom the wise man should undertake to produce almanacs. Certainly it is true that the almanac-maker, as known to history, has never seen fit to set himself any very difficult task of literary beguilement. The wood-cut which refers the signs of the zodiac to the nobler and ignobler viscera, the limbs and other members of the human body; the list of church feasts and fasts; the table of the hours of high and low tides; the golden number and the dominical letter; the days of the week upon which fall the days of the month; the hours of sunrise and sunset, and moonrise and moonset; the total eclipses and partial eclipses; the days which are anniversaries of old battles with the British—these and similar matters it will not be found that the typical almanac ever mingles with anything nearer to literature than the exhortation to the farmer to mend his fences in the idle winter months; or the new-fangled recipe which the farmer's ambitious daughter may try; or the recommendations of patent apple-peelers and clothes-wringers which the pedlar will bring to the door in the summer when 'the going is good;' or the rebuses and sums in the Rule of Three which the boys may work out in the winter evenings; or the aged jokes of which the farmer's father has pleasant recollection; or the tables of state and county majorities in the last election. So far as experience teaches, the chances would seem to be all in favor of the unliterary almanacs, of the conservative *ephemerides*, of the 'biblia a-biblia,' as Lamb calls them, which, faithful to tradition, pretend to nothing of literary consideration, and offer themselves as little more than substitutes for the notched sticks and chalk-marks of the times before Faust and Gutenberg. Of late years, however, another opinion has possessed the astrologers and astronomers, and our calendars have brought us pictures and learning, and wit and poetry, as well as chronology. In pictures, the 'Atlantic Almanac' for 1871 abounds. Perhaps it abounds to superabundance, the pictures but seldom having reference to the times of the year, and being of the kind which is not for eternity either. All of them, we believe, are from *Every Saturday*, and it is somewhat puzzling to guess what was the principle of selection which governed the choice of the editor. He had at command the *Every Saturday* pictures, designed by Gavarni, pleasantly illustrative of the various months, but these he rejected, and in their place gives his readers 'Tennyson's New House,' 'The Prince Imperial,' 'The Cuban Girl,' 'The Old Bird-Tamer,' and others not more closely connected than these with meteorological record, and prognostication, and the lapse of seasons. Of literature, this 'Atlantic Almanac' offers less than that of last year or that of the year before. 'Dust; or, Ugliness Redeemed,' is a 'prose poem' of the kind which Mr. Dickens was fond of producing in the latter part of his life, when his humanitarianism and his lyrical tendencies had definitively got the better of his high spirits, and, without destroying them, had subdued and alloyed his love of humorous caricature, and his early habit of making his sketches and stories the expression of his marvellous power of observation—when, in short, he was subjective and poetical rather than objective and fun-making. 'The Beau Miser,' by Leigh Hunt, and 'Saturday Night,' by Charles Lamb, are essays of no particular merit, but interesting by reason of their authorship, which have recently been unearthed by Mr. J. E. Babson, an enthusiastic admirer of Lamb, and a warm admirer of Hunt, to whom the other admirers of those writers are perhaps under a greater degree of obligation than would be felt by the authors themselves if they were alive to witness this 'resurrecting' of a portion of their 'mortal part.' To have one's very bones and shreds of skin hunted up and preserved is, however, one of the penalties of being a literary immortal. To the strictly calendar portion of the new 'Atlantic Almanac' much attention has been paid, and the book is very well worth having. There are, besides, tables of foreign money, with statements of equivalent values in our own currency; of postal regulations; of reigning sovereigns; of stamp duties; of metrical weights and measures; of members of the House, Senate, and Cabinet; of members of the various State Governments; and of notable events at home and abroad occurring between the 1st of last January and the 1st of October. Necessarily the lists of Senators and Representatives do not hold good for the Forty-second Congress.

—We have received from Shanghai a literary curiosity in the shape of a pamphlet, translated from the Chinese by the missionaries at Tungchow, and entitled: "Death-Blow to Corrupt Doctrines: A Plain Statement of Facts. Published by the Gentry and People." It may be characterized in brief as a villanously artful attempt to slander the Christian religion and cast odium on its professors and missionaries in China, and probably to incite the ignorant natives to violence against them. In fact, the book is more than suspected of having been a principal occasion of the Tientsin massacre, and the translators assert that it has been assiduously circulated by the mandarins 'in three districts and two departmental cities,' and, they have reason to believe, 'extensively distributed throughout the north of China.' In one case 'it is currently reported that copies were given by the magistrate to the petty local officers, with orders to pass them round for the school teachers and principal men of the villages to read, and then to return them to the yamun, taking care that none should fall into the hands of the Christians.' Other evidence of the high authorship of the work is found in the 'first-class literary abilities' of the compiler, who besides 'has had extensive facilities for consulting public documents and for ransacking all that has ever been written in China against foreigners and Christianity.'

—We shall not disgust our readers with extracts from the filthy farrago called 'A Collection of Facts respecting the False Religion of Tien chu.' It is enough to say that the worst licentiousness which we associate with the Chinese character is here brought forward, in passages from many native authors, as the essence of the Christian religion, both Catholic and Protestant, making a series of obscene anecdotes in which the force of lying could no further go, and which only too well reflect the degraded intellect which devised them. In like manner, the mutilations of the human body which make Chinese annals so sickening, and which the mob at Tientsin charged upon the Catholic missionaries, are attributed to Christian rites, as, for instance, scooping out the eyes of the dead. This is said, on p. 53, to be done 'while the man still breathes,' and at the same time his heart is cut out, 'to be used secretly in the manufacture of counterfeit foreign silver.' On p. 15, it is noted that only Chinese eyes are of any value for this purpose—a reason, of course, for making converts among the natives—and that by compounding them with 100 pounds of Chinese lead eight pounds are converted into silver, and the remainder 'can be sold at the original cost.' 'The method by which this silver is obtained has never been discovered by any of the native Christians during the long period in which this religion has been propagated here.'

—Bad as it is, however, no one, we think, who ought to read the 'Death-Blow' can do so without instruction. We do not mean simply the light it throws on the animus of the literary class in China and on the question of foreign relations with the Empire—though this much is clear to us, that such atrocious lying can only be corrected by a freer intercourse between the Chinese and other people, either on their own soil or elsewhere. We allude to the comparative study of mankind, and of the civilization of the Flowery Kingdom with that of Europe, both in past ages and at the present time. The passage we have cited about the manufacture of silver is easily matched in the history of Western alchemy, while like superstitions in medicine are still vigorous in many parts of Europe. This sentence, too, might without difficulty be paralleled in the same quarter: 'Many would fain have us believe that these foreigners have searched out the principles of astronomy in the most thorough manner; yet when we see them fix upon four elements [fire, air, water, and earth] and ignore the five planets, we may know that their knowledge of astronomy is not thorough.' If printing could once be a black art in Europe, the daguerreotype may well seem supernatural in China. So, when Hsü Yung-fu 'joined the [Christian] sect and learned the art of taking likenesses,' no wonder that 'subsequently, the greater part of the persons whose likenesses Hsü had taken sickened and died, and it was evident to all that his

art was destructive to the constitution.' And have not these words of the Emperor the true Papal ring? 'With respect to heterodox books not in accordance with the teachings of the sages, and those tending to excite and disturb the people, to give rise to difficulties and irregularities, and to undermine the foundations of all things—all such teach corrupt and dangerous doctrines, which must be suppressed and exterminated.' Here, finally, is the very voice of the *World* or the *Herald* dissuading the mob from violence: 'Although you are not permitted to seize the battle-axe and sword for vengeance, you can destroy them by the power of your mouths and tongues.' There follow abolition riots, draft riots, and Tientsin massacres.

—Whatever at any time has been Russia's European policy, she has so conducted herself as steadily and almost unnoticed to annex large portions of Central Asia. The Anglo-Indian press has kept the world pretty well informed as to her acts (her intentions form a standing puzzle to most writers), so far as they affect the British possessions in Hindostan. But no remark has been excited by her successful attempts to filch from her most easterly neighbor on the Asiatic continent slice after slice of territory. The Russian frontier has been 'rectified' Chinawards no less than three times since the commencement of hostilities at Canton in 1859. During 1868, a confidential agent of the Government travelled extensively through the western provinces bordering on Thibet, and made himself minutely acquainted with the resources, productions, climate, etc., of the country, and with the temper of the inhabitants. It is asserted that a considerable amount of money was spent in securing secret agents (native), whose business it is to make the Russian name familiar to their countrymen, and to tell them of her greatness and the impossibility of successfully resisting her should she ever assume the offensive. A few months ago, a mercantile firm in St. Petersburg applied to the Government for aid in discovering and establishing a direct route from Nertchinsk to Peking, or, more strictly, to Tientsin, and this aid was readily given. Hitherto all trade had been conducted *via* Kalgan, a border town between China and Mongolia, and Kiachta, a Russian city in Southern Siberia, upon the confines of the desert of Gobi. To save time, the new route was suggested, and, a St. Petersburg letter informs us, has been successfully followed out. Fortunately for China proper, the desert of Gobi protects from annexation a large proportion of the northern boundary. But there is a goodly strip of Manchooria yet remaining, and Russia may desire to have it. The additional coast-line would immensely increase her naval resources for offensive purposes. If she persists in this system of quiet annexation, we may hear of another 'Eastern question' before very long. With a few more good ports on the Asiatic coast under her flag, Russia could destroy the China carrying-trade of England and Germany in a few weeks.

—This month there appears in England the first number of the *Rugby Review and Magazine*, which, it is expected, will be sustained by the writing of present or former masters and old pupils of Rugby School. As it will 'deal comprehensively with current topics and events,' it is clear that this magazine does not belong to the class of gymnasial periodicals which, in Germany, are at once an aid and an honor to the teacher's profession. It identifies itself with Rugby chiefly for the sake of a well-defined and intellectually-associated corps of contributors, and, while critical as well as political, will not, we infer, confine itself to the reviewing of text-books and methods of instruction. Announcement is also made of the early publication of a shilling monthly, the *Woodbury Gallery of Nature and Art*, to be regularly illustrated with three specimens of the Woodbury process, which, it will be remembered, is a printing in ink from a metal plate, obtained from a photographic image, in relief, on gelatine. This makes, if we mistake not, the third art-journal employing autotype illustrations in England alone.

—An enterprise with which the late Charles Dickens was prominently connected—if, indeed, he is not to be considered the originator of it—has recently followed him to the grave. The Guild of Literature and Art, designed to rival the Royal Literary Fund, and to be a sort of insurance company for authors, furnishing them a home when needy or aged, and only requiring of them some nominal return—such as lecturing three times a year, etc.—is no more. It received the enthusiastic support of Mr. Dickens's friends, who raised money for it in all sorts of ways, Lord Lytton giving the land on which to build the houses of refuge, which were actually put up, and well adapted for the end in view. Unlike the trades-unions, however, which err in confounding good workmen and bad, the Guild of necessity called public attention to the distinction between successful and unsuccessful authors, which did not save the former from the appearance of patronage, nor the latter from the humiliation of receiving charity. As a result, no one was found to confess himself a poor author, and the homes went tenantless. They are now to be sold, and with them will disappear the last vestige of the Guild, except the newspaper reports of the speeches made, during the last fifteen years, to prove the uselessness of the Royal Literary Fund, the noble aims of the Guild, and the fine prospects which have now ended in smoke.

PALMERSTON.*

If ever a man had his good things in this life, and plenty of them, and just the kind of good things he liked best, it was the late Lord Palmerston. We have not a word to say against this way of having one's good things. Quite otherwise. It is a most excellent way of having them, and we should not have the least objection to having our own, if any, dispensed unto us in like manner. Nor would we be understood as implying that our subject is now lifting up his eyes in torments as a set-off against the satisfactions they discounted to him in advance on this side the grave. We claim no prevision of what is written in the doomsday book of eternity such as was vouchsafed to those holy seers who were thus enabled to pronounce upon the everlasting destiny of Charles Dickens. It is not likely that the hard-working, pleasure-loving man of the world would fare better at their judgment-seat than the wise-hearted, kindly, beneficent novelist. But we cannot help thinking it possible that it may be found at last that both of these publicans went up to the house appointed for all living, justified rather than their pharisaic censors. However, be all this as it may, there can be no question that, as far as this world was concerned, Lord Palmerston had a life of as unmixed prosperity as has often fallen to the lot of man. Length of days, unbroken health, uninterrupted success in affairs, constant occupation such as he liked best, family affection and domestic happiness, made up a life the only melancholy circumstance about which, as far as we can judge, was that it had to come to an end at last. The inevitable catastrophe of death cast the only shadow that the outside world at least could discern upon the sunshine of his long day. But these two volumes stop short by a quarter of a century of that conclusion of the whole matter which, we dare say, we shall find that he met as courageously and jauntily as he did the various events of his life.

Though Lord Palmerston was an Irish viscount, he came of good English blood. He was the great-grandnephew of Sir William Temple, famous two hundred years ago as a diplomatist, whose works in formidable folios used to stand on the lower shelf of every gentleman's library, and who would, doubtless, have been surprised that his chief claim on modern memory would be through his kindness to his awkward young secretary, Jonathan Swift, whom King William, of glorious and immortal memory, once taught how to cut asparagus in the Dutch way, while attending his majesty in the gardens of Moor Park. Lord Palmerston's good luck began even before his birth, for he sprang from a love-match between his father and the beautiful and clever daughter of a Dublin tradesman, into whose house he was carried in consequence of an accident. His father was a man of wit as well as pleasure about town, and a lover and patron of the arts. His principal distinction, however, Sir Henry Bulwer forgets to mention, to wit, that he was a member of Johnson's Literary Club, warmly supported at his election by the great Doctor, as appears by a letter of his to Boswell. Sir Henry devotes but three or four pages to the boyhood and youth of young Temple, and does not much more than indicate the course of his education. From Harrow he went to Edinburgh, where he lived with Dugald Stewart for three years, and was so diligent a scholar of that philosopher that when Sir William Hamilton undertook to print Stewart's extensive lectures on Economical Science, he found the notes of young Temple the most complete for his purpose. In 1802 he succeeded his father in the title, and, the next year, went to St. John's College, Cambridge. Of his life there Sir Henry gives no particulars whatever, and it is from his own autobiographic sketch that we learn that he took the honorary degree of Master of Arts—so-called to distinguish it, as some *grondeur* once said, from an *honorable* one—then given to noblemen without examination, in 1806. He was then barely of age, yet he greatly dared to contest the University election in that year, and was handsomely beaten by Lord Henry Petty, afterwards the Marquis of Lansdowne. The next year, when Parliament was dissolved on the fall of the Grenville ministry, he attempted the University again, and then came within four votes of an election. But those were the good old days of rotten boroughs, and a clever young lord seldom had to stay out of Parlia-

* 'The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, etc., etc., by the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

ment for want of a seat. So Sir Leonard Holmes brought him in for his borough of Newtown, in the Isle of Wight, on condition, however, that he should never so much as set foot in the place, lest he might disturb the allegiance of his voters to their owner.

Thus Lord Palmerston was introduced upon the arena in the conflicts of which he took part for all but sixty years. In 1810, he was elected by the University of Cambridge, and continued to represent it for twenty-one years, when his support of the Reform Bill ejected him; and, after sitting for Blechingly and South Hants successively, he settled down as member for Tiverton in 1835 for the rest of his life. Of course, no justice can be done to a career like his in the narrow room of our columns. Its main points can only be indicated. On his first entering Parliament he was made a Junior Lord of the Admiralty by the Duke of Portland, being then twenty-three. Two years later, in 1809, being then twenty-five, he received the brilliant offer of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer from Mr. Perceval, which he had the wise prudence to decline, taking instead the Secretaryship-at-War. This was a subordinate office, since abolished, which did not give the holder of it necessarily a seat in the Cabinet, as the Secretaryship *for* War did. It was charged with the superintendence of military disbursements and the settlement of military accounts. This office Lord Palmerston held for nineteen years under Mr. Perceval, Lord Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington, till May, 1828, when he resigned with the other friends of Mr. Canning, on the quarrel of the Duke with Mr. Huskisson. This last-named gentleman was an 'awful example' to all office-holders to warn them never to resign unless they are in earnest. On the question of the disposition of the franchise forfeited by two rotten boroughs, Mr. Huskisson voted against the Duke, and then placed his resignation in his grace's hands, in the faith that it would not be received. But the Duke wished to be rid of him for sundry reasons, and at once laid it before the King and had it accepted, in spite of the elaborate and not too dignified explanations of the ousted minister. Lord Palmerston, after this, remained out of office for two years and a half, until Lord Grey succeeded the Duke, and the revolution of the Reform Bill set in. The twenty-one years of Lord Palmerston's subordinate official positions of Lord of the Admiralty and Secretary at War were most important ones in the foreign and domestic history of England. They included the most brilliant period of Bonaparte's career and his downfall, the dreadful years of distress following the peace of 1815, the disturbances in the manufacturing districts and in London, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and Catholic Emancipation. Lord Palmerston was faithful and laborious in his office, into which he introduced some important reforms. He uniformly supported Liberal measures, and opposed the violent and unconstitutional measures of the Tory administration of which he was a subordinate.

When the Duke was striving to prop up his tottering administration, shaken to its foundation by the Revolution of July, he tried to obtain the help of Lord Palmerston. Huskisson was just dead, almost the first victim of a railway accident, and his personal grievance had died with him. But Lord Palmerston would not come into the arrangement without his Canningite friends, with the addition of Lords Grey and Lansdowne. After the accession of Lord Grey he was made Secretary for Foreign Affairs, which he held, with the exception of Sir Robert Peel's short intercalated ministry, until the Melbourne administration finally gave way to that statesman in the summer of 1841, at which point the second volume of this work ends. During the period of his Foreign Secretaryship, Lord Palmerston was the object of the bitterest attacks of the Tory writers. The Canning *tail* had incorporated themselves with the Whigs for good, and they had crowned their iniquitous relief of the Dissenters and the Catholics by voting for the Reform Bill. Those of our readers whose memory runs back forty years may yet recall the malignant wit with which he was pursued by Theodore Hook in the columns of the *John Bull*, how he was laughed at as 'Cupid,' and abused as 'Lord Protocol,' and excellent fun made of him as 'Lord Pummicestone' by that model British matron, Mrs. Ramsbottom, in her cacographic epistles from Margate. The solemn Sir Henry Bulwer, however, passes all these things over in decorous silence, though he indicates the kind of hawk-and-buzzard position of his hero—between the Tories who hated him, and the Whigs who did not love him, and the Radicals who loved him still less. Still, he attended diligently to his business, and his work in those difficult years was well done. The erection of Belgium into a kingdom, the intrigues of Louis Philippe for an extension of French territory towards the Rhine, the miserable wars of succession in Spain and Portugal, the establishment of the kingdom of Greece, the settlement of the Eastern question by the subordination of Mehemet Ali, as Pacha of Egypt, to the Sultan, all came within the period of his secretaryship. His diplomacy was informed by the principle of straightforwardness and truth, which he held to be the best method for carrying on the business of nations as of individuals, and they answered his purpose well; for he maintained the influence and dignity of England in her relations with the Continent without any general war, and with very little bloodshed for which he was responsible. He was so absorbed in his business that he scarcely mentions the tremendous conflict over the Reform Bill in his letters to his brother. During that stormy period he seems to have had his mind fuller of his efforts to baffle the schemes of the Citizen-king—whom he denounced later as 'a man in whom no trust whatever can be reposed'—than in the great revolution going on at home. Of course, it was only *seeming*.

Sir Henry Bulwer is not a good biographer. Indeed, he is not a biographer at all; and for an odd reason—he stands too much in awe of his hero, and fails in his duty towards him from the very excess of his reverence and gratitude. He apologizes more than once for the refreshing glimpses he gives us of Lord Palmerston's private life. He should apologize for not giving us more of them. Now and then we get a sight of him on the race-course, or in the hunting-field, in his shooting-jacket among the pheasants, at Almack's, or at the dinner-table. But it is a glimpse only through the crack of the door, which his careful attendant shuts in our faces as soon as possible. Still we are obliged to Sir Henry for what he has given us. He has made up his book mainly of Lord Palmerston's letters to his brother, Sir William Temple, who died before him, and who was in foreign diplomatic service for the chief of his life. These letters are largely filled with the writer's occupations as a minister and his opinions on public affairs—mainly on foreign affairs. But they, together with two or three to his sister, give one the impression of an amiable and affectionate heart. The letters which describe what he did for his Irish tenantry, and for the improvement at once of their condition and of his estates, show him to have been a man of intelligent humanity and large practical wisdom. Sir Henry's work will be of service to the biography of Lord Palmerston yet to be written, and an entertaining book it will be when time enough shall have elapsed to make all amusing revelations possible. It will not describe the life of a great man intellectually, nor of the highest moral tone of character, but of a man of strong sense, excellent talents, indefatigable industry, as devoted to pleasure as to business. The men with whom he was associated in public affairs for the first twenty years were his inferiors in ability. Those wars of the giants were directed by pigmies. Canning was the only great man of that connection during those years, and he was mostly in the background and under the 'cold shade of the aristocracy,' and his brief day of power soon closed in night. The claim of the Duke of Wellington to greatness will hardly be disputed now, though Lord Melbourne is here recorded as having said that 'he did not happen to think him a great man;' but he was not a great minister. Lord Grey certainly stood in the first rank as a statesman and orator. But, officially or in society, Lord Palmerston knew every man eminent for genius or rank in politics or literature, every woman famous for beauty or talent or fashion. He must have had a childish recollection of the beginning of the French Revolution, and he lived to see the end of our Rebellion. When his 'Life and Times' comes to be written, and well written, though there may have been lives more instructive and edifying, it is safe to say that there was never one more entertaining.

GOETHE'S CONVERSATIONS WITH FRIEDRICH VON MÜLLER.*

Those who are already familiar with Eckermann's 'Conversations with Goethe' will gladly welcome this work, which not only supplements Eckermann for the years 1822–32, but also contains reports from as early a date as 1814. But, notwithstanding the fact that von Müller's book covers a longer time, it is the briefer of the two. The author was Chancellor of the Grand-Duchy of Weimar, and, from Goethe's appointment of him as one of the executors of his will, we can see that he stood high in the poet's estimation. He was a man of marked intelligence, and seems to have been far less oppressed by the greatness of Goethe than was Eckermann, who attached himself so devotedly to the object of his admiration. Goethe is here looked at with a cooler and more critical eye than that of Eckermann; he is met by a man more nearly his equal, and one not afraid to give us frequent reports of the poet's moodiness and variability of temper. Thus, in regard to his first meeting with Goethe, in 1801, von Müller says: 'Goethe speaks very quietly and calmly—rather like a cautious,

* 'Goethe's Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler Friedrich von Müller.' Stuttgart. 1870.

shrewd tradesman.' Later, we find frequent mention of his moodiness and cynicism, and occasional outbursts of irritability which are almost Johnsonian. For instance, on p. 88, Müller writes: 'I mentioned that some writer had said, "Humor is nothing else than the wit of the heart." Goethe became extremely angry (ergrimmte sich auf's Heftigste) at the phrase "nothing else than." He cried out, "So Cicero once said, 'Friendship is "nothing else than."' Oh! you ass, narrow-minded fellow, irredeemable boor, who ran to Greece to get wisdom, and brought back nothing better than that meaningless phrase, 'nothing else than.' Wit of the heart, forsooth! I don't know what the heart is, but yet must ascribe wit to it,"' etc. On this day, however, it is to be remembered that the 'highly groomed' Goethe was 'sitting in his shirt sleeves, drinking.' Not always was he Olympian.

At other times we find recorded remarks, by the great critic and poet, which are characteristically full of insight and wisdom. Thus: 'Every one should strive to acquire some one good habit, for his pleasure in cheerful days and for consolation in time of trouble. Let him accustom himself, for example, to read daily in the Bible, or in Homer, or to look at medals, or good pictures, or to hear good music. But it must be something excellent—of real merit—to which he accustoms himself, in order that he may preserve his respect for it.' Or thus: 'I must confess I should not know what to do with eternal bliss if it did not offer me new problems and difficulties to be mastered. But that is probably well provided for; we need only look at the planets and suns—nuts enough for us to crack there.' Of Byron's death he said, that 'it took place at exactly the right time. His Greek undertaking had something false about it, and could never have ended happily. It is a misfortune that such imaginative natures should wish to carry out their ideal in their life. They can never succeed; the ideal and the real must be kept far apart.'

Talking one day in October, 1823, he remarked that at Marienbad he had heard no authors spoken of except Byron and Walter Scott. 'But Scott's charm,' said he, 'is due to the superiority of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, and the inexhaustible variety of their history; whereas, in Germany there is no fertile field for the romancer between the Thuringian forest and the sand plains of Mecklenburg, so that I was obliged to use the most worthless material imaginable in "Wilhelm Meister"—such as strolling actors and wretched country nobility—simply to bring some life into my picture'—a strange enough remark, when one reminds himself that Scott was at his very best when he was depicting 'wretched country' lairds and city magistrates, and that Goethe lived in the Germany of 'Goetz von Berlichingen' and had seen the Italy of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. On the same occasion, he said: 'Old friends should not meet.' He says, in another place, 'They do not understand one another. Each has learned a new language. Whoever is interested in his own culture should especially avoid this, for the inevitable misunderstanding can only work upon us unfavorably, and destroy the image of the former relations.'

And here, again, is a semi-cynical prudence: 'Were I, to my misfortune, obliged to be in the opposition, I would excite uproar and revolution rather than occupy myself continually with eternal abuse of those in authority. I have never in my life desired to place myself against the irresistible stream of the multitude or of the ruling principle. I have rather withdrawn into my shell, and lived there after my own fashion.' And here is a bit of practical wisdom which has about it something of what will seem to some people a cruel prudence: 'What difference does it make if a few couples fight and embitter one another's lives, as long as the common idea of the sanctity of marriage is maintained? They would only suffer other troubles if they were rid of these.'

These extracts, which are taken almost at random, will serve to show the character of the book. It is a valuable addition to what we know of Goethe, and as such—as light upon the figure of a great man, to say nothing of the wisdom and wit which it brings within view—it is well worth attention. We may add, for the information of the curious and puzzled reader, that 'the young American, from Boston, named Boxwell,' who is mentioned under date of May 10, 1819, is Doctor Cogswell, formerly librarian of the Astor Library, in New York.

THE LIFE OF GEORGE READ.*

THERE is a real satisfaction, in reading history, in making the acquaintance of a class of men who have no claim whatever to genius, and whose names are hardly known to the world at large, and yet who, by good sense, fidelity, and thorough competency to the work they undertook, have made a mark in their own generation, and made the world better for their having lived in it. George Read, of Delaware, appears to have been a man of this stamp. One has a vague recollection of seeing his name appended to the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, and that is all; but when one follows his career through these eventful years, the positions of honor and trust that he held—member of State Assembly, National Congress, and Constitutional Convention of both State and nation, chief magistrate of his native State, United States Judge, United States Senator, and, finally, Chief Justice of Delaware—it is plain that he was a man of mark; one of those who modestly and noiselessly do the best work in their power, and whom the world would less willingly spare than many of more fame and brilliancy. In all this varied and useful career, we find hardly a striking act or word of his; and yet we have received real pleasure from the contemplation of a character so marked by earnestness, faithfulness, and sound judgment.

George Read would seem to have been, on the whole, the leading man in Delaware during the period of the Revolution and the years that followed. His life, therefore, written by his grandson, is very properly made the centre of a history of Delaware and account of her leading men during this period. Without this, indeed, the book would have been but a slender one, there is really so little to be said of the man himself. Even the correspondence quoted in the volume consists more of letters to Mr. Read than of letters from him. This is no loss to the interest of the reader; his quiet, almost commonplace style of letter-writing is far less readable than that of more vehement characters like Dickinson and McKean. But, interesting as many of these letters are, we have derived more satisfaction, on the whole, from the numerous biographical sketches of contemporary characters. This work the editor has done excellently, as a labor of love; and these alone would entitle the volume to the notice of students of Revolutionary history, and, in especial, of all citizens of Delaware. We will mention particularly the lives of Gen. William Thompson, Cæsar Augustus Rodney, and Thomas McKean.

However much we enjoy digressions and addenda of this sort, there is a good deal of quite irrelevant matter which we must set down as 'padding.' Of this sort are the author's opinions on all sorts of subjects, as lotteries, cremation of the dead, and the French Revolution, which are frequently judicious and well put, but which have no place in this work. So with the current history, which is given a good deal more fully than is any way desirable. Much of it may be assumed to be already familiar to readers; much of it—as the account of the expedition to Canada in 1775 and of the revolt in St. Domingo—has only the most remote connection with the life of Mr. Read. On the other hand, there is a lack of definiteness and continuousness in the history which does really belong here, and which one would be glad to have given more fully than it is. The peculiar relation existing between Pennsylvania and Delaware, which permitted Delaware to be represented in Congress by Pennsylvania citizens (on account of the convenience of residence), and gave the two States a common President, McKean, just as had been the case when they were proprietary colonies belonging to one proprietor, is a case in point. We should have liked, too, a fuller account of the state of parties in Delaware, and the internal history of the province during the Revolution. For this we should gladly have spared the account of the causes which led to the Revolution, its campaigns, and the general political history afterwards.

We have said that there is little that is striking in Mr. Read's words or acts; one gets a better impression of the reputation of the man, and the confidence that his associates had in his judgment and efficiency, from what they say to him than from what he says himself. We find, in 1777, two letters which illustrate this excellently well. Mr. James Sykes, who had just been appointed delegate of Delaware in Congress, finds himself, to his horror, sole representative of that State, his two colleagues, Messrs. Reade and Van Dyke, being necessarily detained. He writes in an almost comical state of distress to Mr. Read, showing how helpless he is from his lack of presence of mind and speaking power. He says of a measure passed touching the interests of Delaware: 'Though I utterly disapproved the measure, . . . I could not open my mouth in objection.' And as to part of his duties: "I am totally unfit for it, and miserable in consequence.' Shortly after, Chief-Justice Killen writes to Mr. Read to ask help in some difficult and perplexing cases in the disaffected portion of the State: 'This new task is really too arduous for me. In essaying to execute it, I find both a want of knowledge and firmness of mind—the latter most.' All seem to have turned instinctively to George Read as the best source to look for counsel and aid.

* 'Life and Correspondence of George Read, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, with Notices of some of his Contemporaries. By his grandson, William Thompson Read.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870. 8vo, pp. 575.

We will close with a short extract from the account of the Battle of Brandywine, which gives a vivid and entertaining picture (p. 271):

'As the British advanced toward Birmingham Meeting-house, they were surprised and amused by a number of Quakers mingling and moving forward with them. The spectacle was magnificent—a great body of disciplined troops marching in military order, the scarlet uniforms, and muskets and bayonets, bright as silver, gleaming in the sun, which shone unclouded. It had a fascination for these simple rustics, who followed on, all fear swallowed up by curiosity, till the battle began, about four o'clock P.M. They were surprised by the smooth and white skins of the British officers, mostly short and portly men, neat and clean, and elegantly attired, in strong contrast to the dingy uniforms and gaunt forms of the Americans, who had passed the preceding winter under privations and discomforts to which ordinary patriotism and fortitude would have succumbed, while their enemies were housed, warmly clad, and well fed. They came upon a group of mounted officers, flashing in scarlet and gold; one of these is prominent, evidently a general, of large body, on a stately charger, but reduced in flesh [qu. the charger?], his features coarse and large, and his mouth fallen in from loss of teeth; it was Sir William Howe. The fields before them were *red* with the British regiments moving rapidly forward, and covered with the knapsacks and blankets of which they had disencumbered themselves.'

MAGAZINES FOR JANUARY.

The *Atlantic* contains the full January allowance of articles by well-known writers—Mr. Longfellow, Dr. Holmes, Mr. Whittier, Senator Wilson, Mr. Howells, Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford, Colonel Higginson, Major De Forest, and Mr. James T. Fields, being among the number. Mr. Fields's article is the first of what promises to be a very interesting series; and it marks his re entrance into the active circles of literature, and his abandonment of the active circles of business—except so far as the work of editing the *Atlantic* and taking counsel with his former partners may still bind him to business work. Years ago—perhaps twenty-odd—when he was new at the business of bookselling, which has made his name so well known in most places where English is spoken, he was the author of a small volume of poems, some of which were successful in striking the popular fancy, and one of which is, we suppose, still remembered by most New Englanders who used to read out of Reading Books, or 'speak pieces' out of 'Speakers' in the district schools of almost a quarter of a century ago. We, at any rate, can recollect the certainty with which once in so often, as 'declamation day' came round—that most remarkable of days to succeed in existing in New England—the story used to be told of Jonathan Marden, the skipper, and the casting of the lead. The companion pieces in the volume we do not recollect, but whatever they were they were not such—and their success, we may suppose, was not such—as to induce Mr. Field to prosecute the pursuit of literary distinction, and, so far as the public is informed, he has of late years had nothing more direct to do with literature than some such work as the collecting for publication and for the submission to his firm's imprint the scattered papers of De Quincey or of Thackeray, and the practice of friendly and free intimate communication with celebrated authors, whom the just and liberal policy of his house—long exceptionally just and liberal among American publishing houses—had disposed to regard him or any representative of the firm with great good-will. The preserved records of this honorable intimacy will constitute various instalments of a set of serial essays, to be called 'Our Whispering Gallery,' which Mr. Fields now begins to contribute to the *Atlantic*, and, judging by this instalment, which contains reminiscences of Thackeray, there will be nothing in our magazine literature of the coming year which will at all equal these recollections. In such things, the manner of relation is nothing, or next to nothing; and what the reader wants is as much as possible, as directly told as possible, of the man who is talked about. We have not space to quote any of the very pleasant gossip about Thackeray to which Mr. Fields treats us in this number of the *Atlantic*, but it will be found not only entertaining to the general reader, but instructive to the student of literary history and the literary character. It is curious to know that in Thackeray's own opinion his best work was 'Henry Esmond'—a book in which he is more undilutedly a sentimentalist than in any other of his books, and as to which one would have thought that most of the pleasure which it could have given a person of its author's peculiar turn of mind would have been the subtly humorous enjoyment of noting the masqueradelike character of puppets begotten in the nineteenth century, and doing duty in the imperfectly revived days of Queen Anne.

'A Year in a Venetian Palace' is the title of Mr. Howells's latest essay, which we suppose will be as well liked by those who admire this writer as anything which he has done for a long time. The same might be said, and with emphasis, of Doctor Holmes's 'Dorothy Q.,' which is in what we think it will be agreed his very best manner, and which is certainly very good. It should be classed among *vers de société*, probably; but a sort of slightly glorified *vers de société*, in which sense, gaiety, humor, tenderness, and pathos are all present, and all find restrained and elegant expression.

Of other articles, the January *Atlantic* has a poem by Mr. Whittier; the beginning of a story by Mr. De Forest; and an article by Senator Wilson, entitled 'The New Departure of the Republican Party,' in which, besides much talk now for a long time trite, there is some talk which, it is to be feared, is the merest talk, in favor of universal education at the expense of the country in general.

In the *Overland Monthly* for January, a clever and observant traveller gives us a glimpse of Japan, and will be found an interesting talker. Mr. Bret Harte has some verses, called 'Further Language from Truthful James,' which we find perfectly unintelligible—except that they record the death, at the hands of 'Injin Dick,' of Mr. William Nye, who would seem to have found that, whatever may be the state of the case as regards the Mongolian on the Pacific coast, the American Indian, when there are to be any 'sinful games' practised by the Caucasian, it is better to leave to Senator Harlan, or Senator Pomeroy, or some Indian agent.

Old and New comes this month in double form. 'The Christmas Locket' is a 'holiday number' of this magazine, and is full of the kind of writing, dripping with an unnatural good-nature, which passes for seasonable, but which, one doubts, may not be the best thing to keep its readers true to really Christian aims. Perhaps its most noticeable article is a translation, by Mr. Charles T. Brooks, of a striking legend as to the Crucifixion of Saint Peter; and next it is a story—with a characteristic helping-out of the fiction by facts and real names—which is the work of Mr. E. E. Hale. *Old and New* itself has a pleasant essay, by a new writer, who bids fair to become a writer of name and consideration, and whose work is already deserving of praise and will give pleasure, Mr. Charles Warner.

The *Catholic World* has a review of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's exposition of Christian doctrine, which it may not be unprofitable if the logical adherents of the Plymouth Church Confession of Faith will logically ponder. Also, it renews its attacks on Mr. Froude and his treatment of Mary Queen of Scots, and makes statements, not without an array of evidence, which, left unanswered, almost remove that gentleman from the ranks of respectable historians, and leave him in a very uncomfortable position. 'The Sources of American History,' dealing with Mexican muniments, is another valuable essay to which we shall be glad if we can to call the attention of scholars.

Lippincott's brings us round to Thackeray again, its 'monthly gossip' gossiping very pleasantly about him. Indeed, there seems to be little gossip about him which is not pleasant, and which does not increase one's impression that, while he was something like other people as regards perfectness, he was rather unlike some of the rest of us as regards perfectibility; and as regards *ad interim* likableness, until such time as we shall all be saints and heroes. It is not much worth while to say anything about Carlyle at this time of day, for he is now found out; and probably there is no doubt, as Mr. Emerson says of Plutarch, that he will be found out again, and more to his advantage, for there is that in him which ensures a rediscovery; but there is no harm, either, in repeating this, which is Thackeray's remark about him: 'Why don't he hang up his d—d old fiddles?' It hits well enough Carlyle's monotonous preachment of a single not very fruitful sermon. 'Yes, a wonderful writer,' Thackeray added, not forgetting the pictures of 'The French Revolution.' There is also something about Dickens in this reported conversation with his great contemporary.

In the *Galaxy* and *Harper's* the readers of these magazines will find the usual bill of fare, but nothing, we believe, which calls for special mention. Perhaps we might except the new set of articles called 'Types of American Beauty' which the *Galaxy* has begun to publish, and each of which is to be accompanied by a picture of some young lady. Question has been made, we see, as to whether a magazine should lend itself to such publication—a question the answer to which would seem to be dependent upon the consideration whether it would or would not be a nice sort of young lady who would allow her portrait to be so printed, and to be descanted upon in the accompanying letterpress. According as she might be would, we suppose, be the niceness or unniceness of editorially pleasing her.

The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, the Western Pioneer and Apostle to the Indians. By Edmund De Schweinitz. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lip-

pincott & Co. 1870.)—This name, not widely known, but dearly cherished within certain limits, deserves a more general acquaintance, and will, we trust, acquire it with the help of the volume which Mr. Edmund De Schweinitz, who is, we imagine, pastor of the Moravian Church of the United Brethren of Bethlehem, Pa., has so carefully prepared. The admirable work of Parkman on 'The Jesuits in North America' has made known the splendid courage and devotion shown by the Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century, and it is only fair that a like tribute should be paid to men who, though the servants of a very humble church compared with the great Roman hierarchy, encountered even greater difficulties and exhibited a force and temper no less admirable. Mr. De Schweinitz has brought many qualifications to the performance of his task: a sympathetic spirit, a simple faith akin to that of Zeisberger himself, an easy, pleasant style, sometimes a little too suggestive of the pulpit rhetorician, and, best of all, a patient industry that seems to have left no stone unturned which seemed at all likely to conceal anything bearing upon his subject. His handsomely printed volume contains an excellent index and geographical glossary. It should have contained a map showing at least the relative positions of the main points of interest. Such a map would make the narrative much more interesting and intelligible.

Besides the life of Zeisberger, the book contains a great deal of interesting collateral matter which gives the setting of the man, and enables the reader to 'put himself in his place.' Thus we have an account of the Moravian Church, its institution, and its various wanderings till it came to Bethlehem, which has ever since been the centre of its American activity. Then we have a description of the colonies at the time Zeisberger came on the stage, their civil and social aspects, an account, drawn from the best sources, of the Indians as they were at the time of the first settlements, and again as they were in the middle of the last century, when, without having availed themselves of the blessings of civilization, they had adopted many of its curses, especially the curse of intemperance. We see a good deal of Count Zinzendorf, and catch a glimpse or two of Benjamin Franklin, and one of John Woolman with his mind 'covered with the spirit of prayer' and desiring to speak to the Indians without an interpreter; doing so, and moving them greatly—a story that recalls the day of Pentecost, and some of the experiences of the great European missionaries of the Middle Ages.

Zeisberger was born in 1721, and died in 1808. He came to America in 1736, and entered on the labors of a missionary in 1744. These labors engaged him till his death, a period of more than sixty years. His life was one great hardship and much suffering and danger. It abounded in adventures, some of them equal to the imaginary ones of Captain Mayne Reid and writers of his school. His journeys were lonely, long, and arduous; one of them, occupying about three months, is reckoned to have been sixteen hundred miles, for the most part on foot, the rest in a canoe. His escapes were wonderful—he thought miraculous; and his biographer agrees with him. His whole life was a tragedy, the elements of which were various. Prominent among them were the suspicions that attached to the Moravian Indians during the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars—suspicions which De Schweinitz proves to have been mainly groundless, making some good points against Parkman. Another element was the massacre of a band of missionaries by the Indians in 1755, and the far more horrible massacre in cold blood of ninety Christian Indians by the Pennsylvania Militia in 1782. A third element was the compulsory removals of the converts from place to place: Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and Canada being the four seats of operation. But greatest of all was the hopelessness of the work in which Zeisberger was engaged. After all his labors and self-sacrifice, not one prosperous church or village testified before his death to his faithfulness. The settlement in Western Canada was on the decline. Around his own little settlement, in Goshen, clustered the huts of barely a score of natives, and even these Zeisberger could not restrain from the most beastly intoxication. But his character must not be measured by his accomplishment. Indeed, his failures were to a considerable extent owing to the purity and loftiness of his ideal. He was not content to make proselytes, he aimed at moral reformation. He withheld baptism till he saw his converts bring forth the fruits of repentance. He was an honor to the Moravian Church and to our common humanity, and his biographer has done the public a good service in commemorating his career.

Treatment and Utilization of Sewage. By W. H. Corfield. Prepared for the Committee of the British Association. (New York: Macmillan & Co.)—The plan which Mr. Corfield advocates—of pouring sewage over the earth, letting it soak through into drains, and carrying the drainage water to the sea—has met with numerous theoretical objections. Sewage thus spread out, it has been averred, 'would foul the air;' 'the amount coming from any great city would drown the land and convert it into a marsh;' 'the crops would be rank and bad;' 'disease would certainly follow such a system;' 'it would cost too much.' These and similar objections the book before us completely answers by examples drawn from experience. Agriculturists had found very profitable results from the use of sewage on a small scale near Edinburgh, Milan, in Flanders, and in China; and at last the local boards of health in England were obliged by act of Parliament to try what could be done with sewage on a large scale. When sufficient evidence had been gathered to show that the sewage of any town, including all the rainfall, could be poured over the fields in enormous quantities, and yet give corresponding crops, it was alleged that it could only be used on land very near the source, as in its flow, from contact with the air, gravity, and by chemical changes, it grew poorer, or at least less valuable as a manure, in proportion to the distance it was carried; and since it would be impossible to find sufficient land for the proper distribution of sewage near a city, that the irrigative plan must be considered impracticable. Careful trials, however, were made, which showed that a stream of sewage running in a shallow conduit two inches deep and open to the air for seventy-two miles, did not lose any appreciable amount of its strength other than as it was diminished in volume by evaporation.

The theoretical value of very dilute sewage on the land as manure, including all the waste water and rainfall of a city—which is not less than 100 tons per head—is 1½ cents per ton, or $1 50 per head; but it appears that the actual waste of the family, exclusive of rainfall or hydrant water, is worth 3 cents per head. This would give an annual loss for New York in its sewage, which both pollutes the water and air and promotes disease of 1½ to 3 millions of dollars a year. On page 188 of Mr. Corfield, we find that the bed of the river Mersey has been permanently raised by the deposits from sewage; that the drainage of Glasgow adds to the harbor of the Clyde 1,000,000 cubic yards of silt a year. On page 225 we are told that when sewage is delivered on the surface, the purification it receives varies with the kind of soil: a cubic yard of sand will clean in twenty-four hours 4¼ gallons, whilst a cubic yard of Dursley soil cleaned 9 9-10 gallons in the same time—equivalent to 100,000 gallons per day per acre; and the same soil acts equally well continuously. Even peat is a good filter, improving by use, and the Commissioners are satisfied by test that 'the sewage of a water-closet town of 10,000 inhabitants could, at a very moderate estimate, be cleansed upon five acres of land.' Experiment showed that Italian rye-grass could be perfectly grown on sea-sand a foot in depth when sewage was properly supplied to it. The Lochend Farm and the Craigentinney meadow near Edinburgh are for the most part reclaimed from the sea-sand, and have been raised from $15 per acre to an annual rent of $150 per acre. During the year 1869, the highest rent paid per acre was $210. The Earl of Essex gives the increased value of land from the use of sewage at $12 per acre. The Sewage Company of the town of Worthing received in the year 1869 $9,000, and paid out $5,050; profit on the use of sewage $4,000. This farm consists of 96 acres, of which 83 received the sewage of 7,600 people, or a daily volume of 480,000 gallons, of which 130,000 gallons are spring or surface water. The net profit in this case is 50 cents per head. The experiment at Norwood, conducted by the Croydon Board of Health, gave a revenue of about 90 cents per head. At Aldershot farm, the revenue was 80 cents a head. The sewage of Woking invalid prison was applied to an exceedingly porous sand, and raised it from no value to $150 an acre for cow feeding. The Lodge Farm at Barking returns $1 25 per head for each individual supplying the sewage. The largest yield following the use of this mauure is 33 tons of green grass, equal to at least 7 tons of hay per acre. The grass value of the milk from the increased produce of each thousand tons of sewage was between $25 and $30.

Our space forbids further illustration. We cannot too earnestly commend Mr. Corfield's report to every city and town government in the United States. We have seen that New York annually throws into the ocean three millions of dollars which, spread over the sandy soil of New Jersey, would produce crops too great to be calculated. The city of Worcester is just completing a system of sewers to pour into a river the wealth of that town, which, distributed over 50 acres of land, would in a few years enrich the corporation and actually reduce the taxes. Other instances of this kind might readily be cited, but none, so far as we know, of the sanitary economy concerning which this book supplies all the necessary information.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1871.

The Week.

We have seen in two or three cases remarks upon our promising no 'new features' and offering no 'inducements' to subscribers for the coming year, after the example of many of our contemporaries. The explanation is that after careful observation of several other papers which do promise 'new features,' we have been pained by the strikingly close resemblance which the numbers of each year bear to those of the preceding year, and have come to the conclusion that, if it was not for the name of the thing, a paper is just about as valuable without 'new features' as with them. Anybody who has subscribed to any leading periodical for a long time must confess with sorrow that he has rarely found that the high hopes excited in his palpitating breast by a perusal of the January prospectus have lasted beyond February, and that, year in and year out, the mental sustenance he got from it was about the same. We consequently have reached the conclusion that, without casting any reflection on anybody else, we, for our part, celebrate the New Year most becomingly and profitably by promising nothing new. We have no undiscovered genius in reserve; our hatred of evil, and our love of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good were, to the best of our knowledge and belief, about as strong on the 1st of January as they were in September and October, and our determination to administer telling stabs to the Man of Sin, the Man of Sedan, and the Greatest Criminal of the Age, whoever he may be, we can assure our readers is independent of the weather. No virtuous glow comes over us about the time that subscriptions expire, nor does our zeal wax cold after the holidays. Satan would find himself just as uncomfortable on our premises in April as in December, as he well knows.

The great Motley mystery has at last been revealed in the publication of a dense mass of correspondence between Mr. Motley and Mr. Fish relating to the removal and its causes. The facts of the case seem to be that Mr. Motley, before going to England, prepared a 'Memoir' on the *Alabama* question, which reproduced in substance Mr. Sumner's speech at the rejection of the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty, and followed implicitly that gentleman's lead as to the nature of the wrong done to the United States. This Memoir was presented to Mr. Fish, who returned it to the writer, according to both parties, without any expression of dissent, but also without any expression of approval, and with an intimation that the discussion of the *Alabama* affair had better be suspended till the passions roused by the Sumner speech had had time to cool. This was sufficient to indicate that Mr. Motley's views did not meet with approval at the State Department, and if he had retained any doubts on the subject, they should have been removed by his instructions, which repudiated Mr. Sumner's theory about belligerency, and confined the American complaint strictly to the British breaches of neutrality committed after the Queen's proclamation, and towards which the proclamation, in so far as it was premature, stood in the relation not of cause but of evidence of animus. Mr. Motley, however, though refraining as directed from opening the negotiations, had a conversation with Lord Clarendon, in which he not only brought up the belligerency question, but spoke of it as 'the fountain-head of the subsequent disasters of the American people' and of 'a long series of misdeeds,' and assumed a minatory tone towards England, by talking of the 'grave responsibility she assumed in issuing it,' and making use of strong expressions with regard to American feeling, such as 'rankle,' 'fester,' 'wounds,' and so on, in all of which, according to Mr. Fish, he departed from the spirit of his instructions, and followed the spirit of the 'Memoir,' which, again, was inspired by Mr. Sumner's speech. When his report of this reached America, the President was greatly dissatisfied, and he was directed to tell Lord Clarendon that his talk had not been altogether in accordance with the President's instructions, which he did.

Mr. Motley refused to resign when called on because he had never received any intimation that his course had been unsatisfactory to the Administration, and because resignation, in compliance with a peremptory demand, would under these circumstances be equivalent, he thought, to an acknowledgment of shortcoming. On this point, the misunderstanding is very curious. Mr. Fish says he forbore criticising Mr. Motley's official conduct as they went along out of regard for his feelings and respect for his high literary standing, and evidently supposed that various little things would be taken by Mr. Motley for snubs which Mr. Motley evidently never noticed. He was apparently quite unconscious that he had gone beyond his instructions in his interview with Lord Clarendon, or that his being directed to correct himself to Lord Clarendon contained an implied rebuke; or that his failure to report his formal submission of his report of the conversation to Lord Clarendon was a grave breach of duty, and accounted for the absence of friendliness in the tone of Mr. Fish's reply. What with Mr. Fish's over-delicacy, and Mr. Motley's want of perspicacity, the final blow came like a thunder-clap. The peremptoriness of the request that Mr. Motley should resign, made in July, was due, Mr. Fish says, to anxiety to have his successor confirmed before the Senate adjourned. But what brought matters to a crisis was his submitting his report of the conversation to Lord Clarendon for verification before transmitting it, without telling his own Government that it had been so verified. This information he did not communicate till Mr. Fish had replied to the despatch, and, indeed, it did not reach Mr. Fish, who was absent from Washington, till October. But, as soon as it came to the President's knowledge, his removal was determined on, and his resignation asked for.

The controversy is conducted with dignity and moderation on both sides, and with considerable advantage for Mr. Fish, till he reaches the close of his despatch, where he loses temper over Mr. Motley's assertion that revenge for Mr. Sumner's hostility to the San Domingo treaty had something to do with his dismissal, and indulges in illustrations and sarcasms more worthy of the columns of our esteemed contemporary, the *Tom-tom*, than of a grave official paper. It is altogether a sorry and discreditable affair, and, though the correspondence reveals in Mr. Motley an absence of the temper and habit of mind necessary to the proper conduct of an international controversy, and especially one of a quasi-legal character, it certainly shows want of tact on the part of the Administration. No man of Mr. Motley's standing, or of any standing, filling his office, ought to be turned adrift at a week's notice without acquainting him in full with the causes of his dismissal. We are afraid the San Domingo quarrel will be seriously embittered by the light and depreciatory tone in which Mr. Fish speaks of Mr. Sumner's 'great speech'—we mean that on the *Alabama* claims.

The civil service got early attention on the reassembling of Congress on Wednesday week. We may, we suppose, credit Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, with a reformatory purpose rather than a regard for the revenue when he moved an enquiry of the Senate Committee on Finance as to the expediency of imposing stamp duties on every application, and every signature to an application, for office to the President or heads of departments. Mr. Trumbull's bill, to make it a penal offence for Congressmen to solicit, advise, or recommend the same officers to make appointments to office, was reintroduced, somewhat modified by his committee, and we should characterize the short debate that followed as hopeful. Mr. Sherman gave in his adhesion to the measure, while Mr. Morton, who has undoubtedly made some of the worst recommendations with which the President has been afflicted, declared it to be unconstitutional and false in principle, and that the Government could not be carried on without the present system.

The only other noteworthy proceedings in the Senate have been the passage of an amendment to the Funding Act, increasing

the 5 per cent. issue from two hundred to five hundred millions, which is simply child's play, and listening to documents from the Secretary of War touching Senator Sprague's alleged complicity with Texas cotton frauds during the war, and from Secretary Fish concerning Mr. Motley's recall. In the House, the Paraguayan difficulty has been debated with a result favorable to ex-Minister Washburn's part in it—a court of enquiry being ordered for Admirals Godon and Davis, whose conduct on the Plate River is censured. San Domingo came up on Wednesday, the 4th, Fernando Wood asking for information, which the House refused to follow the precedent of the Senate by allowing him. Gen. Butler, the next day, was permitted to call for certain venerable reports made concerning the island in Polk's and Pierce's administrations. On Monday, after numerous rebuffs, Judge Orth persuaded two-thirds of his colleagues to take up the Senate resolution, and on Tuesday it was carried with an amendment declaring Congress not thereby committed to annexation.

The January Treasury statement of the national debt, which had not yet appeared when we wrote last week, confirms everything we then said concerning the cash balance in the Treasury. It has risen from 125 millions, on December 1, to 138 millions in January, although over nine millions of the increase is due to a corresponding increase in the private coin deposits—a circumstance which we are, however, totally unable to account for by any known operations of the Treasury. After paying all its obligations maturing on the 1st instant, the Secretary will have over 50 millions in gold, and nearly 20 millions in currency, more than he has any intelligent use for, while in his published programme for the month he proposes to sell only his probable surplus of monthly receipts in coin, and to invest, besides the proceeds of these, only two additional millions of currency in the purchase of bonds. In other words, of his 70 millions of surplus, he proposes to employ two millions during the month of January! The reduction of the debt during December was small, a trifle over two millions. The balance of interest due the United States by the Pacific railroads is shown to be over six millions of dollars.

The new year has brought a rather improved tone into business. The export trade continues large and active, with some improvement in breadstuffs and meats, but with a further decline in cotton, which is now very near ante-war prices, having sold a trifle below fifteen cents a pound. Country trade is generally quiet, but in spite of further decline in many kinds of dry goods, dealers are more cheerful. Money has again returned to its normal figure of six to seven per cent., and on the Stock Exchange prices have been advancing, but the effect of the recent failures can scarcely be said to have exhausted itself, especially since each further detail seems to place them in a worse light. The failure of the two insurance companies is reviving the entire question of insurance management, and is likely to bring to light whatever is rotten. Gold continues unexpectedly steady, although the number of States, towns, and corporations that are paying the interest on their ante-war engagements in coin is steadily increasing. The apparent failure of the State of Alabama to pay the interest on its bonds lent to a railroad company has had a less damaging effect on Southern securities than was generally anticipated, but the management of the finances of some of the Southern States is discouraging in the extreme. The coal strike has now become very general, and coal has advanced somewhat, but less than the manipulators expected. Real estate is dull, but with less pressure to sell than was looked for about this time.

An event apparently unimportant, yet possibly of wide-reaching consequences, is the contract just concluded between the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the Central Pacific Railroad, by which the former agree to abandon their line of steamers between San Francisco and Panama, and to put additional vessels on the route from San Francisco to China and Japan, virtually converting the Steamship Company into a continuation of our Pacific railroads, and forcing the freight and passenger traffic of the East to come across the continent, instead of going around it. The Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company are at the same time constructing vessels for a transatlantic line of steamers to connect with their railroad, and the Baltimore and Ohio road are contracting in Glasgow for English-built vessels for the same purpose. The expanding power and influence of these great railroad corporations appears to know no limit; they are not satisfied with the control of the land, they now seek the control of the sea as well. In the meantime, the same aggressive, expansive tendency is visible in other financial quarters. American bankers are everywhere competing with old-established English firms for the money business of the world, and so remarkable has been the increase in the number of American banking-houses in London that the owner of a new bank-building in Lombard Street, London, has thought it worth his while to advertise his 'Offices to Let' in the New York daily papers.

The Chicago *Tribune*, while warmly endorsing some recent remarks of ours on the subject of land-grants, takes exception to what it calls 'some serious errors' in our statement of facts relating thereto. If we had been in error we might be excusable, for no harder task is ever performed by the journalist than that of extracting the grain of important fact from the bushel of irrelevant detail and opinion, which constitute the bulk of our official reports. To this the Land Office Report is no exception. We have searched it vainly for a precise statement of the 'total area of the United States,' which we gave at about 2,200,000,000 acres, and which the Chicago *Tribune* thinks we overestimated by several hundreds of millions of acres. After considerable labor, we ascertain the total area of the United States to be 2,290,170,880 acres, or nearly one hundred million more than our figures. The figures of the public domain were likewise given by us correctly as 1,820,000,000 acres (in precise figures, 1,834,998,400 acres), which constitute the subject-matter of the 'public land problem.' The context clearly showed that we referred to the past as well as the present. Of the 2,290,000,000 acres which constitute the total area of the United States, about 400,000,000 had passed into private ownership before the establishment of the Land Office. The remaining 1,800,000,000 and more formed the public domain which we stated had been in process of gradual settlement ever since. Of these 1,800,000,000, about 400,000,000 have been thus gradually settled, or at least have passed out of the control of the Government, in addition to the 400,000,000 which the Government, as such, never owned. Perhaps our words admitted of the construction that the whole 1,800,000,000 acres remained *to-day* in the possession of the nation at large, which would, of course, be incorrect. The precise facts are: The total area of the United States is 2,290,000,000 acres. Of these, 455,000,000 acres had passed into the ownership of States, corporations, or individuals before the establishment of the Land Office, leaving 1,835,000,000 acres at the disposal of the nation at large. Of these latter, 439,000,000 acres have been disposed of at various times up to November 1, 1869, the date of the last published official report, and 1,396,000,000 remained then to be disposed of, including in the latter the amounts granted to railroads, but not yet received. We repeat these figures for the benefit of readers who may, like the Chicago *Tribune*, have put upon our words a misconstruction to which they were no doubt liable. But the figures can in no way affect the force of the argument.

We asserted last week on excellent authority that the manager of the meeting for the celebration of the union of Italy had been unable to get any politicians of note to attend it. The committee since inform the *Evening Post* that they have got favorable replies from some politicians of note, but do not say how many. We suspect they are very few in number, and have come in since we received our information. We now suggest that the committee publish the list of persons whom they invited to attend the meeting, and append the replies, or otherwise indicate the result of the invitation. It would be both interesting, instructive, and refreshing. A politician driven shivering to the wall, and forced to confess that he had no convictions, and had long lost the art of forming them, or the courage to utter them if he had them, is and will always be a delightful spectacle, and its attractions are heightened when the poor creature, though bred a Presbyterian, or Congrega-

tionalist, or Baptist, is detected trying to persuade Irishmen that he feels sorry for the Pope and the Temporal Power. Schuyler Colfax has relieved himself of all imputation arising out of this matter by writing a very sensible letter, expressing warm sympathy with the Italian cause.

Confinement in the state prison in some parts of the country is rapidly ceasing to constitute a stain on a man's character, and becoming simply 'an experience,' like another. Few persons are without some congenital peculiarity which will account for their presence in that institution without burdening them with much responsibility. In other words, we are gradually shifting the guilt of our robberies, and murders, and frauds, and adulteries on our ancestors, which, as it does not hurt our ancestors, and saves us a good deal of annoyance and inconvenience, is an excellent arrangement. The most remarkable illustration of the growing respectability of the penitentiary as a place of residence has just been furnished by a biographical account, appearing in various papers, of an aged scoundrel, named Ruloff, now on trial for robbery and murder, at Binghamton, in this State. He had previously killed his wife and child, but escaped hanging for that owing to his successful concealment of the *corpora delicti*. His life has, however, been one of continuous crime, and he has worn half-a-dozen aliases. He passed most of his time from 1856 to 1859 in Ithaca jail, where, says the *Tribune*, he occupied himself 'in studying criminal law and in teaching the languages. He received students in jail, and at times would have a number of young men and even young ladies reciting to him.' The jailer seems to have committed to him the education of his son, a young man who repaid his instructions by assisting his preceptor to break jail, which he did successfully, but was recaptured a year or two later.

The bombardment of the forts on the east of Paris has been continued, after the reduction of Fort Avron, steadily and effectively, as the reports from the Prussian camps say, but hardly without intermission. The fall of Fort Avron, coupled with the continued attacks of the Germans, gave rise to intense excitement in the besieged city, and to clamors for a sortie on a grander scale than heretofore made. Trochu, who was charged with weakness, answered in a proclamation, in which he deprecated the efforts made by his assailants to destroy the harmony to which Paris owed her prolonged resistance, and promised that the army, which needed rest, but was preparing to act, would do its duty. A council of war subsequently adopted measures for the consolidation of the National and Mobile Guards with the regular army for a 'more vigorous defence of the city,' which were immediately to be carried into effect. The besiegers in the meanwhile not only kept up a 'most violent bombardment,' as Trochu designated it, from the east, to which only Fort Nogent was able effectively to reply, but on Thursday, Jan. 5, also opened a heavy fire against the southern forts, Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge, as well as on the entrenchments at Villejuif, further east, and on the gunboats in the Seine. This bombardment was energetically continued on the following days, and 'was proceeding favorably' on the 8th, according to King William. The barracks in Fort Vanves were then on fire. A crisis was evidently approaching.

In the North, considerable engagements took place, on the 2d and 3d, between the armies of Faidherbe and Manteuffel, near Bapaume, south of Arras. The French had the offensive, and, after the first day's fighting, Faidherbe telegraphed to the Government at Bordeaux that he had 'driven the Prussians from all the positions and villages occupied by them,' with 'enormous loss,' his own being 'serious.' On his part, Manteuffel reported a repulse, on that day, of the enemy, 'with small Prussian loss and a heavy loss to the French.' On the 3d, Faidherbe renewed the attack, which, after an obstinate contest, General von Goeben, the commander of the Prussian Eighth Corps, 'victoriously repelled,' according to the German official despatch, forcing the enemy to 'a retreat which soon became disastrous.' The French general, however, though actually retreating towards Arras, took a different view of the affair, telling his soldiers, in an order of the day, that [they 'had well deserved of the country,' and that even the enemy could this time not deny them victory—on which point, as we have seen, he was decidedly mistaken. On the other hand, his pursuit by the Prussians does not seem to have been vigorous. On the same day, the 3d, General Bentheim, commander of the First Corps, forming the western division of Manteuffel's army, and operating on the Lower Seine, defeated a French force on the left bank of that river, driving it beyond Bourgachard. This place, however, as well as Bourgtheroude, the French claim to have reoccupied a few days later, after a victory by General Roy, to which German reports make no allusion. At the opposite extremity of the northern theatre of war, the Prussians have captured Rocroy.

Concerning military operations in the West and East, our information is more scanty than ever. Bordeaux despatches for a number of days gave us vague news of successes achieved by General Chanzy's flying columns, and exaggerated accounts of his forces, and finally a more detailed account of a victory won, after some disadvantages, near St. Arnoult and Montoire, in the valley of the Loir (a river which most of our papers continue to ignore, transferring the operations to the better-known Loire, just as they obstinately cling to the erroneously accepted name Chauzy). In consequence of this action, the Germans were said to have fallen back on Vendôme. These reports, however, are contradicted, or at least made insignificant, by later despatches from German sources, which announce the steady and 'victorious' advance of the forces under Prince Frederic Charles and the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg towards Le Mans, and the occupation of Montoire, Sargé, Savigny, La Chartre, and St. Calais, by the former, and of Nogent-le-Rotrou by the latter. A separate force, belonging to Frederic Charles's army, seems to be looking after Bourbaki—about whose advance eastward we continue to receive mysterious hints—as we hear of some fighting near Briare, on the Loire, above Gien. In the East, in spite of Bourbaki's threatening movements, General von Werder seems to have resumed the offensive, but the report that his troops have 'reoccupied Auxonne,' on the Saône, between Dôle and Dijon, can hardly be correct, if there be any truth in the statement accompanying it that 'there are forty thousand French near Rioz,' between Vesoul and Besançon. The siege of Belfort continues uninterrupted.

Contrary to the Cable announcement, which we reproduced last week, of the declaration of Roumanian independence by Prince Charles, we now hear—and this is in itself much more likely to be correct—that 'the Roumanian Government has assured the Sublime Porte of its fidelity to the Treaty of 1856.' This simplifies the Eastern question, the speedy treatment of which by a conference to be held at London is again looked for with lively interest. Jules Favre's going or not going to attend that conference is a matter much talked about in contradictory reports from various quarters. We also hear of the unwillingness on the part of Prussia to support the demand of Austria for a fresh guaranty—against Russia—for the security of the navigation of the Lower Danube. Notwithstanding this, the Austrian Chancellor, Count Beust, in answer to a notification by his Prussian rival of the restoration of the German Empire, expresses in strong terms his satisfaction with that 'act of historical significance and paramount importance.' The sincerity of his words, however, in spite of what Austria has gained in real strength and cohesiveness by her compulsory separation, in 1866, from Germany, may be doubted, especially when he adds that 'the glorious history of the Hapsburgs, as linked with the history of Germany, will be remembered by the Emperor only with feelings of the warmest sympathy'—which is saying too much for the generosity of Francis Joseph. In opposition to the demands and intrigues of Russia, Count Beust displays a more decidedly frank and manly policy, which is quite distasteful to the Czechs and Slovens, who, emboldened by Gortchakoff's late moves, so threatening to Austria, have tried to intimidate the Chancellor into compliance with their demands by half-traitorous demonstrations in favor of Panslavism.

THE FRENCH RESISTANCE.

PARIS was not generally expected to hold out more than two months; it has held out four, and may hold out another. The reverses of the French army in August and September were so tremendous as to seem irretrievable. People supposed, and not unnaturally, that any people capable of upholding and obeying the set of soldiers and statesmen whom Bismarck carried off captive at Sedan, could hardly have any recuperative energy, and that once down they would stay down. Nevertheless, since then a force of six or seven hundred thousand men has been organized and armed. To have raised and disciplined such a force so as to enable it to stand long enough in the field for the enemy to get near it, is no mean exploit. To have done it, as it has been done, in the absence of all enthusiasm or initiative or habit of self-dependence on the part of the people, makes it all the more creditable still. Indeed, considering the condition in which the surrender at Sedan and the revolution in Paris left France, it would be hard to find a match for it in history. It is not at all unnatural that the sight of these unlooked-for displays of vigor should rouse more or less sympathy amongst those who, though they have no liking for Prussia, were so appalled by the revelation made by the war of the meanness and rottenness of the system under which France had sat contentedly for eighteen years, that they had nearly come to the conclusion that she did not even deserve pity. There is in human nature, generally, a laudable and irresistible disposition to side with the weaker party in every contest, and in addition to this there is in Anglo-Saxon human nature a kind of savage gratitude to anybody, be it dog, cock, pugilist, or nation, who, though badly beaten, and with nothing to hope from fighting on, shows spectators good sport by refusing to give in. The French are appealing both to the higher and the lower feeling. They are horribly unfortunate, and yet they are by sheer persistence bringing back to the war the interest of its first stage, and making the issue appear still a little uncertain. The consequence is, that a great number of people, both here and in England, who gave them up as lost last September, are now to be found not only praising them highly, but predicting their ultimate success.

There is, as it seems to us, no ground for anticipating anything of the kind; and in reading the elaborate prophecies of what France will do which are now appearing in the columns of some of our contemporaries, we are irresistibly reminded of the attempts which were made to bolster up the Southern cause in the last year of the rebellion, and the influence of which on persons engaged in the cotton trade caused such widespread ruin in 1865. Not only do we hear the most extraordinary stories of French resources, as regards men and the *materiel* of war, but we are gravely told to look for the display of a dourness, desperation, and tenacity, on the part of Frenchmen, such as not only they have never displayed, but no people similarly situated has ever displayed. The illusion—for such we cannot help calling it—has gone so far that even the London *Spectator* draws hope for France from the example of the Prussians under Frederick the Great in the Seven Years' War, and actually bids us expect, from the property-loving, ease-loving, unadventurous, materialistic, undisciplined, and unloyal Frenchmen of to-day, the desperate courage of the devout, grim, hardy, poor, enthusiastic, and devotedly loyal Prussians who stood round their hero-king in that wonderful struggle a century ago.

Let us look the facts in the face. The occupation of the whole Prussian force with the two great sieges of Paris and Metz may be said to have given the French Government complete freedom, during the months of September, October, and November, to call out, arm, and organize fresh levies; and that, owing to their command of the sea, they have done this with success, there is no denying. But it must be remembered that if the calculations made in 1867–8 by the Minister of War, when bringing in the bill for the reorganization of the army, were correct, the whole fighting population of France is now under arms. It was then declared, and by those who were anxious to make the most of her resources, that the new organization would sweep into the line the reserves and national guard (mobile and sédentaire), 1,200,000 men. Anybody who knows anything whatever about military organization, however, knows that the estimates on paper are never reached in practice, and that when it is said that a country can put 1,200,000 men under arms, what is really meant is that she can, perhaps, bring 1,000,000 into the field. Now France has had since the beginning of the present war over 350,000 men taken prisoners, and sent to Germany. She has had, on a very moderate calculation, 150,000 killed and wounded. If we say that altogether 200,000 Frenchmen of the fighting age have since the 1st of August been consigned to their graves or are now in hospital, we shall certainly be under the mark. So here we have at one blow 550,000 of the million *hors de combat*. Allowing 200,000, most probably an exaggeration, for the Army of the Loire or for the First and Second Armies into which it has been divided, we leave 250,000 for the garrison of Paris and for the forces in the North and East. We will, however, make the garrison of Paris 300,000, and give Faidherbe and the other generals 100,000, which will make the total French force 600,000. It must be remembered, however, in judging of the effectiveness of this force, that it is largely composed of very young men and men past their prime, totally undisciplined, unused to hardships, and unfamiliar with the work of taking care of themselves in the field; and that its officers have no more experience than the privates, and that the French commissariat, never very good, is now in a state of complete disorganization; and that French soldiers bear reverses badly, and, according to the almost unanimous testimony of those who have seen them in the field, suffer physically in an extraordinary degree from mental depression. Any one who considers these things can hardly help feeling a good deal astonished by the calm assurance of writers who tell us that France has 2,800,000 fighting-men to draw on, while Germany has her last man in the field; and who talk of the melting away of the Prussian hosts under the influence of the hardships and casualties of the campaign, as if it was only the Prussians who were melting away, and as if trained soldiers, under good officers, in an army which carries efficiency in every department to the verge of pedantry, was at all likely to lose as heavily from the ordinary campaign hardships as raw levies, however enthusiastic. We may take it for granted that for one German who succumbs to the cold and fatigue two Frenchmen do so. We must bear in mind, too, that Germany is drawing her supplies of men from a population as large as that of France, and that supposing her to have lost man for man from casualties and disease, France has lost through surrenders about 400,000 men more than Germany has done. That is a large army, and one-third at least of her total fighting force, so that, supposing the determination of the two parties to be equal, and their powers of endurance to be equal, and their capacity for destruction to be equal, Germany has still an enormous advantage over France. That the Germans are operating in an enemy's country is constantly spoken of as a disadvantage, and so it is. But then it is, on another side, a great advantage. It leaves their lines of communication in danger, but it enables them to draw a large proportion of their supplies from French soil, and by disorganizing French society and industry, and breaking up French highways, it greatly increases the difficulties of the French resistance. Germany is doubtless suffering dreadfully from the war, but not in the same way, or in the same degree, as France. The male population of Germany is being slowly and remorselessly drawn into the field, and so is that of France; but the devastation of the war, properly so called, falls on France only.

People who are flattering themselves with the notion that because Prince Frederic Charles has given up pursuing the Army of the Loire,* and because Werder has fallen back from Dijon, the German resources must be failing, and the position of the army becoming critical, must have forgotten what the problem is which the Germans have to solve. Their main object is now, and has been since September last, the capture of Paris, and this for two reasons: first, because it is the enemy's capital, the seat of his government, and, in a peculiar degree, the centre of his political system; and secondly, because it is a great fortress, and contains over 300,000 men, or, in other words, over one-half the remaining French army, and enormous quantities of munitions and artillery. An operation which aims at the seizure of the capital and

* News has since come that he is continuing the pursuit.

the destruction of the force by one and the same stroke, is an operation of the first magnitude. Everything else is subsidiary to it. Therefore, the work of the Germans has, during the last four months, been the siege of Paris. Whatever force they can spare from the immediate work of keeping Trochu shut up, is employed, not in overrunning the country, as some people seem to imagine—a futile and disastrous undertaking at midwinter—but in preventing interference with the besieging force from the outside. This they have very successfully and very easily done thus far; this, it is quite plain, they will do without much difficulty to the end. The late operations of the French have been mainly interesting as exhibitions of the national capacity; their influence on the progress of the war has been very slight indeed.

Ample justice has been done on all sides to the constancy and pluck of the members of the Provisional Government, and especially to that of Gambetta, who appears to have entire charge of the conduct of the war outside Paris. But those who are disposed to forgive this gentleman and his colleagues everything in consideration of the energy they have shown in raising and arming troops, would do well to read the rebuke administered to them in the late letter of M. Guizot, translated in *Macmillan's Magazine*, and which is none the less severe for being sugared over with compliments to their honesty and patriotism. The substance of what he says is this, and every careful observer will heartily concur with him: that it is not possible to bring the full force of a nation into play for military purposes, unless through an assembly of its representatives; that a representative government necessary at all times, is doubly necessary in time of war; that to dispense with such an assembly, and go on raising troops, borrowing money, and keeping the whole male population of the fighting age under arms, is a responsibility which no man, or six or twelve men, have any right to assume; that its assumption by M. Gambetta is neither more nor less than a usurpation, particularly as—M. Guizot might have added—he derives his authority wholly and solely from a *coup d'état* performed on a regularly constituted legislature by a mob rushing in from the street; and that the very readiness with which he is obeyed by the armies and the country, which some people think so very fine, is a most deplorable sign of the disposition of the French to rely, in all scrapes and perplexities, on the 'one man power'—a disposition which has been their political ruin thus far, and which M. Gambetta is doing everything he can to foster. We may add, as an expression of our own opinion, that a worse offence against the principle of popular sovereignty—which this Provisional Government professes to have at heart—has never been committed than its persistent neglect and refusal to call together a national assembly, no matter how small, or in what nook or corner it meets; and it is aggravated by the unblushing avowal which Louis Blanc has made, that the reason of the refusal is the fear that, if such an assembly met, it would not set up a republic. We may go further, and say that a greater crime than this same Gambetta is committing in taking on his shoulders the sole responsibility, without counsellors, and without regular communication with his colleagues in Paris, of continuing a bloody and disastrous war, and of offering the unfortunate French people, already far too familiar with the processes of despotism, no alternative but unconditional surrender, or continued resistance under the orders of a self-appointed dictator, no French politician, except Louis Napoleon, has been guilty of. The admiration his performances meet with, too, from some Americans and Englishmen, is but one degree removed from the glorifications which another set of Americans and Englishmen bestowed in the days of his glory on 'the Man of Sedan.' Gambetta, like Bonaparte, is trying 'to save France,' out of his own head, and in his own way; but France can never be saved but by herself; and France only speaks and acts, and can only speak or act, through a regularly elected representative assembly.

A NOVEL SCHEME FOR SECURING RAILROAD COMPETITION.

A NOVEL method of creating a competition among railroads is something the suggestion of which, at this late day, is calculated to excite surprise. The Board of Railroad Commissioners of Massachusetts have, however, undertaken to do it, and the development of their plan constitutes the essential feature in their report for the year 1871. Not only have they undertaken the task, but they have fortified themselves in their attempt by a formidable array both of facts and statistics, drawn from practical experience elsewhere.

The curious results produced by what is called competition in transportation by rail have frequently been discussed in the columns of the *Nation*. Year by year, this system is working its way out to its logical conclusion, which is now becoming alarmingly apparent. A few weeks ago, representatives of three of the great trunk thoroughfares between the West and the East met in conclave and concluded a solemn treaty. The war of rates was to cease; competition was to be an indiscretion of the past, and combination was established as the law of the future. The several corporations were not, indeed, to 'pool' their profits, and so merge themselves into one closely cemented monopoly. This final lesson of experience was reserved for a not very remote future; for the present they simply swore a peace, sure, before long, to vanish in a new war. Meanwhile, what was this very competition thus brought to a close? How far did it extend? What are, indeed, the limits of any competition between private railroad corporations? This subject, even yet, is little understood, and there is a species of cant about it which the experience of years seems unable to dissipate. A real and healthy competition, under an active law of supply and demand, is one which permeates the whole community, and the advantages of which are participated in by all persons and in all places. It does not create an unnatural fulness in one locality, to be balanced by a corresponding dearth in another; it does not give control of the markets of the world to the residents in one section of the same country, and surrender those of another wholly to the mercies of a monopoly; it does not produce wild fluctuations, running perhaps through hundreds per cent., subject to no law, and brought about without notice; it does not admit of conventions and combinations, and 'poolings of profits;' it does not defy all calculation, and, in the twinkling of an eye, transform the feast of to-day into the famine of the morrow. All these rapid changes and strong contrasts are, however, produced by what is miscalled the competition of railways.

The reason of all this is obvious—it is equally obvious that the difficulty is one inherent in the system. There are two insuperable obstacles placed by the nature of things in the way of a full and healthy operation of the laws of supply and demand on any system of transportation by rail carried on through the medium of private corporations. In the first place, the number of these corporations cannot but be very limited—so limited, indeed, that combination is always perfectly practicable. In the second place, competition is necessarily confined to competing points. The first of these limitations has been so much dwelt upon of late, that it may now be considered as fairly established in the popular mind. The second is rapidly working itself into general acceptance. Every one at all interested in railroad investments is perfectly familiar with the suspicion with which capitalists regard every road which makes a great display of heavy receipts from through business. Competition, experience has taught them, eats up all their profits—the more they do, not seldom the poorer they become. It is the local business which makes dividends certain, and it does so because the local business is not subject to competition. In plain English, it is a sure monopoly. Competition is thus at best confined to points where railroads converge; and throughout the country, irrespective of population, not one place in twenty on our railroads is a point of convergence, and, consequently, not one point in twenty enjoys any competition, or experiences, except in some remote degree, the operation of those laws of supply and demand to which we have been contented to leave all regulation of our railroad system. The community now, therefore, as the result of thirty years of experience, finds itself placed in this position—nineteen points, perhaps, out of every twenty on our railroads are wholly at the mercy of close monopolies; each twentieth point enjoys the advantages of such effects of a law of supply and demand as may be evolved out of fierce competition alternating with strict combination.

Such is the condition of affairs with which apparently the course of their investigations brought the Massachusetts Commissioners face to face. The way in which they have met the difficulty is worthy of notice. They say in their report that it is true competition has failed, but they argue that as yet the failure is limited to competition between

private corporations. It therefore remains to be seen if the same result would ensue were competition to be established between private and public corporations. In other words, they shift the essential element of competition—they would no longer seek it in a multiplication of competing roads in private hands, but they would find it in establishing a mixed ownership of the roads already existing. Or, stated in yet another way, they seek to break the power of combination by introducing into the system an element which will not combine. The idea of working out the problem in this way is, they acknowledge, in no respect new with them; they only seek to introduce it into America. They refer to the experience of Belgium, where such a mixed system of ownership has existed even from the beginning. In 1864, it appears that there were in that country 1,247 miles of railroad; of this amount 347 miles had been built, and had from the first been owned and operated, by the Government; 117 miles more, constructed by private parties, had been leased and were operated on the same footing as the public roads; all of the remainder, 780 miles, or nearly two-thirds of the whole, were the property of private corporations, and operated solely for their benefit. In regard to the practical working of this system, they produce the testimony of one certainly most competent to judge, M. Fessiaux, the Belgian Minister of Posts, Telegraphs, and Railways. In a statement submitted to the Royal Commission on Railways of 1866, this official declared 'the state railways thus (through a mixed system of ownership) find themselves placed in constant comparison with the railways worked by private companies; on the one hand stimulating them to general improvements, and on the other hand acting as a sort of check against any attempt to realize extravagant profits at the cost of the public.' And these results, the commissioners naturally intimate, are exactly those which they wish to see produced in Massachusetts, and which competition ought, but has hitherto lamentably failed to produce.

Though they carefully avoid all expression of opinion on the subject, it is sufficiently apparent that the Massachusetts Commissioners, however it may have resulted in Belgium, have no very implicit confidence in the results of any general ownership of railroads by the State, under our system of government. They very distinctly limit themselves at present to a proposal to temper, as it were, a general rule of ownership by private corporations by a very limited infusion of public management. They therefore now propose the purchase by the State of the railroad between Boston and Fitchburg, with a view to its management, not by the Government, they are careful to say, but by a board of trustees, to be selected by the Legislature from the community at large. The road, it seems, is only about fifty miles long, but it lies wholly within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and is so placed among the other roads of the State as to hold a commanding position—competing, in fact, in every direction. This road, the commissioners, it would seem, rather desire to convert into a standing menace upon all the other corporations of the commonwealth, directly influencing them through it; creating, in fact, an inevitable competition between two systems of management, public and private, the continuation of each of which will depend on its not allowing the other to surpass it in the accommodation furnished to the public. The tenure of official life would, in fact, be simply during good behavior.

Of course, it is a wholly open question whether that which has been successful in Belgium would be successful in Massachusetts. It certainly would not be successful in New York. Such a snug nest for the hungry disciples of our numerous 'rings' could hardly long be kept from partisan control; soon or late, and probably very soon, it would share the fate of Central Park. Massachusetts enjoys a somewhat purer political atmosphere, and it might, by a mighty effort of ingenuity, so hedge about the direction of this road that the well-nigh ubiquitous 'man inside politics' could not effect a lodgment in it. The commissioners by no means ignore the danger from this quarter, and very distinctly give it as their opinion that the whole results of the experiment depend on avoiding it. Whether it is possible to do so or not remains to be seen. If it is possible, then there is no reason why the material results which have flowed from this form of competition in Belgium should not reproduce themselves in Massachusetts. Should they do so, the effects on the industrial development of that State would be incalculable—its rate of increase would more than double. In any case, a new principle of railroad competition has been suggested, and certainly it has not been suggested before the need for it was felt.

THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE.

The empire which was destroyed by the conquering sword of Napoleon I. has been resuscitated by the folly of Napoleon III. In 1806, Francis II., yielding to facts too patent to be ignored, laid down the Roman Imperial crown which, some eight hundred and forty years before, Otho I. permanently connected with the dignity of the King of Germany. Seven years of Napoleonic aggression and oppression followed, until the Corsican yoke was broken at Leipzig, and the oppressor driven beyond the Rhine. But Germany was not restored by the Congress of Vienna as an empire, but as a union of the loosest character. The German Kaiser had disappeared, and the Emperor of Austria was but a member of the Confederation, of which some of his largest possessions—Hungary, Galicia, and Lombardo-Venetia—formed no component parts. His constant rival in its leadership was the King of Prussia; and between the two, the minor kingdoms—Saxony and Hanover in the north, Bavaria and Würtemberg in the south—exerted themselves to hold the balance of power. In fact, however, Germany herself, as such, was powerless. The people yearned for real unity, but this yearning was considered criminal by their numerous and divided rulers. On one occasion, in 1849, unity came near being created by a revolutionary assembly. But Frederic William IV. refused to accept the crown of united Germany from the hands of the people, and the revolutionary movement expired. His brother and successor, King William, in 1866, cut with the sword the Frankfort knot, and on the fields of Bohemia conquered the right of proclaiming himself the head of a new Bund. This was founded in the following year, but embraced only the North of Germany. The loose ties which had connected the various sections of the German's fatherland were thus severed, and some believed this severance final. But Bismarck's skilful diplomacy had partially replaced them by secret alliances; the national feeling of the people was aroused; and what neither diplomacy nor common patriotism could rapidly achieve was consummated by the mad attack of Napoleon III. The blood spilt at Weissenburg and Wörth recemented the union of Germany, and to him who at Sedan trampled the Imperial crown of France into the dust, his peers of Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg offered the Kaiser's diadem, and, as it came from royal hands, it was accepted. On the First of January, 1871, the constitution of reconstructed Germany—of the German Empire, into which the North German Confederation has been expanded—went into active operation.

This reconstructed Empire, however, is far from being complete. First, it is not intended to embrace the German possessions of the House of Austria—Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Austria Proper, Salzburg, Tyrol, etc.—which belonged both to the Empire which expired in 1806 and to the Bund which was dissolved in 1866, and now form the Cis-Leithan division of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Secondly, it does not embrace Luxemburg and Limburg, possessions of the King of Holland, which equally belonged both to the former Empire and Bund. Thirdly, the King of Bavaria, the very prince who took the initiative in the movement for uniting Southwestern Germany with the Confederation of the North, and who was amply rewarded for his share in the work by exceptional and extravagant concessions on the part of Prussia, has failed to secure the ratification of his treaty with her by the lower branch of the legislature of his kingdom, which thus remains out of the Empire, at least until a dissolution of the Chamber and a new election procure the 'national' party the number of votes still wanting for the sanction. As now constituted, the German Empire embraces the following states: Prussia with all her territories—including the Provinces of East and West Prussia and Posen, which did not belong to the Bund of 1815–1866; Lauenburg, which she acquired in 1865; and her acquisitions of 1866—Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort, and Schleswig-Holstein; the kingdoms of Saxony and Würtemberg; the Grand-Duchies of Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Saxe-Weimar, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and Old-

enburg; the Duchies of Brunswick, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Anhalt; the Principalities of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Waldeck, Reuss of the older line, Reuss of the younger line, Schaumburg-Lippe, and Lippe-Detmold; and the Hanse towns, Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg. The population of the Bund comprises, in round numbers, 34,000,000, of whom 4,000,000 belong to the new associates of Prussia—Würtemberg (1,800,000), Baden, and Grand-Ducal Hesse (south of the Main). Of the 30,000,000 that formed the North German Confederation, 24,000,000 belong to Prussia (19,000,000 Prussians of 1865, and 5,000,000 inhabitants of the countries annexed in 1866), and 2,500,000 to the Kingdom of Saxony. The accession of Bavaria would add other 5,000,000.

The new Empire is, in fact, the Confederation founded by Prussia in 1867, expanded beyond the Main, its southern boundary, and slightly modified in its constitution, which is that of a government based on a mixture of national and federal principles, dictated by unavoidable compromises. From the former Imperial constitution the new essentially differs in the most important features. The former Emperor was the elective and generally powerless president of a loose union of more or less centrifugal states, some of which preponderated in turn, and each of which wielded a separate military power and followed a separate international policy. In the present Imperial union, Prussia is not only decidedly and vastly preponderating, and therefore naturally central and leading, but to her crown also belongs the executive presidency—that is, the Imperial dignity—by hereditary right; and this executive presidency is invested with prerogatives which, in international and military affairs, almost amount to exclusive rule. The Kaiser (the King of Prussia)—an irresponsible monarch without a responsible ministry—represents the Empire in all its international relations; is the commander-in-chief of all its armies and naval power; receives the oath of fidelity of the troops, and appoints their superior commanders; declares war—with the consent of the Federal (Imperial) Council, which limitation is one of the most important of Prussia's recent concessions; repels aggression—without authorization of the Council; makes peace; concludes treaties—which require ratification by the Reichstag only in cases belonging to its legislative sphere; manages or controls the common finances and customs, the posts and telegraphs (except in Würtemberg), and the military roads; convokes, opens, prorogues, and closes both branches of the common legislature—the Federal Council and the Reichstag; promulgates the Federal laws, and superintends their execution; and appoints the Federal Chancellor, who presides over the Council. In this, which consists of representatives of the state governments, and not of parliamentary districts, Prussia has 17 votes (out of 52)—the same number it had in the North German Confederation—against 4 each of Saxony and Würtemberg, 3 each of Baden and Hesse, 2 each of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick, and 1 each of all other members. Six additional votes were granted to Bavaria by the treaty which failed to be ratified.

The Reichstag—or Diet—which is the popular branch of the Federal legislature, consists of 334 members, whose number the accession of Bavaria would increase to 382—that is, one to each 100,000 of the population. They are chosen by universal suffrage, direct vote, and secret ballot, for a legislative period of three years. A dissolution of the Reichstag can be ordered by the Federal Council, with the consent of the executive. It has the initiative of legislation, and the right of address and interpellation. The laws it passes, however, must be sanctioned by a majority of the Federal Council. It elects its president and vice-presidents. Its deliberations are public. No member is responsible out of the Reichstag for words spoken in debate. The Federal legislative sphere embraces: the military and naval organization of the Empire; regulations concerning the common citizenship and settlement and colonization within and abroad; customs, commerce, banking, and Federal imposts; the regulation of weights and measures, coin and currency; patents, copyright, and public documents; Federal representation in foreign countries; the control of roads and water-courses essential for Federal military purposes; navigation on rivers common to various states; mails and telegraphs; penal law, civil procedure, and reciprocal execution of judgments; sanitary police; press and public meetings. The Federal control over the press and public meetings is a feature peculiar to the new constitution, in contradistinction to that of the North German Confederation, and one of those which are most distasteful to the liberal portions of the German people. In other points, the leading power has lost some of the influence it wielded under the late Confederation, as the number of votes it had in the Federal Council and the Reichstag remains the same now, while the general number of members has been increased by the representatives of Würtemberg, Baden, and South Hesse. The accession of Bavaria would still more diminish the relative preponderance of Prussia, and—if accepted on the terms lately granted—would also circumscribe the privileges of the Imperial commander-in-chief in relation to that kingdom. Of these modifications, however, we shall not speak before they take place. With them, or possibly before them, will also come the abrogation of the Zollverein, which is now almost entirely merged in the Empire.

ENGLAND.—THE WAR—THE STATE CHURCH.

LONDON, December 23, 1870.

ONCE more, as I look through the papers, I find an absolute dearth of all news that does not relate to the war. The only thing worth remark is the rapid growth of sympathy with France. The *Times* writes now more frequently on the French than the German side; for the *Times* has begun to doubt whether France may not possibly pull through. Yet the *Times*, and indeed the press at large, is still convinced that our one duty in regard to the war is to keep out of it. The only prominent exception is the little school of Positivist writers who are trying to stir us to a crusade on behalf of Paris—their new Jerusalem. If any of your readers would like to see a specimen of good hard-hitting controversy, they should look at a recent number of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in which Mr. Frederick Harrison—the most powerful of the Positivist prophets—attacks the clever writer 'W. R. G.' Those initials, as everybody knows, thinly veil the name of Mr. W. R. Greg, who has a singular talent for giving ingenious reasons for an untenable view of any question of which he treats. Mr. Greg, on the present occasion, had argued that the French should submit to the Prussian terms, because—of all reasons in the world—if they held out they would have a fair chance of baffling Bismarck's demands. That people who had been beaten in fair fight should defeat their conquerors by a protracted resistance shocked—so he put it—all his feelings of equity. Mr. Harrison, it must be admitted, had an unusually good chance for upsetting an antagonist who had assumed such a position; and he smote without sparing. As another specimen of good invective on the same topic, I may refer you to Mr. Harrison's article on Bismarckism in the December number of the *Fortnightly*. Mr. Harrison, however, charm he never so wisely, will, I suspect, find that the British public will turn a deaf ear to his voice until the time of possible action has passed. Whether they do well or ill, is a matter which I leave to your reflection.

And now, I turn once more from a topic which leads me beyond my proper sphere, and look about for another. From the Continental war to the prospects of the Church of England is rather a long stride; but certain law proceedings which have recently taken place seem to me to be so curious, that I shall venture to say a few words about them. Two prosecutions have been brought before the highest court of appeals—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—the object in each case being to expel one extreme party from the church. Mr. Mackonochie has been attacked for ritualism, and Mr. Voysey for rationalism. Mr. Mackonochie is in fact a close imitation of a Catholic priest; Mr. Voysey's tenets, in the eyes of the outside world, are quite indistinguishable from Unitarianism. The peculiar wisdom of the Church of England has been to hit off a judicious *via media*; but the latitude permitted on either side of that medial line is so enormous that it is almost impossible to see how the balance can be maintained. In illustration of this, I will give you a short summary of Mr. Voysey's argument, which has recently been published. I will attempt rather to give the pith of it than to follow precisely in his footsteps.

The Articles of the Church of England, says Mr. Voysey, deal in great part with matters altogether above human comprehension. The doctrines of the Trinity, of the atonement, of justification by faith, and so on confessedly deal with mysteries too high for us. The consequence is that the Articles include two sets of propositions, each of them intelligible when taken separately, but apparently contradictory when taken together. The doctrine of the Trinity, for example, may be interpreted as teaching either monotheism, or something indistinguishable to our human understandings from tritheism. The doctrine of the atonement implies that in some

incomprehensible sense the Father and Son must be considered as two distinct beings, and in some other incomprehensible sense as one being. Further, one set of propositions leads directly to the most blasphemous and degrading doctrines. The ordinary interpretation of the atonement, for example—the belief that the first person of the Trinity sentenced all human beings to hell-fire because their ancestor ate an apple, and that afterwards his wrath was pacified by punishing the innocent for the guilty—is altogether revolting and preposterous. The opposite set of propositions, on the other hand, inculcates an elevating neology, which I, Mr. Voysey, teach to the best of my ability, and which is flatly contradictory to the popular interpretation of the Creed. What, then, is the consequence? It is admitted that I may not contradict the Articles in terms; I may not take any distinct proposition and insert a 'not' between the subject and the predicate; for that is against the law. But so long as I avoid this error, I may say precisely what I please. For the Articles, dealing confessedly with matters above human comprehension, do not supply trustworthy premises for any inference whatever. If we once admit reasoning, we are landed in the most direct and unequivocal contradictions. Therefore, though I may not contradict the Article, I may contradict any interpretation put upon it, or any inference drawn from it. Using this liberty, I declare that the whole popular theology is demoralizing in the highest degree. I have denounced what are ordinarily taught as the doctrines of the atonement, of original sin, of the incarnation, and of the inspiration of the Bible. I maintain that I have a perfect legal right to do so, so long as I do not in terms contradict any statement in the Creed or Articles, and that I have scrupulously and carefully avoided.

As one specimen of Mr. Voysey's application of this ingenious theory, I may say that he argues that he has a perfect right to say, if he pleases, that the doctrine of Christ's incarnation takes its rise in the grossest unbelief. The Articles affirm, indeed, that the doctrine in question is true; but they do not say in so many words whether or not it takes its rise in unbelief. Thus the elaborate system of tests imposed by the legislature is thrown aside altogether as being nothing more than an unintelligible shibboleth; and the statements, for example, of the Athanasian Creed are of no more account than an assertion that a hocus-pocus is an abracadabra. You may not say that a hocus-pocus is not an abracadabra; but you may deny any interpretation whatever that anybody chooses to put upon those words. The whole network of propositions is relegated to some dim transcendental region, whence they can never be brought to bear upon any opinions of the concrete human intellect. So long as a clergyman does not deny the existence of God, there is scarcely any conceivable doctrine which he may not substantially put forward. Mr. Voysey will, of course, be turned out of his living, but he has only put into plain language a line of argument which the Broad Church party are constantly maintaining in practice.

It is, of course, an essential part of this doctrine that a clergyman's duties in regard to teaching are accurately measured by the law, and by nothing but the law. The tests which it imposes turn out to be illusory, and there is no other authority to which an appeal is possible. The position occupied by Mr. Mackonochie and his friends is precisely the reverse of this. They look upon the law as tyrannical, and the authority of the state as representing an unjustifiable usurpation. Their inference, however, is in one respect the same with that of Mr. Voysey; they do not, indeed, assert that the law is necessarily illusory, but they equally do their best to evade it; and when they are stopped, consider themselves as martyrs. It was decided, for example, that Mr. Mackonochie had no right to raise the sacramental wafer above his head. It was attempted to evade this, if I remember rightly, by raising the paten without raising the wafer, or by raising the wafer only to the level of his eyes instead of lifting it clear of his head. When some of these evasions failed to satisfy the lawyers, and Mr. Mackonochie was suspended for three months from his office, he took the airs of a Christian bishop who had been restrained from performing his duty by a Roman emperor. There is something so inexpressibly childish about the whole business that it is impossible to wade through the pages of solemn argument in which it is discussed, or to feel very much interest in the matter one way or another. We content ourselves for the most part in drawing two or three very simple inferences, which are summed up in the one conclusion, that the theory of a state church is rapidly breaking down. The most active, which is at the same time the most feeble-minded, party in the church is openly denouncing it. The able and amiable men, such as Dean Stanley, Mr. Maurice, and their friends, who really cling to it, are obliged to put upon it an interpretation more or less approximating to that of Mr. Voysey. That is to say, they advocate so wide a latitude of opinion that the purest deism might be preached side by side with doctrines indistinguishable from Romanism. Few people believe that such a system is practicable, or that a church can have any real vitality in which anybody can preach anything that he pleases. The Broad Church party themselves admit that something must be done to give more vigor to the institution; but they have hitherto failed to show how anything can be done short of removing altogether the control of the state. Meanwhile, the great practical scandal—though it may not be the most deeply rooted evil—which attracts public attention is the attempt of the clergy of almost every party to play fast and loose with words, and, after solemnly subscribing certain professions of faith and ostensibly undertaking to teach them, they proceed elaborately to show that they do and can mean nothing, or that they are tyrannical impositions of illegitimate authority. In one way or other we are growing sick of the incessant exhibition of intellectual dishonesty which seems to be the natural result of the present system. Mr. Voysey deserves a certain credit for openly avowing the system on which he proceeds; but his attempt to make out that his course is honorable, because it is aboveboard, will convince few people. Mr. Voysey is, indeed, personally an unmistakably honorable man; he has sacrificed his pecuniary interests by remaining as a hard-working and poorly paid curate, and avowing opinions which make professional advancement impossible. The more we see respecting his character, the more one regrets to see him driven to such quibbles; and the plain practical conclusion of simple-minded observers is that men who think the popular theology utterly demoralizing had better renounce the Articles which sanction it, instead of trying to evade them, and that men who consider state interference an unwarrantable tyranny had better leave a state church.

Correspondence.

THE LEE PEDIGREE.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In your issue of December 29, 1870, your correspondent, 'W. H. W.,' has labored most assiduously to overthrow the lineage of the Lees of Virginia, as given in my little work, 'The Lee Family,' and has endeavored to give them 'a valid claim to a more illustrious lineage.'

Your correspondent says: 'There can be hardly a doubt that Colonel Richard Lee, the emigrant to Virginia, was the seventh son of Sir Robert Lee, of Hulcott, and youngest brother of Sir Henry Lee, of Quarendon and Ditchly, Bart.' If there is 'hardly a doubt' of the fact, why not state his authority, and give us the full pedigree? The will of Richard Lee, which he partly quotes, and upon which he bases his suppositions, is hardly sufficient, since there is *another* Richard Lee, of the house of Litchfield, spoken of as emigrating to Virginia in 1641, just twenty-two years previous to the writing of this will. It is a pity that 'W. H. W.' has not taken 'only a little care in the identification' to make this part of the pedigree 'as satisfactory as could be desired.'

Your correspondent also gives *several* coats-of-arms for the family, but wisely adds: 'Either may be used by the descendants of Colonel Richard Lee, but that bearing the three crescents has been most used by the family in England.' Will 'W. H. W.' inform the Lees of Virginia which would be proper for *them?* Meanwhile, they await his decision with much anxiety.

If 'W. H. W.' will turn to the letter of William Lee, Esq., of Great Tower Hill, London (son of the celebrated President Thomas Lee, of Virginia), on page 51 of the 'Genealogical History of the Lee Family,' also his letter to Rev. Dr. Henry Lee, of Winchester College, England, of date 1771 (page 65), he will see that I have the authority of two of the most distinguished members of the family at that period, who state that the pioneer of the family to Virginia was of the house of 'Cotton,' or 'Coton,' in Shropshire. Also, on page 57, he will find from the inscription on the tomb of Richard Lee (the second), that he was a 'son of Richard Lee, gentleman, descended of an ancient family of Merton Regis, *Shropshire.*'

It is hardly to be supposed that the Lees of this generation will deny the authority of such eminent ancestry as William Lee, Dr. Arthur Lee, Richard Henry Lee, and Colonel Thomas Lee, and take up a new pedigree at this late day, brought forward by some Northern genealogist to flatter the pride of some distant cousin of the family. It is to be regretted that the old pedigree upon which the 'Genealogical History of the Lee Family' was based did not extend to a later period, and thereby settle this disputed question of the first Richard; but until there can be brought forward more

substantial evidence to the contrary, the family will continue to cling to their ancient crest of the squirrel, and motto '*Non incautus futuri*,' which they have borne for so many ages past.

Evidently 'W. H. W.' has found no 'scent' at all, and had better try again. With much respect, I am, sir, yours truly,

EDWARD C. MEAD.

KENWICK, ALBEMARLE CO., VIRGINIA, January 8, 1871.

THE THEORY OF FEDERAL APPOINTMENTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is, as I suppose, an unwritten but recognized article of our national Constitution that unfitness is always to be regarded as among the chief qualifications for office under the United States Government. Thus, who ever heard of enquiring into the specific adaptation of a cabinet officer to the duties of his department? How many of the secretaries of the Treasury since the time of Hamilton have known anything about political economy? There is in some quarters a strong suspicion that we owe at least a third part of our national debt to the utter ignorance of the fundamental principles of finance which presided over the Treasury Department at the beginning of the war. As for the navy, since the days of the Crowinshields, that department has not, I believe, in a single instance been under the supervision of a secretary who even professed conversance with ships or maritime affairs. One of the secretaries—a man excellent and eminent in his way—said to a commanding officer at one of our naval stations, 'Commodore, there is in the accounts at my office one frequent item which I do not understand. What is *oakum?*' One of our Presidents sent to an eminent statesman, now in a service for which, strange to say, he is admirably fitted, a commission as Attorney-General. The recipient replied that he could not accept the office, inasmuch as he had not had a legal education. By return of mail he received a commission as Secretary of the Navy, which he accepted, though his anterior training had fitted him as little for the one office as the other.

The most luculent confession of the doctrine under discussion which it has been my fortune to read may be found in one of the daily papers of this city, in the editorial discussion of the claims of our recently appointed Minister to England. I quote from memory, for I have not the paper at hand, but I am sure that I do not misrepresent the article: 'General Schenck lacks the urbanity and the self-possession of Mr. Adams, the learning and the social qualities of Mr. Motley, the geniality of Reverdy Johnson. He has in no degree or measure the mind or temper of a diplomatist. He is nothing but a plain, blunt, honest, successful general. Therefore, in the present delicate and difficult state of our relations with Great Britain, he is the man of all others to bring the negotiations which transcended the skill and wisdom of his predecessors to a successful issue.' Is this idiocy, or is it an exposition of the present phase of Republican doctrine?

P.

BOSTON, January 7, 1871.

THE SCOTCH LANGUAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the December number of *Blackwood's Magazine* there is an article upon the humor of the Scottish language, some points in which deserve particular notice. The article is rather a misnomer, consisting mainly of a list of Scotch words, for the most part untranslatable into English, with explanations and examples of use. Many, indeed the majority, of these words have nothing humorous about them, unless to be un-English be humorous.

The only valuable thing in the whole article is a solitary piece of verbal criticism. Most people who know 'Auld Lang Syne' have probably been puzzled to understand the line:

'And we'll tak' a right gude willie-waught.'

I have heard many a Scotchman ask: 'What is a *willie-waught?*' and I have never heard any satisfactory explanation of it. Our author says that, instead of 'gude willie-waught,' we ought to read 'gude-willie waught,' which, I venture to say, will be perfectly intelligible to every Scotchman who knows the language of his country. Our author evidently has not a speaking acquaintance with Scotch, and so considers the line to mean 'we'll drink with a right good will a deep or hearty *waught* or draught.' This is not the meaning. 'Gude-willie' means simply 'generous,' as 'ill-willie' means 'ungenerous.' 'A gude-will' often means 'an alms,' or a 'gratuity.' 'Gude-willie' is not in my copy of Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, but 'ill-willie' is, and is defined as, 1. Ill-natured, envious. 2. *Niggardly*. 3. Reluctant.

Our author's unacquaintance with Scotch as a spoken language is plainly shown by the number of words whose real signification he does not understand. The meanings he assigns will generally suit the context of his quotations, and yet they are often incorrect—a fact which ought to show us how careful we ought to be in setting aside traditional definitions of doubtful words occurring in dead languages, in favor of others seemingly better suited to the context. He seems to have been, in some cases, misled by Jamieson, whose dictionary—with all respect be it said—is sadly defective.

Carfuffle, we are told, means 'agitation of mind, perplexity.' It is true, the word does mean 'agitation of mind;' it never means 'perplexity.' The real meaning is 'confusion;' the verb 'to carfuffle' means 'to confuse,' 'to disarrange.' It corresponds exactly to the Low-German *verknutscheln*, and is usually applied to dress, books, or papers that have got soiled *and* crumpled.

Clarty does not mean 'dirty,' as our author and Jamieson assert. It means 'sticky,' or more exactly what the Germans express by *schmierig*.

Clour, Jamieson and our author notwithstanding, does not mean 'bump,' or 'lump on the flesh caused by a heavy blow.' The very passage quoted from *Noctes Ambrosianæ* proves this: 'That cane o' yours would gi'e a *clour* on a man's head eneuch to produce a phrenological faculty.' '*Clour*' here evidently means a 'blow;' we could not at any rate substitute 'lump' for it. Its usual signification is a 'blow causing a *dint*' or such a dint itself. It is most frequently applied to a dint made in vessels of tin or other metal.

Cog does not mean 'a bowl or cup, also a basin,' as our author might have seen from his quotation:

'I winna want my three-girred *cog*
For a' the wives in Bogie.'

'Three-girred' (correctly *three-gird*) means 'having three hoops,' and *cog* means a small wooden vessel, shaped nearly like a water-bucket, and made in the same way, with staves and hoops.

Crowdie never means 'a kind of oatmeal porridge or "parritch," sometimes prepared with water and sometimes with buttermilk.' Its proper meaning is 'a mixture of pressed curds and butter, seasoned with salt,' as in the passage quoted:

'My sister Kate came up the gate
Wi' *crowdie* unto me, man,
She swore she saw the rebels run
Frae Perth unto Dundee, man' (*sic*).

Crowds or *croods* is the Scotch for curds. *Crowdie* sometimes has the sense of 'brose,' which every Scot knows is something very different from porridge.

Gey does not mean 'very.' 'Gey an' fou' means not 'very drunk,' but 'pretty drunk.' 'Very' the Scotch express by 'verra' or 'unco.'

Gowpen does not signify 'handful.' This word, which is of Norse origin and still in use in Iceland, has no English equivalent. It means the *two hands* placed side by side, so as to form a cup, or the quantity that such a cup can hold. Jamieson defines this word correctly.

Hain means not 'to preserve,' but 'to save' or 'to hoard.' '*Weel-hained* gear,' does not, as our author states, mean 'well-preserved money,' but 'well-hoarded wealth.'

Hummel-doddie is a remarkable word. Our author makes it signify 'dowdy, ill-fitting, in bad taste.' In this he follows Jamieson, who says it is 'a ludicrous term applied to dress, especially to that of a woman's head, when it has a flat and mean appearance.' Both quote the same example of its use, which seems to have been the source of all their knowledge in regard to it. '*Hummel*' means 'without horns,' e.g. 'a *hummel* coo.' It is applied metaphorically to woollen gloves which cover the whole hand, but have no fingers. *Doddie* has, as nearly as possible, the same signification. Woollen gloves such as I have mentioned are called indiscriminately 'hummel-mittens,' 'doddie mittens,' or 'hummel-doddies.' 'Hummel-doddie' is applied to anything that has not the proper projections or protuberances. Any one who remembers the high-crowned mutches or caps worn by old Scotch ladies, or by Newhaven fishwives, will easily understand what is meant by a 'hummel-doddie mutch.' It is a cap without the high crown. There can be no doubt that 'doddie' and 'dowdy' are substantially the same word. 'Hummel' is still represented in the English word 'humble-bee,' which, with due deference to many great authorities to the contrary, be it said, means simply 'stingless bee,' and has no connection whatever with 'hum.'

Lunt does not signify 'the smoke of tobacco,' or 'to emit smoke.' It means a flame that bursts out suddenly accompanied with smoke, and continues but an instant or flickers violently. 'The luntin' pipe' is the

pipe that emits *flame and smoke* whenever the smoker ceases to inhale the smoke.

Orra never signifies 'all sorts of odds and ends.' It is never a substantive, but always an adjective, and has no English equivalent. Its meaning can be shown best by examples. 'Ha'e ye an *orra* pen?' means 'Have you a pen that you don't use?' 'An *orra* man' means a man about a farm who does all odds and ends of work—'orra wark.' Applied to character, it means 'disreputable.' 'An *orra* chiel' is a 'disreputable fellow.'

Rippet is far too mildly rendered by 'tiff.' It is exactly expressed by the slang word 'row.'

Splore, which our author also mistranslates, has nearly the same signification.

Taigle means not 'to tease, to perplex, to banter,' but 'to detain,' 'to loiter,' 'to tackle.' In the second sense, it is often pronounced 'dachle.' Our author was here misled by his quotation.

Wame, the Scotch form of 'womb,' means not 'stomach' but 'belly.' Here again our author was deceived by his quotations.

Whaup, he says, means a 'curlew.' This is true; but it oftener means the 'husk of any kind of pulse,' or 'a long lean fellow.'

Whommle does not signify 'to whelm, to turn over clumsily and suddenly, and with a loud noise.' There are in Scotch two *distinct* words which are written thus: the one—that which occurs in our author's first quotation—means 'to move with a wriggling motion,' used of eels, minnows, etc. (cf. 'Warlds whommulin' up an' doon, bleezin' wi' a flare,' in Ballantyne's 'Castles in the Air'); the second 'to place [a vessel] with its mouth downwards'—the meaning of the word in his second quotation. 'I wad *whomle* [sic] a toom bicker,' means 'I would turn over an empty goblet.' The first word should be written *wommel*, the second *whommel*.

These are all the cases of misapprehension in regard to meaning that I have yet observed in this article. I might point to several cases of gross misquotation; but as these are not likely to mislead any one, I shall refrain.

Now that all the dialects of so many European languages are being committed to writing and studied, why does not some competent person, on the basis of Jamieson, undertake an etymological dictionary of the Scottish language? Such a work would throw an immense amount of light upon the etymology and signification of many English words.

I am, sir, faithfully yours,

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Jan. 2, 1871.

Notes.

MESSRS. D. APPLETON & Co. publish this month Parts III. and IV. of Herbert Spencer's 'Principles of Psychology;' a 'Hand-Book of Law,' for the practical guidance of business men, by William Tracy, LL.D.; 'Life and Nature under the Tropics,' by H. M. and P. V. N. Myers, the region described being the Andes, the Orinoco, Rio Negro, and Amazon; a translation, by Dr. Charles E. Hackley, of Billroth's 'General Surgical Pathology and Therapeutics,' in fifty lectures. Also, the following reprints from English works: 'Westward by Rail,' by W. F. Rae, and 'The Recovery of Jerusalem,' by Capts. Wilson and Warren of the Palestine Exploration Fund.——Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Sons have in preparation 'A School History of England,' by Benson J. Lossing; 'The Pilgrim and the Shrine,' by the author of 'Higher Law;' 'Mental Philosophy,' by Prof. John Bascom; 'Leaves from the Book of Nature,' by Prof. Schele de Vere; 'The Humors of Law and Lawyers,' by Irving Browne, a member of the Troy bar; 'The Sisters of Orleans,' a tale relating to the present war in Europe; 'The Young Mechanic,' by the author of 'The Lathe and its Uses;' 'The Earth,' by Elisée Réclus; 'The Hidden Life of the Soul,' by the author of 'A Dominican Artist;' and a one-volume edition, uniform with that of Evelyn, of 'Pepys' Diary.'

—Among the peculiar and interesting practices of the profession to which we have the honor to belong, is the practice of 'extending journalistic courtesies' to other 'knights of the quill.' Thus, if we, for example, were to write a book on political economy, it would bear not the least resemblance to some works on that subject which have been written by Mr. Horace Greeley, or to a work that Colonel John W. Forney might write and publish in Pennsylvania. That, however, would not prevent our sending on a copy to the office of the *Press*, and another over to the *Tribune* office, each accompanied by a letter (bearing at the top of the sheet the stamp of our own office), in which we should say that we had at last gathered our politico-economical essays up into a book, of which already three copies had been sent to the office of the *Press* (or *Tribune*, as the case might be), and that we now sent a fourth copy, directed to the editor personally, and begged Colonel Forney, or Mr. Greeley, 'to extend to it journalistic courtesies.' Then each of these gentlemen would have to sit down and set about somehow turning out a genial notice of his editorial brother's book, at the same time taking care to run as little danger as possible of the loss of subscribers. Meaningless and florid compliments to our great abilities as a well-known 'member of the press' would be the line Mr. Greeley and Colonel Forney would probably take under the circumstances. But whatever they might do, something they would have to do; just as we, whatever may be our private opinion of it, shall have to praise Mr. Greeley's 'What I Know about Farming' when, by-and-by, he sends it over to us for review. That is journalistic courtesy; and nobody knows what would happen if its rules should fall into desuetude. It is in obedience to the letter and spirit of these rules that 'we here record our greeting to our esteemed contemporary the *Sunday Herald*, of Washington, which springs into the arena of journalism under the auspices of George Alfred Townsend and of Donn Piatt, the celebrated Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, and formerly enrolled in the ranks of the profession as the editor of the Macacheek *Press*. May the *Herald*, under its new proprietors, renew its youth like the eagle. We bid it welcome.' And, in all seriousness, we give it a welcome, as hoping from it a good deal of the independence, sense, and courage of which both its new editors have, as Washington correspondents, given many proofs. From the necessities of their position, Washington correspondents are almost compelled to a time-serving dependence on senators, representatives, heads of departments and bureaus, and other officials of all sorts. Hired to purvey news; exposed to the keen competition of other purveyors of news; disgraced, if they are beaten, in the race for getting early intelligence; yet for getting any intelligence at all mainly dependent upon the good offices of this and that public man, who perfectly well knows the value of a correspondent's good word, and knows perfectly well, too, his own value to the correspondent—in view of these things, it is no wonder if Washington correspondents are, at their best, reticent to a degree that greatly impairs their usefulness to the public, and are, at their worst, unblushing and unscrupulous partisans of some patron whose favor they must purchase by various concealments and compliances. We do not stand surety for the *Sunday Herald* under its new ownership; we know too little of the editors. But both Mr. Piatt and Mr. Townsend are men of ability, and Mr. Piatt a man of large experience; both appear to have learned a secret that is still to many editors a secret unguessed—namely, that a truly able journal can generally afford to be a perfectly independent journal; both have dared to print a good deal of plain talk about men and things in Washington; Mr. Piatt we know less about, but Mr. Townsend clearly improves from year to year, as well in ability as in self-restraint and respect for his profession, being to-day a much better writer—and about much better things—than he was five years ago. He seems to put himself, with definite purpose, on the side of good causes, and to hate the right men; and to express his aversion with a good degree of effectiveness, whether or not as yet with much literary skilfulness. It would not be surprising if the *Sunday Herald* were made a journal sometimes impudent, often verging on the borders of scandalousness and libellousness, not to say scurrility, often and in many ways very vulgar; but generally fearless, intelligent, clever, and serviceable to readers who like to get reliable information of the way in which things are really brought to pass in Washington, and of the true character of the men and measures that the ordinary newspaper so often, and so often from interested motives, lifts into an atmosphere of utter unreality and delusiveness.

—As we have taken occasion to speak of the Washington correspondent, and as we have spoken of him in a rather disrespectful way—a way in which it would have been unfair to speak of him unless we had at the same time called attention to the very great difficulties of the position—we are glad of an opportunity to assert our conviction that Washington does not want for correspondents worthy of respect for fidelity, high spirit, and honesty, as well as for enterprise, acuteness, and industry. The opportunity in question is furnished by a paragraph now going the rounds of the papers, which is to the effect that Mr. Sidney Andrews, Washington correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser*, is now at last getting well of a sickness which at one time threatened his life, and which has for some months kept him idle. Like other Washington correspondents, Mr.

Andrews's work has to some extent felt the effects of the system which allows the reporter of facts to mix with his report of things that have occurred his own opinions as to their bearings, and as to the motives actuating the men who brought them about. But there is no other Washington correspondent, so far as we know, who more successfully than he has taken more pains than he to make his reports colorless—genuine transcripts of contemporary history, done with unfailing conscientiousness, and with a skilfulness sometimes greater and sometimes less, but always a long way above the average of such work. The Boston *Advertiser's* public is under great obligations to him, and so, too, is the general public, which has been benefited indirectly by the influence which his example has exerted over other journalists.

—The *Congregationalist*, the well-known religious weekly published in Boston, apropos of the recent discussion between 'Old' and 'Young Yale' which has taken place in our columns, refers to 'a manifestation both in the *Nation's* own editorials, and in the communications it receives and publishes from others, of an open and undisguised contempt for clergymen as a class.' We do not often notice misrepresentations, but misrepresentations by a religious paper we, for obvious reasons, do not let pass, when they fall under our eyes. We must, therefore, say of the above, that it is a very gross misrepresentation. There have been no manifestations of contempt for the clergy as a class in our editorials, and no manifestations of any such 'contempt' have appeared in the letters of our correspondents, except in the course of a discussion as to the fitness of clergymen for a certain office, and here the contempt can only be inferred from a denial to them of certain intellectual qualifications. For the opinions of correspondents not paid or employed by us we repudiate all responsibility whatever, but we should no more think of denying a competent writer the privilege of questioning a clergyman's fitness for the work of education than a lawyer's. 'Clergymen as a class,' just like lawyers as a class, have certain marked moral and mental peculiarities: if a sober and honest college graduate thinks that these operate as a disqualification for the conduct of college education, he has a perfect right to say so; and any clergyman who is afraid to have it said, and thinks the paper in which it is said must be a bad, designing paper, may rest assured that he is not well fitted either for college work or his own work. It is now our painful duty to call upon the *Congregationalist* to publish next week, or, at the furthest, the week after, one or two 'manifestations of contempt' for the clergy taken from the editorial articles of the *Nation*.

—In 'Brother Placidus, and why he became a Monk,' the new novel by Father Ignatius, a reader whose mind, to borrow a phrase from the work itself, has been 'rendered irrational by bigotry' is likely to find a good deal of amusement. This may happen in several ways, whether, for example, he regards the feebleness of the story as such, the bad style and worse grammar of it, or the author's hope that it will add to his following or advance his mediæval notions. As a religious novel it belongs in the same year and the same category with 'Lothair,' but its aim is quite the opposite. Its hero is converted from a hater of all things into a loving disciple of Father Ignatius, and finally a member of his monastery, the interior life of which is given with a frankness which, however creditable, is anything but astute. The foibles of the monks are revealed as if to set off the purity of the novice for whom the story is written, and their conversations are allowed to be almost profanely humorous. Two miracles are introduced, in strict conformity to the originals, which 'actually occurred in our monastery.' One is the bowing of the head of the image of the Christ-child at the ceremonies on Christmas-eve, and his returning the kiss of one of the monks; the other is the appearance of a circle of lambent flame about the head of Brother Placidus. Fortunately for the first, 'a beneficed clergyman of the English Church was witness of it,' and the second was distinctly seen by 'two persons, who would be prepared to affirm they saw it on oath.' Any doubts after this would be improper; and it only remains to hope that there may be a third miracle to record in the next edition—the conversion of a soul or two by the reading of this extraordinary fiction.

—To any one who wishes a history of the present war before it is ended, and from a German point of view, can safely be recommended the 'Illustrirte Kriegs-Chronik,' published by J. J. Weber, in Leipzig (New York: B. Westermann & Co.). This work is issued in parts of sixteen pages, of the size of Harper's 'History of the Rebellion,' and already six have appeared. It is copiously and, on the whole, judiciously illustrated, the usual concession being made to the popular taste for battle-scenes which never occurred, and even never could have occurred, to the displacement of so much text or more valuable representations. Some of these, however, seem to be a serious attempt to portray the topography of the more famous engagements. The portraits are unexceptionably good, and skilfully engraved, and consist of the eminent personages, civil and military, on both sides. The historian has not thought it necessary to go back to the Germany of Tacitus or of the Barbarossa to explain the causes of the war, but traces rapidly the chain of events from the famous interview at Biarritz down to the rebuff of Benedetti at Ems; and devoting his second chapter to the concerted preparations on both sides of the Main, and the third to the French movement towards the frontier, is able in the fourth to arrive at actual hostilities. Along with the history there goes in smaller type at the bottom of the page a *Bilder-Chronik*, or account of the engravings, in which a good deal of information is given that otherwise would have impeded the progress of the main narrative. Twenty parts, it is thought, will contain the whole war, though purchasers can judge of this for themselves. The completed work will include a colored map of the seat of war, a chronological table, and the bibliography of the war, besides an index. The title suggests the remark that two of the three words in it are derived from the French. Naturally the word for war (*Krieg*) is not one of these.

—A Paris correspondent of the *Athenæum* tells of the great activity of M. Jules Simon, undoubtedly the best Minister of Education France has ever had. He has ordered the reading-rooms of the public libraries to be kept open an hour longer than formerly; has reopened the library of the Louvre, and taken steps to furnish it with a reading-room; has addressed himself by circular to the heads of academies, impressing upon them the value of the higher education, and condemning the perversion of scholarships by which the late Government rewarded its favorites. No serious objection can be made to these measures, even as emanating from a member of the Government of National Defense. Though obviously of the kind which only in the long run produce significant changes, their immediate effects are wholly beneficial, and the official example of course counts for something. A feeling nevertheless arises that here, as in the renaming of boulevards, casting of new and shifting of old statues, and tearing down the Imperial insignia, there is a certain waste of energy in presence of the overshadowing, all-pervading necessities of the defence; and that posterity would have found it easier to forgive the present authorities for neglecting to contribute to the observation of the late eclipse, or to postpone the closing hour of reading-rooms from three to four P.M., than for the real omissions of duty to the besieged. The scientific societies have very properly turned their debates as far as possible upon subjects connected with the common weal, such as the forcing of vegetables, ballooning, preparation of condensed food, modes of military defence and offence, etc., etc. For one thing, however, the Government and the citizens both had ample leisure, and that was to provide adequate sanitary supplies and organizations, if any attempt was to be made to pierce the German lines. All reports agree, however, in stating that the French ambulance corps was, of the far too few which attended Ducrot's sortie, the least efficient; and that while the Italian and American, and perhaps one or two others, did excellent service, the French must be responsible for a vast amount of suffering unrelieved and lives lost, numbers of the wounded having been frozen to death in that bitter winter weather. The natural concern of the non-combatant portion of a population of two millions, and all the experience of Gen. Trochu and his associates, failed to anticipate the needs of a bloody contest under the very walls of Paris as completely as the self-conceit and incompetency of the military staff of the Empire to anticipate Weissenburg, and Gravelotte, and Sedan.

—A colored physician, Dr. Davis, a native of Barbadoes, has fallen a victim to his zeal in caring for the sufferers by the war in the neighborhood of Sedan. He was a graduate in medicine from Aberdeen, and continued his studies at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, where he was house-physician. In October he resigned this position in order to help in relieving the distress on the Continent, and to his skill and devoted attention many hundred wounded Bavarians at Sedan must be for ever grateful. He next impartially exerted himself for the needy peasantry round about, at Pont Mangy and Balan, establishing soup-kitchens, which he sustained by personal sacrifice and by such contributions as he could procure in England. His solicitations there, during a temporary visit for that purpose, were so incessant and fatiguing that he came back in a condition susceptible to contagion, and was carried off by smallpox contracted in the military hospital. He was only twenty-eight years of age at his death, and his funeral ceremonies, attended by the mayor of Sedan, the German subprefect, and a crowd of peasants, were touching in the extreme.

—Dying at Dieppe, on the 5th of December, after a considerable period of unconsciousness or semi-consciousness, Alexandre Dumas was spared the spectacle, as we venture to predict, of the last humiliation of his country. Less fortunate than the unfortunate Prévost-Paradol, he constitutes with Prosper Mérimée the third considerable loss to French letters since the commencement of the war. Viewed merely as a creative mind, his genius is not likely to be exaggerated, and the number of the volumes which bear his name surpasses even the fecundity of Voltaire. Compared with Dickens, as he naturally has been, it is evident that in point of originality and resources he was very much superior to his great contemporary. The morality of the two men differed as that of their respective countries differed, and that perhaps could not be more forcibly suggested than by attempting to suppose Dickens in the attitude with Miss Menken in which Dumas actually permitted himself to be publicly photographed. In this respect the latter was quite in harmony with the Second Empire, whether this is to be laid more to his French or to his negro blood; and it is not too much to say that he could well be spared in the midst of a revolution which seems destined to recall France to a nobler existence than any it has led since the reign which is celebrated in the 'Three Guardsmen.' Dumas was sixty-seven years of age, which must be accounted old as he lived. He is an instance of hereditary genius, his father having been a general of distinction under Bonaparte, and his son, as is well known, being a born novelist and playwright.

—In a recent German work, entitled "The History of German Women," the author, a Dr. Zapp, touches upon the woman question, and, in order to terrify those of his fellow-countrywomen who seem to him too zealous for reform, he draws a most fearful and disheartening picture of the demoralization of American society. For the benefit of those persons in this country who are not satisfied with the present condition of woman, and who claim for her fresh privileges, we make a few extracts from the Doctor's simple narrative, and the more readily because the horrors which he describes are not generally known. His authority for his statements appears to be a New York correspondent of the *Elberfelder Zeitung*. We go at once to the worst: 'There is in this city, in Twenty-third Street, a gambling-hell for ladies, which is regularly frequented by the New York wife and mother.' The *Zeitung's* correspondent visited it in the company of 'a prominent member of the New York press.' The house is a three-story brick house. Its blinds are always shut. One would naturally conclude that it was uninhabited. But not so. On the contrary, it is visited every evening by many of the women of New York, and every evening large sums are lost within its walls. The unadorned exterior corresponds to the splendor and elegance of the interior as little as the closed blinds, apparently indicating perfect calm within, betray the scenes of wild passion which take place there from nightfall to dawn. 'Let the reader follow us through this Twenty-third Street house,' says the correspondent, who, by the way, seems to have acquired a facility with his pen which would do credit to any citizen of his adopted home, and a knowledge of the horrors of the metropolis which must make him a most valuable city correspondent. He writes 'on a cold November evening.' 'The floors are covered with genuine Brussels carpets, which hush every step; the walls are adorned with magnificent frescoes.' Soon he reaches a smaller room than that into which he was first ushered, a room with still thicker carpets, and adorned with pictures still more precious and costly. The company is mixed; some are women of the sort whom one would naturally expect to see there, others evidently belong to good society and are 'of high standing.' 'The playing has already begun. On the faces of the players appear already those passions which,' etc., etc. The keeper of the bank is a young and beautiful woman of Juno-like shape; but she is cold, she is like a marble statue; she shows signs of life only when she has to draw in her winnings, which, we are told, 'are called in the expressive gambling slang of America "chips."' One of the players whom our German friend sees is the wife of one of the richest merchants of New York. Another is a young girl, not yet twenty, the daughter of one of the most esteemed judges of the city, who loses her last ten-dollar bill, and who 'must now once more rob her father's cash-box.' A third is the widow of a general who was killed in the war. She is a victim of the passion for play. This one loses all her money. She plucks with feverish haste a costly diamond ring from her finger—a present from her hero-husband—and gives that to the holder of the bank. It is valued by that cold statue at no more than one hundred and twenty dollars. Although the General's widow knows it to be worth five hundred, she eagerly seizes the small sum. She plays; she loses—but here the scene grows too fearful for description. Many a penniless victim of this unholy passion takes laudanum, usually in lemonade, before she can be stopped; but what then? Always the coroner's juries are bribed to say nothing more about it, 'and in the Twenty-third Street house the playing goes on as it did before!' After reading this, need one be surprised that foreigners misunderstand one another? Germans should know the United States better than almost any country; yet here we have an educated and intelligent gentleman, lecturing in the enlightened city of Berlin, who, in all honesty, proclaims these absurd fables. And what is worse, they will not want for believers.

—American women have lately been the theme of a lecture delivered in Milan by a lady with a German-seeming surname, Malvina Frank. In a course of four readings on woman, of which the last was on ignorance and materialism in matrimony, the third was devoted to the legal and social condition of our countrywomen. From a mere abstract of her remarks we infer that she was better informed than the learned Doctor we have just been quoting. She aimed principally to describe the educating mission of the women of the United States, and showed how they were prepared for it by their own education, 'based on the principle of full equality with man.' This is stating the fact too broadly, of course, though every year makes it truer; and the lecture was certainly speaking rather of the future than of the present, when she mentioned the 'civil offices to which women are readily admitted in the States, and which they fill with remarkable aptness, and generally in a satisfactory manner.' This is true only of postmistresses, who, for the rest, are very exceptional, though in Wyoming, we believe, women, besides the suffrage, have attained in some instances the dignity of justice of the peace. Madame Frank manifested good sense in reminding her hearers of the difference between a new society, like the American, and an old one, and that Italian women ought to avoid 'every exaggeration of principles and of aspirations,' trusting instead to the slow but sure operation of progressive civilization.

—United Italy gives daily example of the incompleteness which still characterizes its politics, and which, as we remarked the other day, removes the excuses of statesmen like Ricasoli, who retire because there is nothing else for them to do. The condition of Ravenna, for instance, is enough, or should be enough, to engage their best energies till it is permanently bettered; and this, they do not need to be told, is not the work of a day. Pavia is another fit subject for their attention. A short-lived paper, the *Costituzionale*, has just succumbed there, not because its funds gave out, or because its sympathizers were not in a numerical majority in the city, or because its conductors were intimidated by the violent menaces of the Ring which controls the municipal government. They were simply disheartened by the indifference or timidity of the friends of order and decent politics, and abandoned a struggle whose perils they would have endured if it had promised to end in the regeneration of the city. This lack of faith rather than of pluck will not be laid to the Italian character by any one who reflects how analogous it is to the state of things in New York. Disguise it as we may, there is here a real reign of terror, and our freedom of speech is at the pleasure of a Ring of which that at Pavia would have much to learn. In spite of occasional denunciations of Tweed and Sweeny, of this job and that, and exposure of frauds at the polls so reckless as not to be proportioned to the census, the city press has virtually abdicated like the *Costituzionale*, and exists only in virtue of its national importance, not of its metropolitan mission and influence. Here, too, as in Pavia, the apathy of the respectable classes is the cause of this surrender on the part of journals not wanting in good intentions or in courage.

THE ARMY OF AFRICA.*

DOUBTLESS that system, or rather want of system, which has obtained of late years in Algeria, is one of the many causes which have combined to destroy the regular armies of France. Previous to the present war, Generals von Moltke and Trochu had pointed out some of the evils and shortcomings of that 'training school' to which such undue importance has been attached, and whose graduates in the hour of trial have been found so sadly wanting. The army which was the most 'African' (McMahon's) was the first to fall, and, from its pell-mell flight after the battle of Wörth until the surrender at Sedan, offered an example of negligence and incompetency of the superior officers, and of unsteadiness and insubordination on the part of the soldiers, which prevented the strength of the German army from being tested, and which has rarely been equalled in military history. For nearly twenty years, service in Algeria has been almost

* Campagnes de l'Armée d'Afrique, 1833-1839. Par le Duc d'Orléans: publié par les fils. Michel Lévy frères. Paris: 1870.

a sinecure. Active operations have been confined to light cavalry and partisan troops, who have been exercised in reducing to subjection various bands of robbers; but unfortunately the spirit of this *guérilleria* has permeated the entire military system, and induced marshals of France to execute manœuvres against the King of Prussia which might more fittingly be used against a sheik of some tribe of Arabs. Moreover, it is unavoidable that an army of upwards of eighty thousand men, kept under quite loose discipline, in a hot climate, where the only civilized population consists of camp-followers, and those who have become reconciled to their position as a 'last resort,' should not become more or less demoralized. The stories told of the luxurious habits of the French officers—that all the officers who could afford it followed their men at their own convenience and in carriages, for instance—were doubtless greatly exaggerated; but still there is enough truth in them to be suggestive of some of the Orientalisms which have crept into the army. It is, however, impossible to read the Duc d'Orléans's animated and modest description of campaigns conducted on such principles as were those of the Tafna, Sickack, Boudouaou, and Constantine, without being convinced that at that time Algeria was a most excellent training school for every department of the army. Service in Africa then meant a series of toilsome marches, difficult retreats, and hard-won victories, which at once demanded the greatest ability on the part of the higher officers, and tested the qualities of soldiers to the last point. Such campaigns give evidence that, with judicious management, French troops are capable of adding to their other virtues that calmness and patient endurance which they lack so much at present.

The account of the Algerian campaigns, by the chivalrous young prince who took such a prominent part in them, besides being a welcome addition to French history, furnishes the connecting link between the military annals of the First and Second Empires; for the now fleeting generation of officers made their professional début in Africa, under the supervision of men who had studied the art of war, and held high command in the armies of the First Napoleon. 'L'Armée d'Afrique,' the Comte de Paris writes, 'is the title of a work in which the Duc d'Orléans proposed to give to France a record of the deeds and achievements of that army in whose ranks he had had the honor to serve. To the accomplishment of this work he devoted all the spare moments of a life so prematurely ended. . . . . It was not fated that the task should be finished; but among his papers this fragment was left, which still needed the author's final correction, and the publication of which his sons felt to be an homage due to the memory of their father, and the discharge of a legacy bequeathed by him to that army in which his pure patriotism beheld a faithful likeness of the French nation.' As the narrative of the Duc d'Orléans only relates to the five years preceding the peace of 1839, his younger son, the Duc de Chartres, has given a clear and spirited account of events which had previously taken place.

To Charles X. belongs the credit of having first gained a foothold for France in North Africa. In the latter part of his reign, urged by numerous insults to the French flag, but perhaps chiefly by the hope of being able to strengthen the tottering administration of Prince Polignac by means of military prestige, this sovereign determined to send an expedition against Algiers, 'not only to avenge the wrongs of France, but also to destroy for ever that nest of pirates.' In June, 1830, the Comte de Bourmont, after various mishaps, succeeded in landing with an army of thirty thousand men upon a peninsula near the city of Algiers. Five of the subordinate officers of this army were destined to become marshals of France—Baraguey d'Hilliers, Vaillant, Pélissier, MacMahon, and Magnan. After a severe campaign which lasted only twenty days, the city of Algiers, with its thousand cannon, splendid fleet, and fifty millions of treasure, fell into French hands. Strongholds in the interior were seized, and the standard of Henri Quatre now waved over a 'new France.' If at this time there had been men in the French Government who possessed half the talent and executive ability of the Outrams and Lawrences, it is possible that the successes of the Comte de Bourmont might have done for France what those of Lord Clive did for England. But soon news of the Revolution of July reached the army. Reports became current that the troops were to embark for France; the inland garrisons were withdrawn, and the Count was obliged to leave the country in an Austrian frigate. The natives quickly regained courage at what they believed to be a confession of fear on the part of their invaders.

At the critical moment the famous Abd-el-Kader, then in his twenty-fourth year, appeared upon the scene, and preached a 'holy war' against the Christians, who were forced to take refuge within the walls of Algiers. As soon as Louis Philippe became established on the throne, Marshal Clauzel was appointed the Comte de Bourmont's successor. This energetic officer was surrounded by so many difficulties that he could make but little headway against the enemy. Native troops were now for the first time made use of, and the Zouaves and Spahis first saw service in an expedition to Medéah, during which Lieutenant MacMahon, of the *Etat-major*, had the honor to be the first Frenchman to set foot on the summit of the mountain range of the country over which he was afterwards called to rule. Clauzel was succeeded in turn by Berthezène, the Duc de Rovigo (Savary), Voirol, and the Comte d'Erlon. During the administration of this latter officer, Abd-el-Kader gained a decisive victory at Marta over the army commanded by General Trézel, which disaster had the effect of replacing Marshal Clauzel. During an expedition to Mascara, Abd-el-Kader's capital, the Duc d'Orléans highly distinguished himself by driving the enemy from some woods, at the head of a detachment of the 17th *léger* and the *bataillon d'Afrique*. The innovations which Bugeaud introduced into African warfare, and success traceable to them, are described at some length by the prince, and may be read with profit by the military student. The account of the siege and capture of Constantine, where the Governor-General Damrémont, his chief-of staff, and six other officers, were killed outright at the side of the Duc de Nemours, is of absorbing interest.* The defence of this 'devil's city,' as it was called, was as obstinate as that of Saragossa, 'and like Saragossa, the defenders were more numerous than the assailants.' The unflagging resolution of the little army of besiegers, wasted by disease and decimated by incessant fighting with an army of trained soldiers, better provided with artillery than themselves; the perseverance and cool daring of the engineers, who were forced to 'execute in broad daylight those operations usually undertaken at night and under cover, and to commence siege-works without preliminary approaches, on bare rocks, and at distances at which they commonly terminate;' and, more than all, the noble-heartedness of the soldiers in the hour of final success, who, 'passing from the direst misery to the brilliant seductions of Oriental luxury, were seen to halt, and, at the call of honor and discipline, lend a helping hand to the vanquished, and adopt the children whom their bayonets had just made orphans,' are pictured to the reader in the most lifelike colors. The attack was fixed for Friday, the 13th of October; a 'few superstitious spirits' were startled at the ill-omen of Friday and the number of thirteen; 'so much the worse for the Mussulmans,' replied General Fleury. Lieutenant Colonel de Lamoricière and Commandant Vieux were the first to reach the slope; in an instant, the former was wounded and the latter killed.† A detachment of the 2d *léger* was buried under the falling walls, and its brave commander, slowly sinking in the masonry, 'still found words to encourage his men, until his crushed chest no longer gave forth any sound.' Altogether, the account of this successful assault, through a breech only ten metres wide, forms one of the most interesting stories of daring ever told. Such moving accidents by flood and field become under the prince's historical memoir as light in hand and entertaining as any novel. The concluding chapter gives an account of Marshal Valée's operations in 1838–9. The tenure of Constantine and Sétif was precarious so long as the enemy were in possession of the Portes de Fer—a perilous defile and natural fortress on the line of communications with Algiers; and the capture of this stronghold by the Division d'Orléans bears testimony to the Prince's military ability. The great prevalence of sickness in the army and the lack of proper medical attendance are described in this chapter, which also contains some reflections on sanitary reform which deserve especial attention. The narrative abruptly terminates with the return of the Division d'Orléans to Algiers.

The literary execution of the work is worthy of the historic name which the authors bear; and it is earnestly to be hoped that 'one of the "anciens Algériens," as the Duc d'Orléans used to call them, will finish a history so fitting to keep alive the traditions of those military virtues which are the honor and the essential characteristics of a truly national army.'

ERSKINE'S SPEECHES.‡

This is an American edition of Erskine's speeches which is in nearly every respect better than any English edition yet published—considerably better than the last or Reeves & Turner edition which appeared in London last year. Mr. High has judiciously made his explanatory notes

* This chapter appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of April, 1870.

† According to the Duc d'Orléans, Commandant Vieux, of the Engineers, was the man who forced open the gate of La Haie Salute during the battle of Waterloo.

‡ 'Speeches of Lord Erskine while at the Bar. Edited by James Lambert High, Counsellor at-law.' Two volumes. Chicago: Callaghan & Cockroft. 1870.

brief, presuming, doubtless, and with good reason, that few men take up Erskine's speeches who are not sufficiently familiar with the history of the times in which he lived to make much elucidation wearisome. The introductory memoir tells the leading facts of his career fairly enough, but in some places has an unpleasant 'reportorial' flavor. It is a little too bad to tell us of Erskine, of all men—'nor were the charms of an elegant physique and of an attractive personal appearance wanting [to him]. His form was peculiarly graceful, slender, and supple, yet when warmed with an address, quivering with the pent-up excitement of the occasion.' This sounds like a paragraph from 'Our Washington Correspondent's' account of his last hero's appearance on the floor of the House.

Erskine belonged to a class of men whom it is becoming more and more difficult to get the world to admire—so far away from us do the influences and abuses against which they contended seem. He made his appearance at the English bar at a period when the bar played a more important part in politics than it ever did before or is ever likely to do again. The reactionary oligarchy had firm possession of both Houses of Parliament, and, under the influence of the panic excited by the French Revolution, were bent on setting up a kind of government in England which would have been a closer approach to that of Venice than anything which existed then or has since existed. An energetic attempt was being made by the governing classes to repress the democratic spirit which had been growing steadily since the days of Wilkes, and above all 'to curb the license of the press,' which was the most prominent expression of this spirit; and the opposing forces met and fought their battle out in the courts. Erskine's accidental appearance in Captain Baillie's case brought him at once to the front, and he soon became the hero of the crisis; and in the course of the next twenty years he was instrumental in preventing some serious changes in the spirit of the constitution, and in putting the liberty of the press for the first time on a really secure footing, by handing it over to the protection of the jury. The scene in which he stood out against Judge Buller's ruling that to the court belonged the decision of the question of libel or no libel, to the jury simply the question of the fact of publication, is worthy, in any English historical gallery, of a place beside the signing of the Magna Charta, or the attempt to seize the Five Members, or the Trial of the Seven Bishops.

For this reason, Erskine is one of the few lawyers whose speeches are cherished and remembered outside the bar. He shares with Demosthenes and Cicero, and with them only, the honor of having made in courts of justice speeches which, as Horne Tooke said of that delivered in his own defence, 'will live for ever.' He owes his celebrity, too, it must be admitted, rather to his eloquence than his learning—because he was after all but little of a lawyer, and in quieter times would probably have made but little figure at the bar. He understood the principles of the English constitution thoroughly, and argued from them with matchless force and fire, but in legal lore he never attained a very high rank and made an indifferent chancellor, and such of his speeches as were delivered in the ordinary controversies of everyday practice strike one as labored and highflown. He had, indeed, in order to shine, to have great occasions to deal with. His temperament and his life in the army and navy, in both of which he served before going to the bar, gave him a fire which did him and his clients no small service, and indeed may be said to have made his fortune, by impelling him into that audacious reply to Lord Mansfield which was the glory of the Baillie case. Beginning to denounce severely Lord Sandwich, who was prosecuting Captain Baillie, Lord Mansfield reminded the young advocate that Lord Sandwich was not before the court. 'I know he is not before the court, and for that very reason I will bring him before the court,' Erskine thundered out. It was his first appearance, and the interruption would have disconcerted most men in a similar position; on him it only acted as a spur. The same quality made him, perhaps, not only one of the most successful but most ardent and courageous jury-lawyers ever seen. In some of his principal cases, he had to encounter not simply the hostility of the government but the frown of his own associates and of 'society,' then a comparatively small but very powerful body, whose smiles were dear to Erskine; but nothing ever made him swerve, and, indeed, the persistent and uncompromising *gallantry* of his performances in court savored more of the camp than of the bar. It was his splendid pluck as much as his eloquence which made the English press really free, and destroyed the odious doctrine of constructive treason.

The fidelity to their clients of which he and Brougham furnished the most conspicuous examples, and which, indeed, Brougham in his celebrated declaration about the duties of counsel reduced to an absurdity, was a great virtue in days when clients were poor men pursued by the crown. It has been used in later times to excuse or justify a fidelity to very different persons which springs from very different motives, and is attended with very different results. Erskine was pressed hard, by every influence to which he was most susceptible, not to undertake the defence of Tom Paine, when tried for a libel alleged to be committed in 'The Rights of Man.' Paine was an unsavory client, and Erskine defended him unwillingly and unsuccessfully; but his courage in resisting all temptations to refuse his retainer has had, perhaps, much to do with begetting and propagating theories of an advocate's duty to his client which are both immoral and dangerous. The ethics of the bar are full of perplexing problems of casuistry, not one of which can, of course, be solved satisfactorily without a careful consideration of the circumstances—which is nearly the same thing as saying that it is useless to try to set up a peculiar standard of morality for lawyers, and that right and wrong at the bar, as in many other places, are questions of degree. Erskine defended Paine for writing a book whose opinions he certainly abhorred, and defended him in spite of threats and obloquy; but if Paine had been acquitted through his exertions, and had then commenced a series of similar publications, and offered Erskine a general retainer for the purpose of having him held harmless in the prosecution of a business which Erskine would have considered nefarious, there can be little doubt what the lawyer's answer would have been. It may be proper to take a brief once from a man, from whom to take briefs twice, or continuously for a great number of times, would be wholly wrong. Erskine, five years after Paine's conviction, prosecuted, under instructions from a body called the 'Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality,' a poor bookseller, named Williams, for publishing the 'Age of Reason,' by the same author, and made his speech the vehicle of his own sentiments as to the character and value of the Christian religion, in which he was a devout believer, and declared that 'he would sooner have all his other speeches committed to oblivion than that a single page of it should be lost.' The doctrines laid down in the address in defence of the 'Rights of Man' will hardly bear reading side by side with the denunciation of the 'Age of Reason;' and it is curious to see how short a time ago very sensible men like Erskine were thoroughly satisfied Christianity could not hold its own without the aid of the police. Williams was convicted; but, before he was called up for judgment, Erskine was induced to visit him in a wretched garret, in which he and his wife were toiling painfully by the bedside of three children down with the small-pox, and was so moved by the spectacle of their penitence and misery that he advised the society not to press for sentence. On its refusing to comply, he withdrew from its service. His Christianity was too strong and too pure for this mode of defending it.

An Elementary Greek Grammar. By William W. Goodwin, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. (Boston: Ginn Bros. & Co. 1870.)—Professor Goodwin has 'attempted to make a Greek grammar in which the facts and principles of the language shall be stated in as concise a form as is consistent with clearness and precision.' Brevity has certainly been attained. Etymology occupies a hundred and twelve of the duodecimo pages of the grammar; syntax a hundred; and metres and a catalogue of anomalous verbs make up the whole number—two hundred and twenty-eight. About one-third of this amount of matter—such as statements of dialectic forms, necessary for the pupil reading Homer; syntactical examples, illustrative of principles, but which it might be hardly desirable to commit to memory—is apparently not intended to be learned by heart. Thus it is seen that the whole voluminous grammar of the Greek language is brought within a most unusually reasonable compass. It might almost be asserted—if the nature of boys were not so well known—that six months of school-time of a clever boy would be enough to give him the whole. There being such compression, the question of course suggests itself whether the treatise has comp eteness. In this respect, too, the author seems to us to have been successful. We do not find that there is omission of anything that is necessary to any except professional students and those far advanced. The absence of troublesome technical terms is noticeable throughout the book, and there is no metaphysical discussion of cases or moods and tenses. The point of view which is taken is decidedly practical, the author seeming to wish that the pupil should learn the language first, and that philosophizing about it should come afterwards—an order of procedure which no doubt is much the best. Worthy of commendation as this grammar is in all its

parts, the treatment of the syntax of verbs is where the author is most original, and where perhaps is found most of the superiority of the book. The chapters on this subject are abridged from Mr. Goodwin's 'Greek Moods and Tenses,' and contain all the general principles of that work, now for the first time adapted for use in preparatory schools, and here treated of in a manner that must, we should think, clear up in the minds of all intelligent pupils and instructors the very hazy subject of Greek syntax. The distinction between general and particular suppositions which has given the clue to the devious ways of the protasis and apodosis in Greek—and Latin, too, for that matter—is set forth so plainly as to be understood with ease by anybody. This distinction, by the way, is a purely American discovery, and one in which we may properly take some pride. The Germans, even, have not yet attained to it, and the English would seem to be hopelessly astray.

The various constructions of relative sentences are also made very clear, and their analogy to conditional clauses is set forth fully and without undue metaphysical subtlety. Many persons will be pleased to notice that in the treatment of forms comparative grammar is recognized as the only true basis of a scientific knowledge of the subject. There are differences of opinion as to how far elementary books should deal with comparative grammar. Where, however, as in this book, the history of forms is merely suggested to account for apparent irregularities, without burdening the memory of the pupil, slight glimpses of comparative grammar can hardly fail to stimulate a wholesome curiosity. Of this kind are the notices of the lost σ in the oblique cases of $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu o\varsigma$, the discussion of the feminine of the participles of the third declension, the note which gives the comparative inflection of the verb *εἰμί* in five cognate languages, and the suggestion in reference to the original eight cases of the Indo-European family.

The book well deserves to be recommended to teachers; and even those of us who learned our Greek under less favorable circumstances may read the syntax at least with pleasure and profit.

The Iliad of the East: A Selection of Legends drawn from Valmiki's Sanskrit poem, the Rāmāyana. By Frederika Richardson, author of 'Xavier and I.' (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1870. 12mo, pp. xix., 315.)—The authoress of this pretty volume serves up in English prose the main contents of the great Hindu poem. Her foundation is not the original, but the French version of M. Hippolyte Fauche. And this she has not merely condensed greatly; she has told over everything in a style of her own, with plentiful admixture of modern sentiment in Western coloring; so that her work represents the incidents but not at all the tone of the real Rāmāyana—for a faithful reflection of which we must go to Mr. Griffiths' versified selections or Mr. Wheeler's detailed abstract and part version. We cannot altogether approve this mode of treatment, which brings out a result that is neither one thing nor another, but many readers will perhaps be won by the Western garb to an interest in the Eastern subject, and so the book, besides furnishing an entertainment of a somewhat novel flavor, will help introduce to the public a literature which ought to be more widely known than it is now known.

Sam Shirk. A Tale of the Woods of Maine. By Geo. H. Devereux. (New York: Hurd & Houghton.)—It is clear that the author of 'Sam Shirk' will not find the solution of the problem which centres in the New England character. His story could hardly be less interesting or his characterization less individual. Sam Shirk, the hero, is a shiftless, pithless vagabond, who, by the gift of a farm, becomes suddenly endowed also with thrift and energy in a way which goes far to confirm the vote-yourself-a-farm party in their most extravagant pretensions. The author moralizes through nearly 400 pages, and only succeeds in awakening any interest in the reader by the resuscitation of Cooper's red-skin bugaboo and spectacular strategy, in which wampum makes the Indian and bad grammar the Yankee.

The moralizing and philosophy are hardly up to the standard of New England shrewdness, as this example may show:

> There is no more marked characteristic of this world than what our philosophers please to call its imperfection. In morals and in physics, the abstract principle is seldom found perfect or unalloyed. The concrete development and visible form combine, always, more or less exceptional matter. Everything works, at times, what seems mischief to our partial perceptions. From the golden circlet of the year, with all its beautiful and wonderful beneficence, dart forth, from point to point, casualties that sting like serpents hidden in a wreath of flowers. The glorious source of physical life and light pours down the *coup de soleil* upon the incautious head. The air that is the breath of our nostrils sweeps us away in the hurricane, withers and freezes us in the polar blast, and stifles us in the sirocco. The elements that are our ministers, and are assumed, by our complacent vanity, to have been created only for that purpose, must be watched continually, or they become our masters and destroyers. In the moral world, the noblest virtues trench narrowly upon the meanest vices; and the head must be clear indeed, and the resolve steady, that can maintain the exact line of right. Countless disturbing influences cause the sensitive and impulsive spirit to oscillate about the strait and narrow path. The magnet, though ever faithful to its mysterious polarity, is stationary and true only in a state of repose and isolation unknown to human hearts. Even under the most favorable conditions, our spirits waver over an endless cycle of aberration, returning to their precise meridian only to wander on the other side.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> What needs the mother care for the child, if it were born a 'hinfant phenomenon?' What needs the child revere or love its parent, if it lacked neither guidance nor support? What need of affection, tenderness, benevolence, if every human being stood upright in the rigidity of absolute exactitude?
>
> What need indeed! And what need of Sam Shirk? we might ask, if the need of anything were its only *raison d'etre*.
>
> What the author might evidently have told us, if he had been content with a severe simplicity, is something of the woods life, the actual struggle with nature and her forces; but even here there is too much exaggeration and piling up of sensation to leave an impression of trustworthiness. His accuracy of observation of the habits of animals is shown by his saying that 'the moose, like other deer, sheds his horns annually about the month of *November*.' There is small use of a man's recording 'the simple outgrowth of ten years of his own life' when he has not learned to record the most commonplace incidents about him correctly!

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1871.

The Week.

MANY ingenious statements are sent over the Cable purporting to be facts, but being in reality the opinions, more or less worthless, of the news-collector. The most ingenious, however, arrived on Friday, when it was announced gravely that 'thousands of Prussian balls had fallen during the night in Paris, killing women and children, and striking ambulances, churches, museums, schoolhouses, etc.' We suppose the 'etc.' must mean that the balls also fell on nurseries and hospitals and funerals and weddings, ripped up Bibles and prayer-books, smashed to pieces the monts-de-piété, and made a noise resembling profane swearing on striking the pavement. The bad boy who threw the Bible at his grandmother, and the mean white who stole the horse from the one-armed negro, were evidently nothing to the Prussian gunners.

The San Domingo resolution of enquiry having passed, the President appointed a commission, composed of President White of the Cornell University, Mr. Benjamin F. Wade, the late senator from Ohio, and Dr. S. G. Howe, of Boston; Mr. Allen S. Benton, of Kentucky, who is said to be a good Spanish scholar, going out as secretary. If Mr. Wade and Dr. Howe were younger, and were not both entirely wanting in the judicial faculty, there would be little fault to find with the arrangement. To send men, however high their character, to 'investigate,' who have all their lives cultivated the virtues of partisans—that is, the talent of seeing one side of a thing, and seeing that vividly and admiringly—can hardly be called judicious. But then appointments better calculated to remove all suspicion about the President in pushing the annexation scheme could hardly have been made. We may be sure that the report will be honest, and perhaps there is nothing more important than this as matters stand at present.

This disposition of the San Domingo affair will probably go far to disarm all hostility to the President, whatever may be the fate of the scheme itself. The men he has put on the Commission are incapable of conniving at any fraud or job, or of concealing any traces of it on which they may light, and even Mr. Sumner will probably be appeased by the appointment of Dr. Howe—though probably a large portion of the appearance of wrath in his late speech was due to his inability—which it is almost impossible to doubt—to measure the strength of his own language. He talks like a man who has passed his life among deaf people, and consequently is often amazed to find that he has given offence by shouting.

The judgment of the press on the Motley-Fish correspondence seems to be, as far as our observation has gone, that Mr. Fish erred in leaving Mr. Motley so long in ignorance of the real feeling of the Government about his performances; that common courtesy, to say nothing of sound policy, required that he should have been put on his guard at the very outset against whatever the Administration found fault with in his opinions; that Mr. Motley showed bad taste and bad judgment in ascribing his dismissal to Mr. Sumner's opposition to the San Domingo scheme, and, it might be added, that he showed in it also some want of self-respect, for there is more or less humiliation in confessing that one has been badly used in order to spite a patron who is too powerful to be got at. On the other hand, it appears to be generally thought that Mr. Fish erred still more grievously in his manner of repelling the imputation, than Mr. Motley in his manner of making it, and that if Mr. Motley did not show to much advantage in his performance of his diplomatic duties, Mr. Fish showed to as little in his manner of calling him to account. The *World* makes one point which is undoubtedly strong and probable, and that is, that the Administration appointed Mr. Motley against its better judgment, and for the purpose of obliging Mr. Sumner, and when an appointment is made in this way a disastrous issue may, of course, be fairly expected. A story has been long current, and is tolerably well authenticated, that antipathy to and distrust of Mr. Motley were first roused in the President's breast by seeing that he parted his hair in the middle, an arrangement to which, according to competent observers, the Western mind has an unconquerable repugnance, in spite of its adoption in the East and in Europe by many estimable and able men of all ages, married as well as single.

The civil service has come up during the week in a debate on Senator Trumbull's bill, making it a misdemeanor for members of Congress to solicit offices or give their opinion about candidates, unless asked for it. We wonder whether Mr. Trumbull really expects this bill to be enforced if passed, and whether he is not pushing it as simply a strong expression of opinion about the evils of the office-seeking nuisance. During the debate Senator Morton came out strongly against all change in the civil service, and pronounced the present system necessary to good democratic government, which is about the same thing as saying that lying, cheating, and stealing, and the deliberate discouragement of virtue and the deliberate promotion of vice, are necessary to good democratic government. The New York custom-house is at this moment undergoing a 'weeding-out' process at the hands of Mr. Murphy, under general instructions, we believe, from Washington, supplemented by his own sagacity. Now, when we say that this process is exactly the one which the devil would perform if he were appointed collector of this port, and that he would perform it on exactly the same principles, and with the same objects, and with the same results as Mr. Murphy performs it, we say what is strictly accurate, and we challenge any one who is familiar with the devil's character and habits and Mr. Murphy's late doings to deny it. The devil, for instance, on being sworn in, would seek out the clerks who gave their whole time to the duties of their office, and made them their first, great, and only consideration, and would incontinently dismiss them; while such clerks as made their duties a secondary consideration, and devoted most of their time to running about, making arrangements to keep him in power, he would retain and promote, and this is just what Mr. Murphy is doing. Highly competent clerks, long in the service, faithful, punctual, and exact, are now dismissed every week to make way for 'active politicians,' which, we need hardly say, is a synonym in this city for fussy, energetic rascals.

There was a debate on Monday in the Senate over Mr. Sherman's bill to cede to Ohio jurisdiction over its national asylum for disabled soldiers, which was valuable as showing that his Republican colleagues would not make a party issue of it, not a few of them endorsing the decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio, by which Mr. Schenck lost his election and got his English mission. On Friday, Admiral Porter was confirmed, very much against the grain, and apparently as the only escape from leaving him out of the service. Several Georgia representatives have been admitted in the House, which has been chiefly engaged on appropriation bills. A laudable effort was made to raise the salaries of the justices of the Supreme Court from $6,000 and $6,500 to $10,000 and $10,500. Down-East parsimony, we regret to say, diminished the proposed increase by one-half. Mr. Wood's bill to regulate telegraphic communication between the United States and foreign countries, and which imposes very just and necessary conditions upon the laying, control, and use of cables, was passed unanimously. On Friday, Mr. Buffinton, who represents the New Bedford district and whale-ship interest in Massachusetts, introduced a bill providing that the President shall appoint three commissioners to audit the claims for damages by the Anglo-rebel cruisers, and that bonds of the United States shall be issued in pay thereof. The early passage of this bill would put the Government none too soon on the right basis for settling the *Alabama* controversy.

The New York wing of the woman's suffrage movement, headed by Miss Victoria C. Woodhull, the Wall Street broker, have during the week made a determined assault on Congress, beginning with a series of addresses to the Judiciary Committee of the House, by Mrs. Hooker, Miss Anthony, and Miss Woodhull herself, who takes far higher ground than her colleagues, inasmuch as she declares that women are, under the Constitution, already entitled to the suffrage. Two converts were made among the members of the committee. Mr. B. F. Butler, we need hardly say, was one of them, and the other was Mr. Loughridge of Indiana. The majority of the committee were not convinced, and refused to take any notice of the ordeal to which they had been subjected, but the two neophytes are, it is said, going to bring in a minority report, and, at least, provoke a discussion in the House. The Senate Judiciary Committee refused to hear the delegates, the old dolts pretending they had no time to crack jokes with the humorous Anthony or listen to the ponderous wisdom of the learned and judicious Woodhull. Mr. Edmunds, of Vermont, presented a petition in the Senate, however, signed by one thousand ladies, including wives of divers high functionaries, begging that women may not get the suffrage, on the strange ground, amongst others, that the duties already devolving on women are as much, if not more, than they can manage. Considering the small strain on women's health and energy which is at present caused by housekeeping, cooking, child-bearing, dressmaking, educating, and visiting, the almost rude energy with which these duties are performed, and the amount of animal spirits and nervous power one finds running to waste among the sex after they are performed, such arguments as this ought to excite pity rather than indignation. The woman's suffrage party naturally laughed over the petition, and said that competency to judge that the suffrage would be bad for women argued competency to exercise it, so that the ladies who signed it had stultified themselves. Still, this way of looking at the matter has a painful resemblance to the argument that anybody who knows enough of the dangers and difficulties of navigation to fear them, and to beg that when he goes to sea he may be allowed to go as a cabin passenger, shows thereby that he is an able-bodied seaman, and ought to be sent before the mast or made first mate.

The appearance of Miss Woodhull in the front rank of the movement, with an offer of a $10,000 subscription, and with a weekly paper at her back, together with the adhesion of Mr. Butler and Mr. Loughridge, and the establishment of a committee in Washington to watch Congress and get a 'recognition' out of the President, proves the gradual entrance of the movement on the 'cute practical stage. In other words, it is working its way 'inside politics,' and attracting the attention of many truly patriotic politicians. We observe that Senator Wilson, who has been walking round it, poking it with a stick, and snuffing it for two or three years, has at last decided that it will suit him, and has stepped up on the platform.

Mr. Jenckes has brought in a modified bill for the reorganization of the Civil Service, providing simply that all officers of the Civil Service of the Government, except judges and clerks of United States courts, members of the Cabinet, and ministers to foreign courts, shall be selected by open and competitive examination; the examinations to be conducted, and all the rules and regulations relating to them to be framed by a commissioner and two assistant commissioners, appointed by the President, with the confirmation of the Senate. The rules and regulations are to be subject to the approval of the President, and every candidate is to pay five dollars before he can be examined, and ten if he obtains a certificate. All persons now in the Civil Service are to be examined as soon as the act passes, and dismissed if they do not come up to the required standard; and, in spite of the 'law of 1853,' and Mr. Boutwell's 'examination schedules,' we fear there would, if the bill should pass, be a terrible clearance. Provision is made for cases of eminent fitness for particular duties, in the absence of book-knowledge, by enabling the President to dispense with an examination whenever the head of a department advises him that it will be conducive to the public service to do so. This might be made the means of breaking down the whole system; but there can hardly be doubt that, if it were in operation even two or three years, no President or head of department would dare to break it down. No mention is made of the tenure, but 'half a loaf is better than no bread,' and we presume there are few friends of the reform who would not be only too glad to secure even the filling of all vacancies from persons holding the certificates of the commissioners. Good men would not be dismissed so often if it were known that their places would have to be taken by men of the same kind. But what would become of the young men whom Mr. Boutwell says he is training up for the professions in the Treasury, and whom he paternally turns out as soon as he thinks they are ready for the cold world?

Another Life Insurance Company has been indicted by the State Superintendent, and a receiver of its property appointed by the courts. The proceedings show not only the worst kind of reckless mismanagement, and extravagant expenditure of a doubtful character, but a systematic falsification of entries for the purpose of deceiving the public and deluding the State authorities. The State Superintendent, who is doing his duty courageously, and apparently with intelligence, has probably done all that can be reasonably expected of him by 'discovering, disclosing, and denouncing these vicious practices.' But if, as he states, these false and fictitious entries were made with intent to 'give a false result and impression,' it would seem that here was an opportunity for some of our other officials to display a similar efficiency. Now that the District Attorney is no longer occupied with 'usury' prosecutions, how would it do to look into some of Superintendent Miller's allegations concerning false entries made by insurance companies? The victims of the latter are much less able to protect themselves than were the victims of the wicked usurers who excited the spontaneous indignation of our ever-watchful guardians of the public virtue and the public purse.

The unsatisfactory condition of general business is well illustrated by the fact that almost every one of the leading city papers is discussing the 'true causes of the hard times.' Decline in prices, from whatever cause, invariably makes business dull and unprofitable. The decline in cotton and breadstuffs appears to be arrested mainly by liberal export orders; but meat of every description, both fresh and cured, has had another decided fall, and is selling lower than at any time since 1865. Coal has been forced up on pretence of the strike which has now become general, and drygoods have been firmer on a somewhat better trade than was anticipated, and on the stoppage of many New England mills owing to the drought. Otherwise trade remains unchanged. Collections are greatly complained of, and Chicago reports again numerous failures. The troubles in Boston and New York growing out of the Oakes Ames suspension appear to be in a fair way of temporary adjustment, although rumor continues busy with the names of other parties interested. Mr. Ames' creditors have given him a liberal extension of time, and the management of the Union Pacific Railroad is to be reorganized under the auspices of strong parties in New York, from whose skill and credit great results are expected. Money has again become easy; but the banks, though nominally stronger, are not in as good a position as might be desired. Stocks have been materially higher, but fluctuating, under the usual manipulations of cliques, and without any participation by the general public. Gold keeps remarkably steady, and lends plausibility to the discussion of a return to specie payments, now being revived with some earnestness.

The meeting in celebration of the union of Italy and the restoration of Rome to its proper owners, the Italian people, was a great success, one of the largest and most enthusiastic ever seen in this city—a result somewhat due, we think, to the announcements made about the timidity of the politicians. A few—about five, and all Republicans—ventured to write letters expressing sympathy with the meeting; the remainder of a large number invited either wriggled out of it or frankly acknowledged their fear. The committee ought, as we suggested last week, to make thorough exposure of them. It has, we believe, tried to put a good face on the matter, and to conceal the extent of the coward.

ice which it met with, through sheer shame and dislike to let the Papal party see of what stuff American politicians were made; but this, we cannot help feeling, is a mistake. The public is not afraid, and a good exposure of the politicians—who are perhaps the basest and meanest class modern society has produced—would do as much to keep ecclesiastical pretensions within bounds as anything that could be devised for the purpose.

The old year closed, in South Carolina, and the new year opened, with a series of disturbances in the 'up-country,' as the northwestern corner of the State is called, which quite rival the lawlessness in North Carolina, against which Governor Holden called out his militia. Sometimes the blacks began the taking of life, and sometimes the whites, but the latter figure oftenest in the familiar Ku-klux rôle of surrounding and murdering a man in his own house, or breaking open jails and carrying off the prisoners, to be shot in secret, with greater or less atrocity. Much of this is a sequel of the bitterness engendered by the late election, and to have been a Republican trial-justice, or a candidate for representative, has not been 'healthy' in Union, Newberry, Laurens, or Spartanburg. All parties admit the fact of these disorders, and the Governor has been urged to send his militia to the seat of them. The North Carolina example has, perhaps, saved him from doing that, though he is compelled to take some steps to investigate the matter. If specific remedies were of much use in such cases, we should count that a right step which a legislator has taken in moving to amend the unjust election law which raised suspicions of fraud, if it did not in all cases lead to the perpetration of it; and that is also a proper bill which makes the county liable for damages committed by any mob within its limits. But it is evident that the true friends of the State should pray and work as they are able for three things: the decline of the carpet-bag influence, the increase of population by immigration, and the establishment of an efficient school-system. The first reform must pretty much take care of itself. Ku-klux and other outrages are the great obstacles to the second, which is favored by a bill now before the Senate, giving aliens the right to hold property in the State on equal terms in all respects with native citizens. As for schools, the last report of the Commissioner of Education can number only 657, less than one-half of which are in what even a Carolinian would call 'good condition.' The State appropriates but $50,000 a year for a school population of 175,000. The teachers are generally very incapable and appointed without proper examination, and the people are apathetic about sending their children to get instruction. It chimes with what we said the other day to read that the Freedmen's Bureau Schools are decidedly the best in the State.

The army of General Chanzy, attempting to cover Le Mans, has fought a series of engagements on the banks of the Huisne, a northeastern affluent of the Sarthe, and suffered a crushing defeat. The reports, however, as far as received here, concerning the movements preceding, accompanying, and succeeding the decisive encounters, are uniformly imperfect, and, in part, quite incongruous. What we can best make out is the following: The first considerable engagements took place on Tuesday, the 10th, east of the Huisne, both main divisions of Frederic Charles's command pressing on the French, who were forced back toward Le Mans with a loss of several pieces of artillery and two thousand prisoners. The Prussian right wing, under the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg, crossed the Huisne on that day, and, on the following, a great battle was fought between Montfort and Le Mans, the French army, posted on both banks of the river, being attacked all along the line. The fight was hotly contested, and seems to have been decided by the disastrous defeat of the French right. Chanzy fell back in a northwesterly direction, leaving ten thousand prisoners in the hands of the victors, and abandoning Le Mans, which Frederic Charles entered on Thursday, the 12th, capturing large quantities of supplies and war material. On the last-named day, however, Chanzy's left wing—then his rear—was still able to contest, though ineffectually, the advance of the Grand-Duke in a severe engagement, which cost the French another thousand prisoners, and after which it crossed the Sarthe, west of Savigné-l'Évêque, closely pursued by the enemy. The defeated army was again assailed on the 13th and 15th, losing considerably; and, on its double line of retreat, along the railroads to Laval and Alençon—that is, to Brest and Cherbourg—evacuated the vast fortified camp of Conlie and Beaumont-sur-Sarthe. Frederic Charles reports it to be 'broken up and disorganized,' after an aggregate loss of twenty thousand in captives alone.

In the East, where we at last distinctly see General Bourbaki in command of the French forces, the Germans have met with little success in their renewed offensive movements, and have fallen back on the defensive, while waiting for overwhelming reinforcements—the Second, Seventh, and Fourteenth Corps—under Gen. Manteuffel, who is to assume command in that department. After desultory fighting, with varying success, against some smaller French detachments, between Langres and Montbard, the Germans, under Von Werder, advanced against Bourbaki's main body, posted on the Oignon, on the confines of the Departments of Doubs and Haute-Saône, and attacked it on the 9th. Both commanders reported victory—Von Werder also the capture of eight hundred prisoners—and both announced the carrying of Villersexel by storm; but Bourbaki, who, on the evening of the battle, 'could not ascertain the full extent' of his success, subsequently reported his troops passing the whole of Tuesday night in driving the enemy from the houses of that town, which shows that neither party had been decisively victorious on Monday. Later, however, we hear of Bourbaki at Onans, beyond Villersexel, and carrying Arcey, on the road to Héricourt and Belfort; still later, through a despatch from the Swiss border, dated the 13th, of 'severe fighting all that day' west of Héricourt, 'which had not ceased at a late hour in the evening, the result unknown;' and, finally, of a Prussian victory on the 15th, 'south of Belfort.' On the final result of these operations depends the fate of that Alsatian fortress, the siege of which was vigorously pushed at last accounts. In the North, Peronne had capitulated with three thousand men, Longwy was invested, the citadel of Givet threatened for a short while, and Cambrai menaced by Von Goeben, who had replaced Manteuffel at the head of the forces operating against Faidherbe and Havre.

The Prussian fire against six or seven of the forts of Paris—on the south and east—connected with some shelling of the southwestern region of the city itself, has been kept up throughout the week. The besieging batteries having been advanced, according to a Versailles despatch, a thousand paces nearer Forts Issy and Vanves, the bombardment in that direction, which had slackened on Tuesday, the 10th, on account of a snow-storm, was resumed with vigor on the following day, and continued on the 12th. The barracks of Fort Issy were seen to be in ruins, and several fires to have broken out at different points within the French lines. The besieged had erected new batteries, and the besiegers, expecting a sortie against their lines in the south-west, were crowding in front of Clamart and Meudon. And according to communications from within the walls, the quarters of the city lying north of Forts Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge were all that time exposed to a rain of shells, which sometimes fell every two minutes, striking the Champ-de-Mars, the Hôtel des Invalides, the Luxembourg, the Sorbonne, the Church of St. Sulpice, the Val-de-Grace, and their surroundings, and doing havoc in streets, private buildings, and hospitals, and among collections of art. The simultaneous bombardment from the east, however, had little effect upon the city. On Friday, the 13th, the army of Paris made vigorous sorties in opposite directions, advancing at the same time against the Prussian Guards, near Le Bourget and Drancy, east of St. Denis, against the Prussian Eleventh Corps, near Meudon, and against the Second Bavarian, near Clamart. All these assaults, however, met with decided repulses after some spirited fighting. On the 14th, the bombardment was renewed, Forts Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge—as reported from Versailles—being silent. Some fresh batteries, unmasked by the French on the 16th, were also silenced.

WHAT GAMBETTA IS DOING FOR FRANCE.

We do not know where in modern history there is anything to be found so miserable as is the state of France at this moment. To men who know what war means, and what are the conditions of success in war, and what the strong and weak points of French armies are, there has not been a chance for France since the fall of Metz. It is not possible to improvise an army of Frenchmen—and improvise it without officers, too—which can stand in the open field against such a machine as the Prussian army, in itself an almost perfect instrument of destruction, and drawing, as no other army in the world does, its reinforcements from trained reserves, and, more than all, fighting under a strategist of whom it is no exaggeration to say that he has had only one equal since Julius Cæsar. The hosts which Gambetta has been drawing together in the provinces, and which Trochu has been trying to train in Paris, really do little more than madden the invader, make his exactions more remorseless, and his temper fiercer. They are picturesque, to be sure, and furnish exciting reading for the winter's fireside, the vain efforts of these crowds of peasants with their new Chassepots and their new uniforms to stem this dreadful tide, which is sweeping across their frozen fields, cruel and irresistible as fate itself. But their spasmodic valor only fills a few more German homes with mourning; it does not stay the conqueror's march or render the issue doubtful. We do not say that it is not better to have fought and lost than never to have fought at all. People owe something to their self-respect, even when they know that exertion is useless. There are times when men owe it to their own manhood to fight on, no matter how the fight is going to end; but Frenchmen have done all that either pride or patriotism calls for. There is nothing left in their struggle to call forth any fresh admiration. People who read of the havoc wrought by former wars can draw from it no conception of the havoc of this, because no war of ancient or modern times has been carried on on so great a scale and with so much destructiveness in the midst of a country so densely peopled and so highly cultivated as France is. The Prussian army is to-day working more misery than any army of its size has ever wrought. The houses it destroys can soon be rebuilt, the fields restored to cultivation, and the high roads and bridges to traffic; there are no scars left by war on the face of the earth which human industry cannot soon remove; but the shock of hostile armies in the midst of a society so populous, highly civilized, and so complicated in all its relations as French society is, means misery which no human power can wipe out—the disruption of family ties where ties were close, numerous, and of infinite value—the loss of the accumulations of years in a country where accumulation is slow—the destruction of homes where homes are hard to win and dearly loved. Neither labor, nor capital, nor domestic industry, nor foreign charity, nor peace, nor good government can give back to this generation of Frenchmen what the events of the last six months have taken from it. It will find peace in the grave, but nowhere this side of it. This seems a hard thing to say, but it is literally true. We must not judge of French capacity for recuperation by our experience of a country like ours, in which hope overflows, ties of all kinds sit lightly and are easily dissolved, enterprise vigorous, resources boundless, and change a habit.

For all these reasons, horrible a thing as it seems, we confess we cannot greatly regret anything which promises to hasten the conclusion of this mad struggle. If the bombardment of Paris will do it, better Paris should be bombarded than that this wild hoping against hope, and these frantic efforts to achieve the impossible and avoid the inevitable, should go on much longer. Nobody who thinks calmly about the future of France, can help wishing that the end be reached quickly through whatever brief increase of devastation. Whatever chance she had of an orderly constitutional government after the fall of the Empire, Gambetta and his coadjutors are deliberately destroying. Under the most favorable circumstances, with peace and plenty within her borders, to set up such a government, as everybody knows, were no easy matter. A thousand illusions, hates, hopes, and fears work against it, and work in a way for which the best Frenchmen have as yet been unable to find a remedy. The task of creating institutions that will give her peace and liberty and order is one from which her ablest men, even in the most tranquil times, shrink almost in despair. We believe we have read what nearly every one of them has had to say within the last five years about what is in store for her, and have as yet failed to light upon one confident or joyful anticipation. What will that task be after the Prussian troops are withdrawn, and the ruined towns and famished provinces are left face to face with their misery and humiliation, without an army, or a government, or anything in the shape of an institution for which they have a shred of gratitude or respect? M. Laveleye says there will then be a great reaction in favor of religion, and he is perhaps right; but even in this prospect there is little political comfort to be found, for he confesses, as all must confess who know what religious revivals in Catholic countries mean, that the first effect of this reaction will be the increase of the influence of the priesthood—in other words, a falling back towards the Middle Ages.

Considering that the efforts of the Imperialists have been steadily directed during the last eighteen years towards the destruction of even such rudiments of self-reliance and political sense as had sprung up under the Restoration and the Orleanists, the first duty of those who overthrew the Imperial régime, with its 'personal government,' was clearly to set up a representative assembly that would in some degree express the opinions and feelings of the country, and bring home to all voters a sense of their responsibility for their fate. A worse offence against France than the continued refusal to allow the country to take charge of its own affairs and decide on its own destinies, it would be hard to think of; and yet—so strange are the ways of French politicians—this the members of the Government of National Defence immediately set about committing. They set up another personal government instead of Louis Napoleon's. They entrusted the management of French affairs in peace and war to a couple of lawyers in black broadcloth, instead of an adventurer dressed up as a field-marshal—but, this done, everything went on as before. What Badinguet did, Gambetta does. He levies taxes, raises levies of men, carries on war, arrests, shoots, hangs, and transports—with better motives than Badinguet's and a better character than Badinguet's, we freely admit, but with, we sincerely believe, the same influence as regards politics on the French mind. The reasons which to an American or Englishman imperatively prescribed the calling together of a national assembly—that is, the danger of the country and its need of men and taxes and allies—he and Jules Favre unblushingly assigned as reasons why no assembly should be called, and why Gambetta should be allowed to do what was right in his own eyes. Fancy Lincoln's or Stanton's gravely informing us in 1861 that, the condition of public affairs being very critical, and one-half the country being occupied by hostile forces, they would govern as long as the war lasted as their own wills dictated, and without Congress; and yet Lincoln and Stanton were the products of a popular vote. Moreover, Gambetta has gone rather further than Louis Napoleon. *He* doctored and manipulated the elections so that the legislature should not be otherwise-minded than himself; but Gambetta, to avoid this very same result, gravely announces that he will not call the legislature together at all.

The consequence is that there is, in the midst of their great agony, absolutely no way in which the French people can express their wishes with regard to the prosecution of the war. The French press has never been of much value as an organ of public opinion; it is now of less value than ever. The principal newspapers appear inside the besieged capital; the others have little circulation and no influence whatever. At this moment, therefore, the young lawyer who is wielding the national resources has within his reach no means of consulting the people whose blood and money he is so lavishly spending, and, as is not unnatural, does not wish for any such means. It is said, we know, that the readiness with which he is obeyed proves that his acts are authorized by the nation; but this is, under the circumstances, an odd argument. He and his colleagues have so managed matters that the choice of Frenchmen lies between Gambetta's government and no government at all; between obedience to his orders and anarchy; between a profession of faith in his bombastic proclamations and an abject and unconditional surrender to the enemy. What can a Frenchman do or say before such an alternative? Was there ever such an alternative offered to a great nation, and was there ever such treason to the cause

of popular government as the pretence that it is all that Frenchmen ought to ask for or have any right to expect? The worst of Gambetta's rule is, however, that it still further familiarizes the French people with the processes of despotism; it confirms them in the deplorable habit of seeking relief in 'personal government' from the dangers and responsibilities and anxieties of self-government; it strengthens that contempt for parliamentary bodies, as mere assemblages of rhetoricians, which more or less pervades French society, and which has been the great support of the military régime, for so many generations the curse of the country. The more successful Gambetta is in carrying on the war, the more difficult does he render it to set up anything better than Gambetta in the shape of a government after the war is over. His failure, therefore, humiliating as it is for France, is not the worst thing that could happen her. If the misfortunes which have overtaken her under the knot of gentlemen who have charge of her destinies in this unhappy war should do anything to destroy all faith in 'saviours of society' and brilliant 'organizers,' and to attach the popular mind firmly to the slow and clumsy but sure and healthy methods of popular government, bitter as they are, and hard to bear, they will in the long run prove better than victories.

THE SCANDAL AMONG THE METHODISTS.

An investigation with open doors into the alleged frauds in the Methodist Book Concern has at last been commenced and is now pending. When it is remembered that the first public mention of these frauds was made in September, 1869, and that ever since that time not only the reputation of the Methodist body but of religion itself has been suffering seriously from the stories told about them, it must be admitted that the delay in examining them has been a most remarkable phenomenon. The main fact of the case is that Dr. Lanahan, the assistant agent or superintendent in charge of the Concern, declared, a year and a-half ago, that he had discovered serious waste and even dishonesty in its management. As soon as he made this charge, there ought to have been an immediate and thorough investigation, and the persons touched by it ought, as honorable men and good Christians, to have clamored for the investigation and refused all postponement. So far from this, however, nearly everybody connected with the Concern seems to have had his mind occupied not with the question whether there had really been fraud and mismanagement, but whether Dr. Lanahan could not be induced to stop the scandal caused by his mention of it and prevent the decline in the business of the Concern. On Dr. Lanahan's refusing to retract his charges, he was relegated to the character of a culprit, and, comically enough, it is he and not the persons whom he accused who is now on his trial. In fact, the 'credit' about which many of the brethren seem to have been most concerned all along is not the credit of the church as a spiritual institution, but the credit of the church as a moneyed corporation, with bills to meet, bonds to put on the market, and goods to sell.

We are not going to enter into a history of the affair or make more than a passing reference to the two or three sham or at least abortive investigations which have been attempted during the past year, and every one of which has resulted in confirming the impression that whether or not there had been fraud in the management of the Book Concern, there had been something wrong in it that called for examination, and that even if Dr. Lanahan were a libeller there was some foundation or color for his libels which needed clearing up. We shall express no opinion either as to the truth or falsehood of his statements. This is now at last under investigation, and, what is more important than all, public investigation; and though we hold the form of enquiry to be radically wrong and to reveal a most extraordinary misapprehension on the part of many leading men in the Methodist denomination as to the exact relations of the church to the community at large, it will, nevertheless, in all probability bring out the truth, which is the main point. When an officer of an institution managing what may fairly be called trust funds, brings a charge of malfeasance against any of his associates, the proceeding which usage and common sense prescribe is to put the person whom he accuses instantly on his defence, and to call on the accuser for his proofs. This is the course pursued in courts of law and in all enquiries of a judicial nature conducted by laymen. The charge of libel or of perjury against the prosecutor follows the trial of the accused but never precedes it. If a man, having had his watch stolen, goes to swear a complaint against somebody whom on good grounds he suspects of stealing it, the magistrate does not at once make the prosecutor give bail to appear and stand his trial on a charge of slander and defamation, and declare that the truth will come out in that way as well as in any other. If he did, there would be very few charges brought, and most thieves would escape. Or, to use a closer illustration—if the cashier of a bank was to inform the president that he had discovered that one of the tellers was a defaulter, the first act of the president would certainly be to secure the teller and investigate his accounts, and not to try the cashier for lying. If the president of a bank received charges of fraud against one of his officers as some members of the Methodist body have received the charges of fraud in the Book Concern, and enquired into their truth only indirectly, through a libel suit against the accuser, people would certainly be very shy of keeping deposits at his bank or owning stock in it. The time to try a false witness is after his accusations have been examined and have broken down. To treat him from the outset as a culprit is to favor crime by making the exposure of it troublesome and vexatious, if not dangerous. Slander and 'scandal' are bad things, but they are not so bad as theft or embezzlement, and it is recognized in all systems of jurisprudence with which we possess any acquaintance, that to make accusation *primâ facie* an offence would enable all other classes of offenders to thrive. If all this be true of the machinery for the protection of purely mundane interests, how much more true is it of machinery for the protection of interests that are eternal.

We doubt, indeed, if we have ever met with a more striking illustration of the dangers which the church runs whenever it becomes a great proprietor than is to be found in Judge Fancher's speech at the opening of Dr. Lanahan's trial. After mentioning the publication of Dr. Lanahan's charge in the newspapers in September, 1869, he proceeds to speak of their consequences. To anybody who duly considers what the Methodist denomination and all other denominations profess to be and undertake to do, the consequences of most gravity seem obvious enough; indeed, the gravest consequences are so grave that all others beside them seem utterly insignificant and trivial. Of course, in the case of an institution which has for its object the spread of moral and religious truth, and which is ostensibly managed for the glory of God and not for worldly profits, the most lamentable result, and indeed, it would seem, the only result worth mention, of a charge of pecuniary dishonesty againsts its conductors, is the shock to the religious convictions of that large body of persons in all churches and communities in whose eyes the claims of religion to confidence and respect are based on the character of its leading teachers and professors. That a youth who has been brought up on the mental and moral pabulum supplied by the Book Concern should be suddenly informed that the managers of the Concern, who get up and distribute all these improving publications, are a parcel of knaves who care more for their own pockets than for the salvation of souls, is certainly a serious matter, not so much because he will not buy or read the books of the Concern any more, as because it shakes his faith in everything he has held sacred—the greatest misfortune that can happen to a human being.

We were, therefore, a good deal surprised—we were going to say, entertained—at reading Judge Fancher's enumeration of the terrible things which happened after the publication of Dr. Lanahan's charges in the New York *Times*. As the first, and we suppose the worst, he sets down the heavy depreciation of certain bonds issued by the Book Concern to pay for the new building called the 'Publishing House.' Those persons who had bought some already declared they were swindled, and nobody else could be got to buy any at all. An effort, the judge says, was then made to do 'something to counteract the effect of that atrocious article'—that is, the effect not on faith and morals, but on the credit of the Concern in Wall Street. Dr. Lanahan refused, however, to sign a paper that was prepared for this purpose; so Judge Fancher declares with much solemnity, 'that the man who would

permit such an article to circulate without following it with an explanation was not fit to have charge of the vast interests of the Methodist Book Concern,' as if the first and great interest of the Book Concern and of all other 'Concerns' on the globe was not to be honestly managed. After the appearance of the article, says the judge, not a bond could be issued, though $80,000 worth had previously been 'taken quite freely.' In 1867, the profits of the Concern were $88,602; in 1868, they were $131,950; but when these changes were made, they fell in 1869 to $68,719, and properly fell, we think; but the judge thinks it was horrible, and of other loss and damage he makes no mention. We wish they had fallen to nothing, and remained at nothing, until the charges were investigated fully and openly; it is a disgrace to the Methodist Church that the profits did not disappear altogether—that anybody bought its books, while its leading men were trying to shirk enquiry as to whether a solemn trust had or had not been grossly abused. Dr. Lanahan, according to Judge Fancher, has written to bishops and others of the clergy such words as these: 'Fraud, fraud, fraud! Infamous and deep has been the history of this Concern for many years.' 'Is a man,' the judge enquires, 'that is capable of writing that sentence, capable to stand in the place of one of the principal agents of the Book Concern?' May it please the judge, if the frauds exist, the man who wrote that sentence is just the man to stand in that place. Moreover, there is no surer sign of rottenness in any sect, body, or organization than the appearance of greater horror over the making of an accusation than over the commission of the offence. As soon as we see 'scandal' become the greatest dread of a community, we may be sure that its morals are becoming muddied at their source. The elaborate arrangements made by Jesuit casuists for its prevention at any cost are among the disgraces of Catholic theology, and we should be sorry to see similar pains taken in any Protestant denomination for the polishing of the outside of the platter. 'Bonds' might rise, and 'profits' grow, and 'sales' swell, and yet every object for which the Christian church exists be neglected. There is a point at which a man may become too 'good a business man' for the successful promotion of the Christian religion, and every denomination which for any purpose takes to buying and selling has to see to it that the managers of its affairs do not reach it.

SLAVIC AGITATIONS IN AUSTRIA.

The threatening attitude so suddenly assumed by Russia towards her southwestern neighbors, while declaring her determination no longer to abide by all the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, has caused quite a ferment among the Slavic populations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, on both sides of the Leitha. And were all the Slavic elements of that polyglot monarchy not only united by a loose tie of race-relationship in various degrees, but animated by converging national tendencies and sympathies, that ferment, openly and secretly fomented by Russian agencies, might become not a little dangerous to the continuance of the Germano-Hungarian leadership at Vienna and Pesth, and even to the very existence of the Empire. Fortunately, however, for Germans and Magyars, Francis Joseph and Beust, the elements opposed to or not participating in that leadership, are still further removed from political harmony, even, than from a real unity of language, available as a basis for constructive national purposes. More than this, some of the Austrian Slavi are at this moment agitated by feelings among themselves which not only conflict, but almost neutralize each other.

The most outspoken in their sympathies for Russia and her Panslavic advances are the Serbs of Hungary—also known as Rascians—who occupy the fertile lands on and near the Danube border in the south of that country, opposite the semi-independent Principality of (Turkish) Serbia, and who in 1848-49 made themselves conspicuous by their deadly struggle with the Magyars. Their organ, the *Srbski Narod* ('Serb Nation') of Neusatz, on the Danube, gives quite unequivocal vent to their revolutionary sentiments, when it says:

'This attitude of Russia means the resurrection of the Slavic world; the Russian is the deliverer and avenger of the Slavi. . . . The Austro-Hungarian press preaches a crusade against the Russians. Is it stupidity or insolence which makes the Magyars see allies in the Slavi against Russia? They deceive themselves. The Slavi, of Austro-Hungary as well as of Turkey, have ceased to mind their Agas and Spahis. The hour of justice and freedom has come. The resurrection is nigh. The bridegroom is coming for his bride. We are ready to stand anything rather than, jointly with Tartars, lift up our hand against our Slavic brethren. Let the gentlemen at Vienna and Pesth know, then, that in our eyes a war against Russia means a struggle against the freedom of the East, a struggle of barbarians against civilization.'

And this mouthpiece of the Serb nation is the more inclined to see barbarians in Germans and Hungarians, and in the Russians defenders of civilization, as the latter are not only Slavi, but upholders of the Greek double cross, which the Serbs worship, against Protestants and Catholics.

The Poles of Galicia, on the other hand, who, though Slavi themselves, and not entirely devoid of general Slavic sympathies, see in the Russians only the bloody persecutors both of their country and church, and in a triumph of Russian Panslavism the final extinction of their nationality, naturally take the opposite view of the complication, hailing in it a chance of once more unfurling their banner—this time side by side with Magyars and Germans—*for* 'the freedom of the East,' against the Muscovite barbarians. And their impatience to fly to arms against these deadly foes is increased by the desire of indirectly aiding France—their ally of old, and so often their last, though deceptive, hope—in her desperate contest with Prussia, whose secret ally they see in the Czar. Unmindful of the perils to which the open northern and eastern frontiers of their province and the hostility of their Ruthenian fellow-citizens would, in case of an Austro-Russian conflict, surely expose that last asylum of Polish autonomy and nationality, they tremble at the idea of a diplomatic conference settling the 'Black Sea question' without the arbitrament of arms; and the Polish press of Galicia gives frequent utterance to their dissatisfaction with the slowness of the Hungarians to move in the affair, considering which, in all its aspects, there cannot be but perfect accord of interest and sentiment between the two warlike and friendly nations north and south of the Carpathians. But the Magyars, though hostile to Russia almost as intensely as the Poles, and, since the fall of the Empire, unanimous in their lively sympathy with France, are now, as usual, inclined to follow reason and wise statesmanship rather than sudden impulses; and, while waiting for England to give the signal for a general 'crusade against the Russians,' prudently abstain from rushing into war, with only Cis-Leithan Austria and Turkey for allies, which, as an avowed republican in the Pesth *Hon* ('Fatherland') expresses it, would be committing the useless crime of national suicide from love of France and the republic.

The Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia occupy a middle ground between their Rascian and Polish brethren, with an apparently decided leaning towards the former. And while the Poles, in spite of all the crimes Austria formerly committed against them, can now be counted upon by Count Beust as the most loyal to the sceptre of his master, and are ready to compromise their grievances with the Reichsrath through the President of the Cis-Leithan cabinet—Count Potocki, their countryman—the Czechs, formerly the pets of the monarchy, are the principal stumbling-block in the path of the Austrian statesmen of the present, and the deadweight on the machinery of the new constitution of the Empire. In vain has Potocki tried to conciliate them by moderate concessions. In vain have elections to the Reichsrath by districts been ordered to replace the representatives chosen by the Bohemian Diet, who, being all Czechs, refused to appear. The Czech opposition has spurned the conciliatory overtures, and, by voting for recusants in the district elections it declared to be illegal, frustrated their result; and thus the Czech nation is not only unrepresented in the Cis-Leithan parliament, but maddened by its own violent yet hitherto fruitless resistance, and almost ready to go to extremes. Revolt, however, being impossible under the actual circumstances, going to extremes means to threaten rebellion in furtherance of the Panslavic movements of Russia, should these lead to a collision between her and the Austro-Hungarian Empire; and this Dr. Rieger and a number of his fellow-agitators in Bohemia and Moravia, aided by a simultaneous agitation among Croats, Slovens, and other South-Austrian Slavi, [illegible] done, in a memorial presented to Count Beust, to be [illegible] by him

to the Emperor. The memorial solemnly declares that any attempt at coercing Russia to observe the treaty of 1856 would be an insult to the whole Slavic race; that the Czechs are firmly united by ties of race and tradition with all other Slavic nationalities, and therefore warn Austria of the peril in which an anti-Russian policy would place her very existence as an empire.

Unfortunately, however, for Czech political logic, the same memorial puts almost equal emphasis upon what it declares to be just, wise, and good Slavic policy in regard to the Franco-Prussian struggle—that is, a policy favoring the preservation of French integrity and the limitation of Prussian aggression. This, it is true, shows the consistency of the memorialists' Slavic sentiments, as uniformly directed against the Germans; but, when closely examined, places them in actual antagonism to themselves. For to demand an Austrian policy friendly both to Russia and France, at a moment when Austria is known to abstain from interfering in favor of the latter, and taking revenge for Sadowa, mainly from fear of the former, is to stultify one's self. And what makes the position assumed by the memorializers still more untenable is the circumstance that the French sympathies of the Czechs, who are chiefly Catholics, are known to be much more sincere and general than their enthusiasm for Russia, which is displayed mainly for political effect, and by no means shared by either the clergy or the aristocracy, both of whom would require but little persuasion to join in a 'crusade against the Russians.' All this has made it easy for Count Beust to treat the memorialists with decision and almost with contempt, telling them that if the Czech nation demands to be heard concerning the international policy of the Empire, it must appear in the representative assembly of the latter; that the channel of communication the signers of the memorial have chosen is altogether unconstitutional; and that their offensive utterances only stop short of high treason. And the Czech agitators have the mortification of seeing their action ridiculed and denounced not only by the German and Magyar press, but also by the Polish journals, of the Empire, while the only words of comfort they receive from beyond its boundaries are the encouraging greetings of their Slavic brethren of Moscow and St. Petersburg—whom they serve so well.

THE TWO 'MOVEMENTS' AMONG WOMEN.

THERE has been a horticultural school established near Boston for the education of women in the culture of flowers and their preparation for the market—an excellent occupation, and one for which women are apparently admirably fitted. They have a natural love of flowers; the colors and the perfume are both very grateful to them, far more so than to men, and they have a natural gift for making up bouquets. Nevertheless, the results accomplished by the school have not thus far been very satisfactory. To be sure, it has not nearly funds enough to carry on its operations as they ought to be carried on; but, then, the pressure of pupils on its resources has not been nearly as great as it was hoped it would be. It is too soon as yet to pronounce with any positiveness on the result of the experiment, but one is reasonably made anxious about it by the total failure of the various agricultural schools which have been established in various parts of the country to attract male pupils. We believe we are not guilty of much exaggeration when we say that these schools have no pupils. The young men who go to school and college are very largely influenced in doing so by a wish *not* to be farmers, while those who have to be farmers consider, and their fathers consider, that they can learn farming better on the farm than anywhere else. What farmers, young and old, want to know about the theory of farming, they get from the agricultural books and newspapers, and what they do not want to know they think is not worth knowing. In the East, the most intelligent and most enterprising of the farmers' sons either refuse to follow their fathers' calling altogether and go to the cities and become clerks or salesmen, or go out West and try farming by machinery on a grand scale, getting all they can out of the ground with the least possible trouble and outlay. In fact, in spite of prodigious exertions on the part of poets, orators, editors, and lecturers, rural life, especially if accompanied by the tillage of the soil, is not held in much esteem by the people who have had most experience of it. Their highest ambition, and the first use to which they put talents or good fortune, is to get out of it. They say it is laborious and lonesome, and, therefore, opposed to 'the spirit of the age;' and the women like it less than the men, and find its hardships and inconveniences more serious. Our city ladies, however late the hours they keep, or heavy and hot the suppers they eat, or however deeply they plunge into fashionable dissipation, are pictures of health compared to country girls. A vigorous New York belle, even after a winter's gaiety, would be stared at in any country district for her appearance of rude health. The 'milkmaid' whose 'roses' have stood so many poets in good stead, is now a cadaverous creature, with sunken eyes, and pallid cheeks, and flat arms, and weary limbs with no spring in them. She is, in fact, going out of poetry as fast as she can—the poets are hurrying her feeble steps.

It is, therefore, not unreasonable to fear that the horticultural experiment will not succeed unless women who have 'the elevation of woman' at heart will go into it, and show what may be done by it, and things like it, for female health and happiness. In so far as it has been tried, its effects on the health of the women, we believe, have been very remarkable; but we doubt if the proclamation of this fact will do as much for it as it ought, and for several reasons, which we shall state as moderately and inoffensively as we can.

There are two movements going on among women in our day—the first, among the farmers' daughters and working-girls generally, and which is by far the most widely spread and the strongest, has for its object what may be called a 'genteel,' or, in other words, an idle life, or a life of light, clean, indoor, and sedentary labor, which does not involve a total sacrifice of personal liberty—which, for instance, leaves the evenings free, and makes the work certain in kind and quantity, and brings with it more or less society and amusement. It is this movement which makes so many girls miserable in farm-houses, and fills the cities with sewing-girls and shop-girls, and it is all but overwhelming. It makes little or no noise, has no 'organs,' holds no meetings, and pays no lecturers; but it has an amount of pristine human nature at its back which gives it a literally appalling strength. It is curious to see, too, how widely different views of life its promoters take from those current among the woman's suffrage advocates. That 'independence' which the friends of 'the cause' are constantly clamoring for, the vast body of working women thoroughly detest and abhor. They take views of marriage, and of the ends of marriage, old-fashioned enough to satisfy Abraham himself; that is to say, they look on marriage as a profession, and a very delightful one, too, which every one of them wants to enter at the earliest possible moment. The inequality in the laws relating to the property of married women have no terrors for them; and so far from regarding man as a possible 'tyrant,' and treating with him, as the lawyers say, at arm's length, they are only too ready to surrender their liberty to him, merge their existence in his, and become his 'slave,' in return for a living and a home, and the chance of having one or two children. From these women, schemes for raising women above the necessity of marriage receive no sort of countenance. They are really independent or self-dependent, they say, and know what a miserable condition it is; while the ladies who paint its delights on the platform or in the columns of the 'organs' generally do *not* know what it is, and have not worked friendless for a living, and therefore do not know what they are talking about, and ought not to be listened to.

The second movement is designated in a rough way as the Woman's Rights movement. This has for its object, nominally, not only the admission of women to the electoral franchise, but their admission on equal terms with men to all employments and occupations. It so happens, however, that the women most prominently engaged in it make no secret of their contempt for all the harder and more obscure modes of earning a livelihood, and particularly for those which have hitherto been mainly or exclusively confined to women. They treat housekeeping, including cooking, dusting, sweeping, dressmaking, washing, and baby-tending with undisguised scorn, as unworthy the powers of the ideal woman whose cause they plead. Needlework, too, they hold in low repute. The callings which they exalt both by their teaching and example are those which are either carried on in public, and are attended with more or less excitement, or which offer the chance of earning money without much labor of the hands. They encourage women to be brokers, lawyers, ministers, lecturers, editors, doctors, and professors, as not only the best means of asserting their outward equality, but of demonstrating the great capacity of the female mind. The general result of the agitation has been, therefore, to strengthen and diffuse the repugnance to steady, and what some economists would call productive, industry which has been for some time gaining ground among the youth of both sexes. The young men from the country do not want to work on the farm, or enter a work-

shop and learn a trade, if they can possibly get a clerkship or engage in some kind of speculation. The young women do not want to wash, or cook, or milk, or make butter, or raise flowers, or fruit, or vegetables, or engage in any employment that hardens the hands and requires stooping, as long as there is a chance of sewing to do, or, better still, of lecturing, or writing for magazines, or marrying. Both sexes are laboring might and main, in short, to shift the rough, hard work of the world on some one else, and the attempt has, to a certain extent, succeeded in this country, owing to the constant supply of coarse labor from Europe ready to undertake it. But it is quite plain we are nearly reaching the limits of the possible in this direction.

'Third parties' are rarely successful, and yet, unless the signs of the times are very deceptive, there is room for one, and urgent need for one, in that thorny field of sociological speculation known as Woman's Condition. It is becoming plainer every day that it is an immense misfortune that it should have been taken hold of in this country by agitators out of work, and who have agitated so long, and love agitation so much, that agitation has come to seem in their eyes the principal business of life. Their influence on women, so far as it has gone, has been to make obscure toil—that is, the toil to which the great mass of mankind must always be condemned, and in which the bulk of our duties must always lie—more and more distasteful. So far from checking the tendency amongst the women who do not care anything about their suffrage doctrines to crowd into the towns in search of a shabby-genteel living, they have, so far as their influence has gone, fostered it. The model woman whom they hold up before the country-girl's eyes is the young girl who, feeling herself too good for handwork, takes to the stump for a living, and, by dint of burning eloquence, makes ten thousand dollars a year, and perorates in black velvet and a gold chain; or the other young woman, with ringlets and a sailor's hat, who, having deft fingers, learns to ply the reporter's pencil with faultless skill, and passes a distinguished and honored existence rushing about the country, taking down the speeches of female orators, and describing their dresses; or, better still, the woman's rights agitator herself, who attends four conventions a month, travels ten thousand miles, and 'corners' eight members of Congress, and reduces three twaddling ministers, and an old fogy of a judge, and a flippant male editor, to appalled silence during the winter campaign. There is no woman engaged in the achievement of these triumphs whose history contains anything which need make any American girl despair of imitating her. Some of the successful public women —if we may use the term—it is true, have had something like an education; but, then, others who earn as much money as any of them have had no education at all. Some have had a social training, but, then, others who have had none succeed just as well as any. Some have characters spotless as the driven snow, but others lost their characters long ago, and nevertheless figure as prominently and are as popular on the platform as the purest. In short, no girl, not absolutely deformed, who watches their performances and listens to their talk, no matter what her condition in life, need despair of imitating them, and as long as there is a possibility of imitating them the labor of the hands and of the back becomes daily harder to a girl of real ambition. Anybody who desires to win the hearts of the women of the country for productive industry will therefore find plenty to do, and will prove one of the greatest benefactors both sexes have ever had.

Correspondence.

THE LEE PEDIGREE AGAIN.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In your issue of January 12, Mr. E. C. Mead replies to certain criticisms on his published genealogy of the Lee family. Mr. Mead seems to misapprehend somewhat the functions of a critic in calling upon me to construct as well as tear down. He publishes a pedigree, with the presumed proofs, and when I allege that these are insufficient, he demands to be furnished with his right line of ancestry. However, if I can aid him I will waive the question of duty, and will try to do so.

Stripped of all unnecessary matters, it seems that Mr. Mead found among his family papers a pedigree copied in 1750 by the officials of Heralds' College. I presume it to be an extract from the Heralds' 'Visitation of London,' in 1664, as the different lines are brought down to 1663. There is no evidence that I can see connecting this document with any Virginian. It is an office copy, such as can be procured to-day by any one who pays the usual fee. Mr. Mead refers me, however, to page 51 of his book, where I read, as I had before, that William Lee of London, great-grandson of the emigrant, in 1771 wrote to Dr. Lee, of Winchester College, and claimed relationship. Mr. William Lee, indeed, says that his father had corresponded with Dr. Lee's father, and that they had agreed upon a common ancestry, being that of the Lees of Cotton.

This is all the evidence that I find of this affiliation, and I must repeat that, taken alone, it is insufficient. There is no proof that either of the gentlemen was versed in genealogy or competent to give an opinion entitled to weight. I would ask Mr. Mead if he imagines that any property or title could pass on such evidence? The tabular pedigree simply says that a Launcelot Lee of Cotton had six sons and four daughters; that the third son, Richard, was of the parish of St. Olave's, in the borough of Southwark, in 1663, and that he had a wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Langdon. But, as Mr. Mead shows, in 1663 Richard Lee, the emigrant, made his will, mentioning his wife Anna and eight children. Every one of these items makes it the more difficult to believe that these two Richards were the same person. Mr. Mead, seeing the difficulty, imagines that the emigrant had two wives; but this is a gratuitous supposition.

Here, indeed, I might rest the case, on the ground that there was no evidence to prove the identity of Colonel Richard Lee of Virginia with Richard Lee of Southwark. The case is, however, much stronger. Colonel Richard Lee, in his will, calls himself 'of Virginia, and lately of Strafford-Langton, in the County of Essex.' Now, we should naturally ask, was there any family of the name at Stratford-Langton? The answer is in the affirmative. As I wrote in my last communication, Sir Robert Lee, father of the first Baronet of the Quarrendon Lees, was buried at Stratford-Langton in 1616. The emigrant named his plantation Stratford, and his son, Richard Lee, jr., called his plantation Ditchley. The latter name was that of the family seat of the baronets.

I have said that there is hardly a doubt that the emigrant was a younger brother of Sir Henry Lee of Quarrendon, Bart. I do not assume that he was, although the circumstantial evidence is so strong, because to prove the fact satisfactorily would require an examination of parish registers and wills in England. As, contrary to Mr. Mead's suggestion, I have not brought forward a new pedigree to 'flatter the pride of some distant cousin of the family,' and as I have not the honor to be connected with any branch of any family of Lee, I respectfully decline to bear the expense of such a search in England. I have no doubt, however, that such investigations would prove the affiliation I have suggested, and the reviewer in the *Herald and Genealogist* considers the point as settled. I will add, that if the connection be proved, Mr. Mead will find a good account of the main stem of the Lees of Quarrendon in the third volume of the *Herald and Genealogist* already cited.

One little point may be noted. The tombstone of Richard Lee, jr., says that he 'was descended from an ancient family of Merton Regis, Shropshire.' Now, the Lees of Quarrendon are an offshoot of the Lees of Lee Hall, Shropshire. As I cannot find Merton Regis in Clarke's large *British Gazetteer*, I see no reason to suppose that this evidence favors the Cotton ancestry rather than the Lee Hall origin.

I do not understand Mr. Mead's allusion to the fact that 'another Richard Lee, of the house of Litchfield,' came to Virginia in 1641. Surely the will printed in his book is that of the emigrant ancestor of the Virginian family. William Lee, of London, writes, in 1771 (see p. 66), that the first Richard Lee, his great-grandfather, went there 'one hundred and thirty years ago to this very day,' *i.e.*, 1641. Surely Mr. Mead does not mean to suggest that there were two emigrants of the name recorded in his book.

The dispute between Mr. Mead and myself seems to be narrowed to this point. I take the will of the emigrant, which says that he was from Stratford-Langton. I show that there was a family of the name there, including a Richard, contemporary with the emigrant, and that the names of the family seats were revived in Virginia. These facts seem to make a strong presumption that the emigrant belonged to the Lees of Quarrendon.

Mr. Mead finds that, in 1771, Mr. William Lee had an idea that he belonged to another family of Lees. He also finds that there was a Richard in that family, but the few facts recorded about him are directly at variance with any identification with the emigrant. The family may prefer the opinion of the 'eminent ancestry' quoted, but genealogists will prefer more tangible proofs.

I have already denied any responsibility on my part to reconstruct the Lee pedigree. Mr. Mead published a book to show that Richard Lee

was the son of Launcelot Lee. I submit that he has not given a scintilla of evidence of the fact, but I am not bound to furnish the aforesaid Richard with lawful progenitors. Still, regarding this pedigree as typical, I have done what I could to aid any of the family in tracing its origin.

W. H. W.

[We have made up our minds that the Virginia Lees are descendants of the Lees of Quarrendon, and we shall not permit this theory to be impugned in our columns any more by anybody, no matter what his ancestry may be.—Ed. Nation.]

GAMBETTA'S AUTOCRACY.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In your able article of the 12th of January, entitled 'The French Resistance,' it seems to me that through love of legal forms you miss the strong point of the French case. Gambetta's authority is no doubt, as M. Guizot says, technically illegal. Yet, after all, when we look for things rather than words, what better title could Gambetta have than the purely voluntary obedience paid him throughout so large a portion of France—everywhere, in fact, where Prussian troops are not present—while even from down-trodden Alsace and Lorraine every possible response is made to his call?

This matter is so ably treated in the London *Spectator* of the 24th of December (which you have no doubt seen) that I need not enlarge upon it. As an American, however, I cannot forbear urging that we warmly sympathized in the woes of Venice, and thought Italy fully justified in all her efforts to free Venice from the Austrian yoke. Is France less justifiable in struggling to prevent Alsace and Lorraine from being subjected to a similar tyranny? Does the fact that the French are fighting at great odds and under great disadvantages make their cause less noble?

Surely we have not already forgotten through how many defeats our own army of the Potomac fought its way to victory. To my thinking, the devotion and patriotism now displayed by the French are worthy of the highest praise—quite as high as we should merit were the United States, for example, with New England overrun, and New York besieged, and the Southern States again in rebellion, still grimly fighting on, rather than make a shameful peace by the cession of Maine. But my letter is already too long. I remain, sir, yours faithfully, Devon.

Burlington, Vermont, January 14, 1871.

[1. The obedience paid to Gambetta is not voluntary; he is obeyed because there is nobody else to obey, and somebody must be obeyed in all civilized countries. Appointment by a national parliament is a better title than Gambetta's, and the only good one we know of.

2. The London *Spectator* has been thrown off its balance, as it has often been before, by the picturesqueness of Gambetta's performances. It sometimes forgives everything to a man who gets up a good tableau, and Gambetta has got up an admirable one—young lawyer, black beard, dark eyes, high boots, fur coat, absolute power, tremendous will, generals tremble before him, armies rise at his stamp, Junkerdom appalled by terrible civilian, and so on. It is magnificent, but it is not government.

3. France did not go to war to save Alsace and Lorraine. She went to war to rob and devastate Germany, and has used Alsace and Lorraine for a century and a half as a rendezvous and refuge when setting out on similar expeditions. We are not in favor of the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, but Frenchmen are estopped from crying out against it. There is no sort of resemblance between their case and that of the Italians. When men gamble, they must not wail because they lose the stakes.

4. The Army of the Potomac suffered no such defeats, or anything like such defeats, as the French army has suffered, and was opposed to no such enemy, and, in fact, to detect any resemblance between the condition of the North at any period of the late war and that of France now, requires an imagination which we confess ourselves incompetent to criticise.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

The first number of a new quarterly, the *Photographer's Friend*, is issued in Baltimore, and the publication seems calculated to be practically useful to the class named in its title. We do not know how much competition it has to meet in this country, but believe it is not the first of its kind. Like the foreign photographic journals, it gives a specimen of the art with each number—in this instance, a striking character-portrait, by Sarony, of Mrs. Scott Siddons, as Mary Queen of Scots. The literary execution of the *Photographer's Friend* is certainly not of the highest order. ——Messrs. Leypoldt & Holt, having disposed of four editions of Professor Pumpelly's 'Across America and Asia,' are about to publish a fifth and cheaper one, which, however, will be unabridged in every respect, including maps and illustrations. They have also nearly ready a cheaper edition of Taine's 'Italy,' making one volume out of two, but without abbreviation of the contents; and hope to publish before the summer the same author's 'English Literature.'——The American Tract Society of Boston has just completed an arrangement by which it transfers to Messrs. Hurd & Houghton the manufacture and sale of its large stock of publications, as well as the printing of its two newspapers. This we understand to be a purely economical proceeding, and not to indicate a winding-up of the Society either as regards its collections or fresh publications. In effect, the Society leases its plates, for a royalty, to Messrs. Hurd & Houghton, who will maintain a principal depository in Boston, keep also a stock at their bookstore in Astor Place, and supply the trade either from the Riverside Press at Cambridge or from this city.

—We were not a little surprised to meet with this sentence in the seventh article of a series of criticisms on Richard Grant White's 'Words and their Uses,' by a Yale professor, published in the *College Courant* (Jan. 7): '—— when, far worse than this, a paper of the character of the *Nation* can, on the authority of it [viz., 'Words and their Uses'], introduce into its columns such a formation as *presidental*, assuredly it is full time,' etc. But it happens that we were particularly offended by Mr. White's dictum in regard to the excellent word 'presidential,' and expressed ourselves quite plainly on page 351 of Vol. VII. (Oct. 29, 1868), as follows:

> We usually allow Mr. R. G. White to talk without interruption when he takes people to task for their errors of speech, and, perhaps, do not give him too much attention. The vulgarisms that cause him such grief we, we desire to thank heaven, are entirely free from. But as he was laying down the law the other day in the *Galaxy*, on 'Words and their Uses,' he seems to have hit out right and left in a way which has brought him into contact with ourselves among others. It is to be hoped, as we believe we have once before remarked, that Mr. White is well learned in philological knowledge, for he is abundantly peremptory in all that he says, although, to be sure, he escapes the pertness and laborious dulness and triviality of the Moons and the Goulds. But to the matter in hand. Mr. White wants people to say 'presidental' instead of 'presidential.' Now, as this is a word that we shall have to keep on using for more years than we can say, we should be obliged if Mr. White would inform us and the audience which he instructs what he does with 'tangential,' and what vestige of authority he has for what he says, and why he reasons from analogy as regards English orthography, and why he finds fault with so good a metaphor as calling a 'canvass' a 'campaign,' and what 'blatant Americanism' there is in a word so long known to English on both sides of the water as 'presidential?'

It only remains for us to beg the writer in the *Courant* to take an early opportunity of showing when the *Nation* has ever used (except to condemn it) the word 'presidental' and referred to Mr. White's book as its authority for so doing; and if he can point out an instance of the former, we shall be justified, we imagine, in the light of the above extract, in laying the occurrence of the odious form to a printer's error.

—The mention of Mr. Moon may properly be followed by a notice of the death of his antagonist, the Rev. Henry Alford, whose 'Queen's English' called out the 'Dean's English,' and a debate in which a considerable strain was put upon clerical urbanity, but without breaking it down. This verbal controversy, however, occupies a small place in the Dean's public career. His first ventures in literature were poetical, but he was still young when in 1841 he published the first volume of his critical Greek Testament, on which his fame and his usefulness as a theologian chiefly rest. This work was twenty years in passing through various editions under his hands, and in the meantime, in 1857, Palmerston had appointed him Dean of Canterbury. His latest service to letters was as editor of the *Contemporary Review*.

—The first annual report of the present national Commissioner of Education, General Eaton, consists of a general survey of the work of the Bureau during the past year, and of the topics treated of in the papers which accompany the report in the form of an appendix. These last are the work of many hands—on Kindergarten Culture, by Miss Peabody, on Hebrew Education, by J. J. Noah, on the Chinese Migration, by Prof. Day,

on Illiteracy in the United States, by Dr. Edwin Leigh, etc. The chief labor of the Bureau has been in making abstracts of the school reports of every State, and in preparing twenty tables of general school statistics of the United States; and this it seems to us to have accomplished with judgment, industry, and despatch. It gives us for the first time a comparative exhibit of all the educational institutions and machinery in the country, and leads the way to a uniformity of statistics for which hitherto, however desirable, there has been no motive on the part of the various school boards and superintendents. As this report is valuable chiefly to them, though not without interest to others, we shall expect to see them voluntarily combine upon a schedule which the Bureau lacks the authority to impose, and then take care that it be punctually and exactly filled and rendered to the Commissioner. For the rest, the report embraces many subjects comprehended under education in its broadest sense, such as institutions for the infirm, including inebriates, Young Men's Christian Associations, prison discipline, the relations of education to labor and to crime, and many similar. Mr. Leigh's 'Views' of illiteracy are perhaps as remarkable as any portion of the report, though they do not appear for the first time, and have been somewhat injured by disarrangement. They endeavor to express to the eye the total of illiteracy in the United States, as reported by the censuses of 1840, 1850, and 1860, and the relative proportions in each State. This is done by using black dots representing a thousand persons each, and ingeniously varied to show the foreign and the native quota of ignorance, the comparative ignorance of men and women, and other important data. The result is certainly startling, and we shall look with interest for the supplementary 'Views' prepared from the census of 1870.

—The Catholic Publication Society has lately paid a tribute to the 'child's paper' propagandism of the Protestant societies. It now publishes the *Young Catholic*, which is first intended, we presume, to hold the young to the true faith against the many influences which in this country make the third generation of Irish Catholics either Protestant or indifferent; and next to seduce whom it may from the youth of any sect. The Jews, apparently, feel a like need of self-defence. We have received the first number of a monthly magazine called *Young Israel*, whose being is accounted for in the prospectus by the fact that 'all the periodicals for the youth published in this country—and we know of no exception—betray a more or less telling Trinitarian savor, which is quite incompatible with the religious ideas imparted to the Hebrew offspring by their parents and teachers.' The English of this passage is, it will be noticed, not quite perfect, the editors being Germans; and the English of the articles which make up the body of the magazine likewise leave something to be desired. The contents, nevertheless, of this first number are well selected. 'My Raven' is a very humorous tale of a mischievous bird; there is a skilful translation of a poem by Rückert, considering that English is not the native idiom of the translator; a translation from the Florence *Opinione* of the history of the second and distressing Mortara case lately disclosed at Rome; an account (to be continued) of 'The First Jews on American Soil;' and a dialogue, 'Five Months' Absence from France,' in which the stupendous overthrow of that country is forcibly brought out as if communicated to a shipwrecked mariner on the coast of Normandy. We apprehend that the readers of *Young Israel* will get their full share of amusement, and more learned instruction than falls to subscribers to 'Trinitarian' magazines for boys and girls.

—The general reader of the European war bulletins no doubt considers each new name of city or town that calls for pronunciation and remembrance one of the burdens which all wars inflict upon neutrals. And it is even worse if the name is not new, though designating a new place; and one must keep in mind that *Bar*-sur-Seine is not identical with *Bar*-sur-Aube, and *La Ferté* sous-Jouarre different from *La Ferté* Gaucher or *La Ferté* St. Aubin, that there are two *Nogents* on different rivers within the radius of hostilities about Paris; and so on indefinitely. Geography acquired in this way certainly has its disadvantages, and it needs a mind of a peculiar quality to delight in all this nomenclature as furnishing a basis for philosophic induction. If such a mind exists, one might predict it would be German, and in fact there is a Dr. J. J. Egli for whom a Leipzig house (Friedrich Brandstetter) is publishing 'Nomina Geographica,' or 'An Attempt at a Universal Geographic Onomatology.' The author explains his purpose to be to establish the various points of view from which all peoples in all ages have proceeded in applying geographical names. Accordingly, he divides his work into two parts—a lexicon and a treatise. The first contains a full alphabetical list of names in all languages, etymologically treated in such a way as both to reveal their meaning and the motive, in each case, for bestowing them. The great majority of the upwards of 17,000 names thus discussed are referable to discoverers whose original works of travel offer authentic information concerning them. The treatise, using the foregoing material as a groundwork, arrives at such general conclusions as seem justifiable, one being that the geographical nomenclature of every people has a close causal relation to the degree as well as to the direction of its civilization.

—How Dr. Egli deals with the wonderful list of names in our post-office directory, we are not able to state, though it might easily afford him one of his most entertaining and instructive chapters. An American would shrink from the task, which indeed should be properly performed by many hands, the Indian nomenclature being of itself sufficient to engage several. Then, too, we are but just beginning to have printed records of the naming of the country west of the Alleghanies, while the East still offers problems that cannot be solved by books. We believe it is nowhere told in print how the little suburb of Northampton, Mass., which gives its name to the sewing-machine manufactured there, came to be called Florence, after having for ten years or more been one of the innumerable *villes* in honor of a leading citizen. One of the other industries of the place, to which a tributary of the Connecticut furnishes a copious water-power, is the conversion of raw into sewing-silk, and though the article is good, perhaps as good as the foreign-made, it used to encounter a prejudice in favor of the latter. Protection in some shape was evidently needed to promote its sale, and the means adopted in many trades, such as the cigar-maker's and the hatter's, of imitating the foreign label, was here resorted to. This done, the New England conscience perhaps came in; at all events, to make the Italian profession on the label nominally in accord with the fact, the village was rechristened Florence, and is so known to this day. We offer this example—unique, so far as we know—to Dr. Egli, leaving him to determine its psychological value.

BRET HARTE'S POEMS.*

In this volume Mr. Harte has collected not all but most of his pieces in verse, and all we think that have any claim to remembrance. Not that all of the poems that are in this volume have any good claim to remembrance, and would not have been better omitted. Almost all of the serious poems are of a kind not materially different from the pieces which appear in such numbers in the magazines. Sometimes, for instance, they are imitative to a degree which, to say nothing of its often lowering the reader's estimate of the author, is apt to interfere with the reader's pleasure. Why this latter should be an effect of imitativeness, it might not be easy to say. Why, for example, should it displease us that Mr. Harte writes a very pretty little poem, 'The Angelus,' in very successful imitation of Mr. Longfellow—an imitation which is not mere surface imitation, but as if Mr. Harte had, for the moment, been Mr. Longfellow himself, and Mr. Longfellow by no means at his worst? We should have been glad to have had it from Mr. Longfellow; no doubt we should have enjoyed it thoroughly had it come upon us anonymously, and been taken by us for Mr. Longfellow's work. Yet, as Mr. Harte's, it displeases. Perhaps it is because we resent it that a man has discovered how we are to be moved, and deliberately sets about showing that he knows the trick, and proceeds to give an example of how, by way of amusing himself, and without giving himself the trouble of being himself at his best, he can exercise this power over us. Whatever the reason, imitative poetry, when it is very good, has this effect of offending; and always when it is not good, and often when it is good, it tends to lower the author in the reader's estimation. The cause of this latter effect it is easy to perceive—the man is weak who allows another to dominate him. Besides this fault, some of the serious poems would seem to show the author somewhat of a sentimentalist, and the very name of the magazine poet is sentimentalist. Thus, in 'San Francisco from the Sea,' we have a little of that common complaining of the minor poet as to the asphyxiating effect upon the poetic lungs of the materialistic and vulgar surroundings amid which fate has compelled his susceptible nature to get its development. Of course Mr. Harte is too clever a man to be fatally given over to the Laura-Matilda view of the poet's needs; but he is—or, rather, let us say that he was, and that he no longer is—a little inclined towards it.

Good, among the serious pieces, and above any but the highest magazine level, is 'The Reveille.' And good, in a somewhat too pretty way, perhaps, is 'Relieving Guard;' though this is hurt by the memory which it recalls of an exquisitely pretty passage in Longfellow's 'Hyperion,' where

* 'Poems, by Bret Harte.' Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1871.

when 'sweet Emma of Ilmenau' begins her misfortunes, a star falls out of the evening heaven. As being, on the whole, a fair specimen of Mr. Harte's abilities as a serious poet working after the usual methods, we quote this 'Relieving Guard.' It is prefaced by these initials and words: 'S. T. K. Obiit March 4, 1864.'

'Came the Relief. "What, Sentry, ho!
How passed the night through thy long waking?"
"Cold, cheerless, dark—as may befit
The hour before the dawn is breaking."

'"No sight? no sound?" "No; nothing save
The plover from the marshes calling,
And in yon Western sky, about
An hour ago, a Star was falling."

'"A star? There's nothing strange in that."
"No, nothing; but, above the thicket,
Somehow it seemed to me that God
Somewhere had just relieved a picket."'

Of the jocose poems, too, there are a number that one would have thought their author would leave out of this volume—the second, we believe, in which they have appeared. What, for example, is there worthy of preservation in this very cheap fare? A 'Geological Madrigal' is the title of it:

'You wished—I remember it well,
And I loved you the more for that wish—
For a perfect cystedian shell
And a *whole* holocephalic fish.
And O, if Earth's strata contains,
In its lowest Silurian drift,
Or Palæozoic remains
The same,—'tis your lover's free gift.'

Both the wit and the grammar might well have been dispensed with, as fitter for once appearing in a newspaper than for any other publishing. And pretty much the same thing, barring the remark about the grammar, might be said of the 'Tale of a Pony,' and which is in J. G. Saxe's worst style, being farcical in wit and vulgar in two senses of that word; of 'The Ballad of the Emeu,' and of all the parodies. 'Twenty Years;' 'The Return of Belisarius'—after Praed; 'Her Letter'—a pleasant mixture of Praed and the mining dialect of Poverty Flat; and 'Grizzly,' may, we suppose, well be kept; though it is in 'Her Letter' alone that we get away from other poets and get a glimpse of that field which Mr. Harte has made his own, and in which he has displayed true and original strength. 'What the Engines Said,' also, is Mr. Harte's own, and, if not very good, it is at least the best of all the oceans of writing that the Pacific Railroad has called into being—this triumph of the age, like another triumph of the age, the Suez Canal, and still another, the Atlantic telegraph, and, in fact, like all great triumphs of the age, having not been productive of much good writing in verse; and, indeed, one might lay it down as generally true, even of the moral triumphs of the various ages, that they are not celebrated in very worthy song at any time very near their achievement.

This by the way, however. Where our author really deserves hearty praise is in his 'Poems in Dialect.' They are less often poems, strictly so-called, than humorous character-pieces illustrative of the wild life and the strange personages of the early Californian days. In some of these pieces —as in that which treats of the 'heathen Chinee;' and of the sudden revulsion of feeling in the breast of Mr. Nye when he finds that the Chinee who was to be cheated is not altogether guileless, but can himself violate the moral law with a skill, effect, and sinfulness sickening to Mr. Nye's Caucasian moral sense; and of the instant discovery and assertion by Mr. Nye of the politico-economical truth that 'we are ruined by Chinee cheap labor;' and of the promptness and thoroughness with which he vindicates the moral and the economical law—in this and some of the other pieces, Mr. Harte not only jumps luckily with the popular thought and feeling of the moment, but proves himself a satirist with a keen eye, and a humorist with a light and sure hand, and a fine power of expression. Perhaps it is in this piece that he gives most unequivocal evidence of an ability to accomplish more than he has yet accomplished. The skilful presentation of personages with dialectic oddities—with what ought to be called dialectic oddities of thought, manner, and experience, as well as of phraseology—is a good thing to do, and one not too easy to do, but still is a thing so often done well, and so often done well by writers who cannot think, and who have only a species of mimetic skill, that it can hardly be taken as giving promise that a writer has more than a capacity for giving momentary pleasure. To be sure, Mr. Harte has the advantage over most of these character-painters in that he gives us his material not in an amorphous mass of prose, but crystallized into short pieces of verse, from which everything is excluded except the personage whom he wishes us to see; and he has the further advantage of dealing with personages who are now very fresh and interesting.

Again, it is usual to find that the mimetic skill of which we speak is united with a considerable degree of power of touching the common sentiments, and united, too, with a fondness for moving them and a habit of doing so which seem to argue sentimentalism in the writer, and make one dubious as to his or her future. Excellent, then, as they are, very touching as some of them are, one is inclined to say of the 'Heathen Chinee' that it gives more certain promise of better things, has more thought, and is on a higher plane of literature, than the extremely skilful, objective, unsentimental 'Chiquita,' or the pieces like 'Cicely,' 'Jim,' and 'In the Tunnel,' where we have an objective handling of the subjects, and of subjects which are pathetic.

We have said so much as to the reasons why, as it seems to us, Mr. Harte's most finished work is not the work of his which is of most promise for his future, that we fear we may have seemed to make scanty acknowledgment of the pleasure they are capable of giving. They legitimately give great pleasure. They show us the Californian of twenty years ago in all his roughness—or, perhaps, not in all his roughness and wildness, but much of it—and in perhaps rather more than all his greatheartedness, and simplicity, and queerness of opinion and feeling and manners; they are skilful in construction, and not in construction alone, but in the conception of the whole and the subordination of the parts, and thus they give a refined pleasure to the purely literary sense, or, perhaps, we should say, to the literary and to the artistic sense, if the two are separable; they are humorous—sometimes, as in 'The Society upon the Stanislaus,' with the extravagance of what is known as 'American humor,' sometimes with rather farcical and cheap humor, as in the latter parts of this same 'Society upon the Stanislaus,' sometimes with the humor which is not American more than it is Hindoo or Spanish, but is of all countries and all ages, and is as far from farce as pathos is, or the voyage of Milton's Satan; they are often touchingly pathetic, as in 'Cicely;' they are often full of good-fellowship, as in 'Jim;' and if this is sometimes overdone, and a little sickly, as in the piece called 'In a Tunnel,' why, the bearing on too hard is of a kind which it is not very difficult to pardon, even while desiring for the author more of self-restraint. In short, we profess ourselves judicious admirers of Mr. Harte—which is to say, in other words, that we admire him a good deal, and are so much believers in him, as his works gradually and progressively reveal him, that we think the extravagant praises of him now current will not prevent his doing better things in the future than any he has yet done.

We might be willing to go as far in expostulation with him as to repeat to him a remark made by a facetious friend of ours on reading 'Jim Bludso,' by 'J. H.,' that if he and his imitators keep on, it will soon be necessary for the reputable members of society to hire somebody to write poetry in their behalf, so that we need not give all our admiration to gamblers, prostitutes, profane swearers, drunkards, murderers, and suicides. Mr. Lowell, in speaking of Hamlet somewhere, says that he was one of those persons who habitually allow the grain of doubt which their supersubtle eyes perceive to outweigh the immensely preponderating weight of affirmative proof. We quote, and quote badly, from memory. Something like this is done when a writer calls on us to give our admiring recognition, and, when we give it, to the grains of goodness in the composition of the scoundrel and evil-liver. It may be doubted if the gain on the side of charity, when we are compelled to applaud the gambler and murderer who commits suicide, that thus there may be one mouth the less in the snow-bound camp, and that he may not assist in the consumption of the food which his starving companions need—it may be doubted if the gain on the side of the charitable judgment of our fellow-men, when we are constrained by the literary skill to admire such an act of such a man, compensates for the loss in other ways. There is little danger, probably, that we shall be too charitable in our judgments of others; but there is always danger of our being too charitable in our judgments of ourselves, and this is a danger which it is the tendency of some of Mr. Harte's writings to increase, and which it would be well for him and many others of our story-tellers to consider.

Finding fault with an author who has given one real pleasure is usually a thankless task, and makes one feel as if ungrateful—or rather makes one fear that one seems ungrateful. But most authors, really good, know that often they have in their fault-finding critics their sincerest admirers, and that, after all, the main business of true criticism is to insist upon perfection—perfection as the critic understands it, of course. He generally understands it ill, most authors would say; but then he is always available as an object of pity and contempt.

HOWELLS'S SUBURBAN SKETCHES.*

EXCEPT the little sketch with the somewhat singular title of 'Scene,' all the essays in 'Suburban Sketches' have appeared in recent numbers of the *Atlantic*, of which magazine Mr. Howells is the working editor. The people are the fewer, then, among such as our words can reach, to whom we should be bringing anything like news if we were to say that in the author of 'My Doorstep Acquaintance,' and 'Mrs. Johnson,' and 'By Horse-Car to Boston,' we possess a humorist who, in virtue of the genuineness of his gift, would be admitted by their own suffrages to a secure place among the best humorists who have at any time written in our tongue. The verdict of the contemporary and general public might be different—humorists, like other people, being, as a rule, esteemed by the mass of their contemporaries not for that in them which is essential, but for various incidental things. Fielding, for example, or Cervantes, his own generation would best know as a story-teller; and it would be as a story-teller, or as a finished writer, or as a satirist, that his own generation would best like him. The characteristic and distinctive strength of the humorist is in his disposition, his way of looking at things; and the general public can perceive and understand the things which he says far better than it can understand and appreciate his mode of saying them. For his real public he commonly has to wait until his books, as books merely, have declined from their first importance. Mr. Howells's humorous publications have not been numerous enough nor alloyed enough to attract widespread attention; but, nevertheless, of their remarkable fineness of quality there can be no intelligent doubt. He is, in fact, all but unique in unadulterated fineness of quality.

Coleridge, who did so many things so well, did hardly anything better of its kind than the little which he did in lexicography—his discriminative definitions of various terms expressive of distinctions which the literary critic must bear in mind being almost always perspicacious and exceedingly helpful. Thus, for instance, it is recorded in his 'Table Talk' that, speaking of one of the many poems which he had projected—or, rather, one of the many poems which so often while he was talking used to flash suddenly across his vision as possibilities of poems—he made this remark, serviceable to our present purpose: 'My devil was to be, like Goethe's, the universal humorist, who should make all things vain and nothing worth by a perpetual collation of the great with the little in the presence of the infinite.' With this as a key one might, by the way, come to a comprehension of that saying of Mephistopheles—that of all lost spirits the Almighty likes best the spirit who scoffs—as being eternally in full consciousness of the infinite, and of the finiteness of his own scoffing.

For the unalloyed pureness of this essentially humoristic disposition—the disposition which plays with the world; which finds as much of travel in a horse-car ride through Cambridgeport as in the voyage to Venice and the gondolas; which looks on somewhat quizzically while all kinds of good people get very much in earnest about all sorts of 'causes' and 'movements;' which chronicles with amused gravity the rascality or simplicity, or self-importance, or stupidity, or impudence of the Irish housemaid, or the negro cook, or the begging impostor; which is as much amused and as censorious over its own faults, and shortcomings, and weaknesses as over those of Patrick, or Dinah, or Napoleon III., or the Gratz Brown party in Missouri, and no more so; which, in short, good-humoredly collates 'great things with small,' and has for a background against which to show its work the infinite of the unintelligibility of the universe, and the probable infinite tolerance towards man of the intelligence behind this inscrutable frame of things—for the unalloyed pureness of this humoristic spirit, it would be hard to find anywhere in the annals of our literature a humorist, however great, who would not, we should say, give Mr. Howells most cordial welcome to his company, and who would not admit him to be of the true strain.

The humoristic spirit is not everything in the literary production of humorists; indeed, a man may have it in, we suppose, the very highest degree—he may certainly have it in a very high degree—and never put pen to paper or utter a phrase that goes into print. It is, as we have said, not so much a thing to be seen as a certain way of looking at things; the attitude of the man towards the world which surrounds him. It is rare that the literary humorist is not about as well to be first described by some other name; and it is not often that the second name is not almost as truly descriptive as the first. Thackeray, to cull a name or two, is novelist and satirist almost as much as he is humorist; Rabelais begins with rollicking humor, but he ends with blunt, bitter satire; Swift is as much fighting man as humorist; Addison moralizes; Lamb turns critic; Dickens, humanitarian—of most of them the world with which they were to play somehow or other gets the better, and they serve this or that of its uses instead of keeping it subservient to them.

We have by this time probably persuaded some of our readers that this delightful ease which distinguishes Mr. Howells's pages he obtains at the cost of sacrificing every quality that ennobles and adorns the human mind and heart. Perhaps we have dwelt too long on the fact that he is primarily a humorist, and have left too much out of view the subject-matter with which he occupies himself. This cannot be said to have great intrinsic interest, and much, if not most, of the reader's pleasure comes not from the acquaintance which he makes with Mrs. Johnson, the negro cook, and the Delaware veteran, and the Italian estrays, and the streets and byways of Charlesbridge, and the musical carpenter who advocates woman suffrage, but from the subtlety of perception and delicacy of sentiment which are brought to the humorous treatment of these things and persons. Yet there is hardly any of the subject-matter which would not seem to have been chosen because of its capacity for being so treated as to call out only kind and generous feelings. At all events, it is so treated of, except in one or two places where there is excited a kind of dim, remote righteous indignation—a tribute exacted of writer and reader by the moral laws; but much like the 'heat lightning' of summer evenings so far as regards accompanying noise and blasting effects.

* 'Suburban Sketches. By W. D. Howells.' New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1871.

HEINE'S LAST WRITINGS.*

THIS volume, prepared, although the title-page does not say so, by Adolf Strodtmann, will be cordially welcomed by the many readers of Heine in this country. About one-half of it consists of poems written at different times in the poet's life, and which, although never printed in the works he had prepared for publication, yet escaped destruction when, shortly before his death, he re-examined his manuscript writings, condemned all which he was unwilling to own, and spared those which he was not unwilling should appear in a volume of his posthumous works. Some, like 'Die ungetreue Luise' and 'Kitty,' are of the same pathetic kind that we know so well in his already published poems; others, again, are even more cynical and bitter than almost any of those which he himself published. The saddest of all are the latest, 'Zum Lazarus,' as they are called. The first of these is particularly impressive. The following prose translation but feebly represents the simplicity and pathos of the original:

'There is whirling through my brain a flood of forests, mountains, and meadows. Out of the mad medley finally arises a picture with distinct outlines. The town, I think, is Godesberg. There am I, sitting again under the linden, before the inn. My throat is dry, as if I had swallowed the setting sun. "Here, landlord, a bottle of your best wine!" The delicious grape-juice flows into my soul, and extinguishes the blazing sun in my throat. "Another bottle, landlord. I drank the first in disgraceful absence of mind, without due reverence. My noble wine, I crave your pardon." I was looking up to the Drachenfels, which, romantically lit up by the evening red, is reflected with its castle-ruins in the Rhine. I was listening to the distant song of the grape-gatherer and the pert chirping of the finches. I drank carelessly, and thought not of my wine while drinking. But now I, for the first time, hold the glass to my nose, and first look at the wine. Often, too, I swallow it without looking. But, strange! as I swallow it, it seems to me as if I were doubled—another poor drinker is here, close beside me. Ah! so sick and wretched he looks—so pale and wan. He turns his eyes upon me contemptuously, at which I am annoyed. The fellow says that he is myself—that I am he; we two, he says, are only one; that we are one poor creature racked with fever; that we are not in the tavern at Godesberg, but in a sick-room, in far-off Paris. "You lie, you pallid wretch, you lie! I am red and vigorous as a blooming rose. I am strong, too; take care that I don't get angry!" He shrugs his shoulders, and sighs, "O fool!" That rouses my wrath, and I at last get to beating this damned second self of mine. But, strange! every blow I deal him, villain, I feel on my own body, and I give myself many a bruise. With all this fighting my mouth is dry again, and I try to cry out to the landlord for more wine, but the words stick in my throat. My senses reel, and dreamily I hear some one talking of cataplasms and of the mixture—a table-spoonful and twelve drops each hour.'

'Die Menge thut es' is an excellent example of Heine's satire. 'Bimini' reminds of many of the Romancers. It describes Don Juan Ponce de Leon's search for the fountain of youth, and has all the wit and descriptive power which give these semi-lyrical, semi-dramatic poems of Heine's such power and charm. We are sorry, however glad he might be, that it is too long for us to attempt a translation.

The second half of the volume contains 'Thoughts,' arranged by the compiler under various heads, as 'Personal,' 'Religion,' 'Philosophy,' and

* 'Letzte Gedichte und Gedanken von Heinrich Heine.' ('Last Poems and Thoughts of Heinrich Heine.') Hamburg: 1870.

so forth. Then follow later additions to writings published long ago—additions which we hope to see incorporated into the next editions; and, finally, we have his correspondence with his wife during two visits to Germany, in the years 1843 and 1844. The 'Thoughts' are, as was to have been expected, very often both witty and acute. One of the first is this:

'I have a most amiable disposition. My wishes are as follows: A modest cot, with a thatched roof, but with a good bed, good food, the milk and butter both very fresh, flowers before my windows, and a few handsome trees before the door. And if Providence wishes to make me perfectly happy, it will allow me to experience the pleasure of having some six or seven of my enemies hung on these same handsome trees. With a heart moved to deep emotion, I shall pardon them before their death all the wrong they have done me in their lives. Yes, one should forgive his enemies—but not before they are hanged.'

'I am not vindictive,' he says in another place. 'I would gladly love my enemies, but I cannot love them before I have avenged myself upon them. It is not until then that one's heart opens towards them. So long as one has not thoroughly avenged one's self, there is a certain touch of bitterness in the heart.'

A third is this: 'The earth is the great rock on which man, the real Prometheus, is chained, and where he is torn by the vulture of doubt. He has stolen light, and for that he now suffers martyrdom.'

And here is something kind about M. Villemain: 'Buffon says, "the style is the man." Villemain is a living contradiction of this axiom. His style is elegant, graceful, and neat.' Heine's admiration of Napoleon shows itself in this jeer at the crowned heads, at whom he was never tired of jeering: 'No one seems to know the reason why our princes live to be so old. They are afraid to die; they are afraid they are going to meet Napoleon in the other world.'

This is an ingenious insult: 'I read in the stupid book; fell asleep over it; dreamt that I went on reading it—and awoke from fatigue. This I did three times.' There are other things, as brief phrases, which bear the unmistakable mark of Heine's mint. 'Er sprudelte von Dummheit'—'he sparkled with dulness'—which reminds one of Sidney Smith's remark about Macaulay's 'brilliant flashes of silence.'

The letters to his wife are interesting, but are hardly pleasant reading. They show, on his part, a morbid jealousy and uneasiness which are almost painful to think of, and, on hers, a dulness far beyond simplicity. He appears to be tormented always by fears of her misconduct during his absence, and his continual appeals to her are really piteous to read. The visits to Germany, during which these letters were written to her in Paris, were, for this cause, productive of little enjoyment to Heine. It was not long after his return that he was seized by the illness which carried him off, but carried him off only after eight years of suffering in what he calls his 'mattress-grave.' During these years, his wife—he had previously made her his mistress—was, at least, whatever her faults, his faithful nurse in a long sickness, perhaps hardly less trying to her than to him.

Historical Selections. A series of readings from the best authorities on English and European history. Selected and arranged by E. M. Sewell and C. M. Yonge. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1868.) *European History*, narrated in a series of historical selections from the best authorities. Edited and arranged by E. M. Sewell and C. M. Yonge. II. 1088–1228. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1870.)—These two volumes, the discrepancies of the title-pages notwithstanding, are intended to form a connected work, or rather parts of a larger collection, the dimensions of which will be determined by the more or less favorable reception accorded its successive issues. The object of the compilers was to enlarge the sphere of historical knowledge, as presented to the young in outlines and abridgments, 'by continuous and chronological selections, taken, as much as was practicable, from the larger works, which it is next to impossible for young people to read at school, and which many may never have the time and opportunity to read in after-life.' And in making the selections they were guided by the idea of imprinting upon the memory and imagination of their readers 'certain definite events and distinct biographies . . . as landmarks, round which other less important incidents may be grouped,' as well as by the desire of presenting specimens of good and attractive English composition. As regards the latter object, the compilation can be said to be very well executed. The selections—from Freeman's 'Norman Conquest,' Roscoe's 'Kings of England,' Lingard's 'England,' Pearson's 'England during the Early and Middle Ages,' Hook's 'Archbishops of Canterbury,' Palgrave's 'History of Normandy,' Knight's 'Normans in Sicily,' Stephen's 'Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography,' Milman's 'Latin Christianity,' James's 'Richard Cœur de Lion,' Humes's 'England,' T. C. Robertson's 'Becket,' Morrison's 'Saint Bernard,' Lord Campbell's 'Lives of the Chancellors,' Gibbon's 'Roman Empire,' Creasy's 'English Constitution,' and a few other books—are not only historically instructive but, almost all, pleasant and attractive reading—made the pleasanter by the omission of cumbersome details and passages, and more intelligible by a number of introductory sketches, destined to fill up gaps or to serve as connecting links. On the other hand, the mere titles of the books from which the extracts are taken are sufficient to show how limited the range of this so-called 'European History' is; that, in fact—which a closer examination fully proves—it is almost restricted to the history of England—chiefly in the 11th and 12th centuries—of the Crusades, and of the Papacy, in its struggles with monarchs and heretics. The introductory sketches and the indexes are tolerably well done, but not free from mistakes, especially chronological. Thus we find—and this false date is four times given—that Frederic Barbarossa was drowned in '1189' (instead of in 1190); and we find it in the same paragraph in which we are informed that 'he set out for the Holy Land in the spring of the year 1189,' traversed with his army, Hungary, Bulgaria, Thrace, and landed on the coast of Asia, 'on the Wednesday in Easter week.' '1094,' instead of 1095, is given as the date of the Council of Clermont; and we read in the 'Chronological Index,' '1145—St. Bernard preaches the Second Crusade at Vézelai,' while the corresponding 'Introductory Sketch' speaks, in every way more correctly, of his 'preaching of a new crusade at Vézelay (A.D. 1146).' Errors of this kind, however, are not so numerous as greatly to impair the value of this useful compilation.

Ancient Classics for English Readers: Herodotus. By George C. Swayne, M.A. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.)—While modern historians have largely occupied themselves in reconstructing events and characters upon a view altogether different from that hitherto received—as in the works of Grote, Niebuhr, Mommsen, Carlyle, and Froude—the 'father of history,' whose name had come to be almost a synonym for the 'father of lies,' has steadily grown in respect for his veracity and accuracy; and the genuine historical spirit that pervades his work has been redeemed from the atmosphere of fable that had surrounded it. This is not owing to any critical defense of Herodotus, but to the general advance in historical criticism and in archæology which has brought unexpected confirmation to some of his more doubtful statements. Egypt especially has attested the truth of his story, and Mr. Swayne is quite correct in saying that the veracity of Herodotus 'is of the kind that wears well.' We go to Herodotus now not from mere curiosity, nor to be entertained with a traveller's stories, but for information and instruction, as to a good authority upon the matters of which he speaks—observant, honest, impartial, and, if more credulous than critical, yet so transparent in his credulousness that he cannot mislead, and never attempts to deceive. Mr. Rawlinson's translation of Herodotus, with its copious notes from Egyptian and Assyrian archæology, was a service rendered to the historian himself, as well as to the world of letters; for it set the history in all its proper surroundings of antiquity, while bringing it before the English reader in a becoming modern dress. Mr. Swayne has performed the more difficult task of giving an analysis of the great work of Herodotus in the form of a consecutive narrative, with illustrations from other sources, and copious extracts in the historian's own words. This twofold task of condensation and explanation is so cleverly done that the reader who knows nothing of Greek, and who has not the time or the patience for the study of Rawlinson, can possess himself of the substance of Herodotus, and of much of the spirit of the author, by means of this charming manual of 180 pages. Though popular in its aim, the work is prepared with the thoroughness of the scholar, and may therefore be referred to with as much confidence as the original. The series of which it is a part, and which already embraces 'Cæsar,' by Anthony Trollope; 'Virgil,' by Rev. W. Lucas Collins; 'Horace,' by Theodore Martin, etc., etc., will prove as taking as it is novel.

Shiloh; or, Without and Within. By W. M. L. Jay. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1870.)—The plan of Shiloh is like this: Miss Winnie Frost, the heroine and autobiographer of the tale, having encountered difficulties in the course of her true love which she imagines to be fatal ones, decides to spend her summer vacation, not in Saratoga or any other fashionable resort, in the company of her worldly aunt and cousin, but to retire to some quiet country place where she can rest. Shiloh appears to offer great inducements for this purpose, and she repairs thither in com-

pany with her inseparable companions, 'Bona' and 'Mala'—in other words her good and her evil dispositions. With these two counsellors her 'will' keeps up a perpetual fight throughout a novel of nearly five hundred pages, and, as a matter of course, 'Bona' always gets the best of it in the long run. On the first night of her arrival at Shiloh, after a tough struggle between her cynical selfishness and her Christian charity, Miss Winnie decides to don a gorgeous wrapper, and go at nine o'clock in the evening, unattended but by a Newfoundland dog, to sit up with a dying girl whom she never heard of before. The sick girl's father proves to be an infidel of a singularly bellicose type—a hunchback, whose personal deformities joined with a diligent study of Tom Paine have made him, morally speaking, a very unpleasant object for Christian contemplation. Beside the deathbed lie is anxious for 'an argument on the divinity of Christ,' which Miss Winnie promises him at some more convenient season. This person, we are sorry to say, does not finally give up his objectionable views, but is nevertheless reduced to silence by finding that his opponent knows more, even on his own side, than he does. Miss Winnie, in fact, bears a striking likeness to some other heroines whom we have met in the course of a long career of novel reading, in the matter of having been the only child of a man of wonderful attainments, who, in his despair at having no son, brings up his daughter in the same manner as if she had been a boy. Her mind has been trained to a masculine precision by the study of Greek and Latin and the science of music, and she has been early shown the fallacies, not alone of Tom Paine, but of Spinoza and Voltaire, of Hume and of Strauss. She has, too, an incisive, not to say a sharp, way of bringing out her arguments which silences even when it does not convince her antagonist.

To convert infidels and to smooth deathbeds is, however, but a small part of Miss Winnie's summer work. She regenerates the whole village, instructs the young and sets a good example to the old; is active in getting a new melodeon and a new rector for the disused church, and, when the latter arrives, modestly foregoes the immense advantage she has over him in point of learning and practical skill, and works under his direction with the most exemplary meekness. So we learn, at least, in one of the concluding chapters, where another hand than the heroine's takes up the tale. From Miss Winnie's own account we confess to having gained the impression that she abounded in every Christian virtue except humility, and had in our own mind accused her of nullifying her good deeds and her amiable intentions by her singular arrogance. The doubt occurred to us, however, whether modesty were a virtue strictly compatible with the work of setting in the best light not only one's actual good deeds, but the mental struggles which preceded one and all of them. Miss Winnie, at all events, though we admit her cleverness and her good intentions, by no means pleases us as well as she says she did her friends in Shiloh. From the lofty and serene heights of her learning and her better self and her inexorable 'will,' she patronizes everybody, even her reader, and even gives the impression that she is not certain that it is not rather a praiseworthy thing in her to adore her Maker. The book, however, is cleverly written and not uninteresting.

Estelle Russell. By the author of the 'Private Life of Galileo.' (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.)—An unusually readable, and in some ways a rather remarkable novel is this. The scene of the story is chiefly laid in France, although a majority of the characters are English people. The plot is simple and well managed; the dialogue is lively, and the very sparing amount of moralizing and philosophizing in which the author indulges, and which, with great wisdom, she generally puts into the mouths of her characters instead of enunciating it in her own person, has a curious air of profundity which is quite imposing. The book contains, too, a great deal of what looks at first sight like very clever study of character, and which, in cases like that of Estelle, or Mrs. Russell, or Julia Maurice, where her personages are not meant to do double duty, and to be types as well as individuals, very often really is so. There is none of them who will not be found interesting in one way or another, nor any portion of the book which can be called anything but agreeable reading. Despite, however, of its real cleverness as a story of social life, we have found it more interesting as suggestion than as performance. It belongs to that class of imperfect art products which inevitably bring their author so prominently before the mind that he partially eclipses his own work. The book shows close observation within a limited range, and, if we may say so, a good deal of insight into the outside of a great many things. Estelle Russell, the heroine, is a Protestant girl of some nondescript shade of orthoxody, who is married for love by a free-thinker, and by him brought to live in the household of his parents, Catholics of what the author considers the most extreme type. Naturally enough, although the book is in no sense a religious novel, the antagonism of the two religions comes into great prominence. The peculiarity of the author's way of handling her theme is that, being herself imbued with a generally liberal spirit, she wishes both to satirize the foibles and to insist upon the good points of all her religiously inclined personages. To a certain degree, too, she succeeds very well—her weakness being that she does not really understand the state of mind of any person who holds any positive belief whatever, and, being no genius, has to let her reading and her observation supply as best they can, her want of sympathetic appreciation. To George Eliot, a satisfactory portrait of so genuinely religious a character as Dinah Evans seems to have been not difficult of delineation, but the Abbé D'Eyrieu, who seems to indicate the high-water mark of our author's abilities in this direction, is only a pleasant failure. One of her critics, we see, professes to be in doubt as to what particular shade of religious belief the writer of this novel inclines to—whether the Protestantism of the French pastor Cazères, or the Wesleyanism of Mrs. Vivian, the Rationalism of Raymond, or the Catholicism of D'Eyrieu, is really most to her taste. To our thinking, she might hold to either opinion *as she has depicted it*, and yet be disowned alike by Catholic, Protestant, and free-thinker. Her book is one to which novel readers may very properly be glad to have their attention called.

From Thistles—Grapes? By Mrs. Eiloart, author of 'The Curate's Discipline,' 'Meg,' 'St. Bede's,' etc. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.)—Mrs. Eiloart's novel gives evidence of having been very carefully thought out and planned, and shows, too, that sense of responsibility which appears so plainly in much of our modern fiction—more often, we think, in that produced by women and by men who are, on the whole, second-rate, at least in pure literature, than by those whose work is really artistic, and, for that reason, has a permanent value. The story and the delineation of character seem, to writers of this class, to be rightfully subordinate to certain views they entertain and wish to enforce—some theory in politics, or some side in religion. Their way of writing does not, perhaps, render their books less interesting—not, at all events, in the first reading, which is all that most of them ever get, and in which the finding out what a new author's mind is like—supposing that he has one worth considering—is, to many readers, as agreeable a task as contemplating the fortunes of his fictitious creations. Generally, however, there is an appearance of hard work about them which detracts from the reader's pleasure. Mrs. Eiloart has political and social theories to ventilate. Like Victor Hugo, she would like to shift upon society most of the responsibility of crime—a plan which, as it undoubtedly has its advantages for the criminal and does not materially injure society, is naturally capable of having many ingenious things said in its favor. She has contrived a story in which a brutal, debased, and utterly ignorant man is finally pursued to the gallows for a crime which he did not really commit, but for which the circumstantial evidence went strongly against him, by his own father, a highly respectable clergyman and master of a noted grammar-school. Of course, neither Dr. Langton nor his son is aware of the relationship between them, although the reader is allowed to conjecture it from the outset; but his desertion of the boy's mother, and the resulting life of ignorance and indigence in which the child is reared, make him the responsible author of all that afterwards happens.

There is also another criminal introduced—one of the most injured and saintly of men, who, in his youth, had committed a forgery out of purely philanthropic motives and in a moment of unguarded weakness, and whose whole after-life is one long remorse, which, nevertheless, does not clear him in the purblind eyes of justice. Evidently there is something wrong in such a state of things. Mrs. Eiloart is also more than inclined to extreme liberalism in religion, and has a great admiration for Garibaldi and his re. doubtable red-shirts. As a delineator of character, she gives the impression of making her personages serve rather as means to her ends than of considering them in and for themselves. As we said before, she writes well and carefully; and if she leaves, on the whole, not quite a pleasant impression, it is, perhaps, as much because of her want of spontaneity as for any more serious defect.

Village Sketches, descriptive of Club and School Festivals and other Village Gatherings and Institutions. By T. C. Whitehead, M.A., Head Master of Christ's College, Finchley, late Incumbent of Gawcott, Bucks. Third edition. To which is added a new series. (New York: George Routledge

& Sons. 1870.)—This little volume contains, in a very unpretending form, a good deal of instructive and interesting reading. It recounts the various attempts of the author, while incumbent of Gawcott, to set on foot a number of self-supporting associations, penny banks, sewing societies, clubs for mutual instruction and entertainment, and the like, by means of which his poorer parishioners might learn how to manage their own affairs, and to improve their condition by their own efforts. His idea was to accustom them to self reliance, and to get them to understand the value of united action and of joint deliberation. Most of his hints are such as would be found valuable by all persons who have the ability and the will to do what they can for the benefit of their poor and ignorant neighbors—the gist of them all being that it is best to rely very little on authority and very much on training into working order the common instinct of self-help. Mr. Whitehead seems, however, to have been unusually well able, both by nature and by the accidental circumstances of his position, to put his plans into effect. His benevolence appears at once genuine and intelligent, and he shows a hearty sympathy with the dispositions of his people as well as a nice appreciation of their needs. He seems, moreover, and we suspect this had no slight influence on the complete success of his schemes, to have had everything his own way—neither a dissenting chapel nor a resident landlord was near to help or to hinder. Under a different order of things we can imagine that his machinery might very easily have got out of running order, and that his 'Free and Easy Night Club,' for instance, the account of which is such pleasant reading, might very speedily have come to grief. To adopt his special plans, therefore, although in themselves they look simple and feasible enough, would very likely be difficult except under circumstances equally favorable; but the general principle which underlies them all being a true one, might readily be carried out in other ways. The book is worth reading, if only for the impression one gets from it of the thorough manliness and amiability of the author, who, notwithstanding, keeps himself, with the most unaffected modesty, entirely in the background.

A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons. By John Broadus, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. (Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co.)—Though every genuine preacher will be a law to himself, and the very art of sermonizing must change with the changes of the times, there will never come a time when the study of homiletics can be dispensed with in favor of nature, or genius, or individuality. How to present truth so as to secure the best ends of truth, how to lead devotion so as best to answer the ends of worship, is an art—a science, we might almost say—that no preacher can afford to neglect through confidence in his own spontaneity or originality. Dr. Broadus has prepared a manual which, though neither profound nor original, has these two merits: a tacit recognition of the changes that modern society demands in the methods and manners of the pulpit, and good common sense in its suggestions for securing to preaching its legitimate influence. The chapters on argument, illustration, and extemporaneous preaching will be particularly useful. The author has used freely the materials of other writers in the department of rhetoric, and in the main with discrimination. Any theologue might gather some timely hints from his pages.

*** *Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books upon the wrapper.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Tertullian, Vol. III., Victorinus and Commodianus	(Scribner, Welford & Co.) $3 50
The Clementine Homilies	" " " 3 50
Barker (Lady), Stories about	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 50
Böcher (F.), Progressive French Reader	(Leypoldt & Holt)
Collins (W.), Hide and Seek, swd	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 0 75
Ginx's Baby, 5th ed	(Geo. Routledge & Sons)
Holcombe (Dr. W. H.), The Other Life	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
H. H., Verses	(Fields, Osgood & Co.)
High (J. L.), Speeches of Lord Erskine, 3 vols	(Callaghan & Cockroft)
Keary (A. and E.), The Heroes of Asgard	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 50
Littell's Living Age, Fourth series, Vol. XIX	(Littell & Gay)
Macmillan (Rev. H.), The True Vine	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 00
Macdonald (G.), On the Miracles of Our Lord	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Maudsley (Dr. H.), Body and Mind	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Myers (H. M. and P. V. N.), Life and Nature under the Tropics	" "
Massor (H.), Margaree: a Poem	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Norton (Hon. Mrs.), Lost and Saved	" "
Oliphant (Mrs.), Francis of Assisi	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 75
Pylodet (L.), Second French Reader	(Leypoldt & Holt)
Spencer (H.), Principles of Psychology, Parts III. and IV., 1 vol., swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)
When I was a Little Girl	(Macmillan & Co.)
Waterton (C.), Essays on Natural History	(Scribner, Welford & Co.) 3 75
Woven of Many Threads	(J. R. Osgood & Co.) 1 00

Fine Arts.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

FOURTH WINTER EXHIBITION.

I.

THE National Academy of Design continues in the winter season what might be called a permanent exhibition, remodelled at different times. The collection of foreign pictures, whose ownership is represented by Mr. H. W. Derby, is the principal new feature, and gives to the North and East rooms of the Academy building an unusual look of gaiety. So easily does the eye become accustomed to any key of color in pictures, so well do we bear with the dull brown and dirty yellow of American landscape, as interpreted by too many of our painters, that the coloring of a batch of work, far from first-rate, by contemporary Europeans, affords a comparative relief and makes a manner of festivity. The Derby collection, unfortunately, is no exception to the usual run of our importations of pictures, which are prudently kept within the limits of general demand. So even in character has been this popular liking, that under strong provocation only has it happened that a very few first-rate foreign pictures are at last owned by some wealthy collectors of foreign art.

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the mass of the present collection, numbering some four hundred pictures, should represent little more than an average choice. Around two rooms runs a long line of little pictures, of what is called high-finish, or painted according to methods in fashion, but out of all these not a couple call for exceptional notice. Among the larger paintings, among the usual Bouguereaus, and Verboeckhovens, and Merles, some three or four would be noticeable and praiseworthy in any modern collection. First in importance is a picture by Alfred Stevens, in which carefully finished work, and a rapid and almost sketchy execution, unite to make what may be fairly called a masterpiece. The painting has little subject in the usual sense; it is a portrait-study of a lady, seated on a mahogany arm-chair. A harp and music-stand with music are near her, and her hands are folded over some printed sheets of music in her lap. The decorative effect of a blue carpet and amber-colored hangings, a green silk dress, and dark fur and velvet, make up in great part the interest of the picture; but everything in it, figure and accessories, is subdued into perfect accordance with the tone—color and quantity—of the light in the place represented, with a consequent look of peace and repose. Though the work is labelled 'Meditation,' the expressiveness of the figure seems to be independent of any intention of the painter. It is probably nothing but a studio study, but the artist's direct interest in the mere facts before him has given it an intimate life not enjoyed by that other careful picture of his now in Knoedler's gallery, and mentioned here some few weeks back. A few little faults in the figure are interesting—a certain indecision of the drawing of the wrist, and a monotony of folds in the dress, which suggests the lay-figure.

Another more important work is Jules Breton's 'Potato Harvest,' which recalls in a degree the austere sentiment of the peasant-painter, François Millet. Mr. Breton's ideal is more complex, or, rather, less decided; he often hesitates in his choice between the more vulgar and outward appearances of rustic life and some more elegant and idyllic intention. His great rival has sought typical action and character, and, more successfully than any other artist, has rendered under all external accidents the gravity and dignity of labor. Here, the movement of the two figures filling the greater part of the canvas has a solemn look in harmony with the delicate evening sky against which they are relieved in a faint and clear sunset light. This weakened contrast of light and shadow gives unfortunate prominence to some shocking defects of drawing, limited, however, to the modelling and painting of the arms of the figures, which, besides being incorrectly foreshortened, have too much of the appearance of leather sheaths; a distressing piece of carelessness, and difficult to account for in such careful work.

The graceful style, accurate observation, and critical restraint which have marked Mr. Fromentin's literary studies mark also his modest landscape in this collection. It represents a view on a water-course near Cairo, a canal running between earth banks, and disappearing in a hazy white distance, out of which rise the pyramids in a vaporous white sky. On the edge of the bank are camels and camel-drivers, and across the water come swimming Arabs from the other side. The sober correctness of the work differs from the accuracy of the Stevens opposite, in that it seems not so much the result of a trained instinct's pleased recognition of

facts as the expression of a refined intellect which has chosen a subject for deliberate observation and enjoyment. The peace and quiet of the picture are well worth waiting for, even if they take at first the appearance of dulness. Mr. Fromentin seems here to have carried out with too much faith his own little aphorism—'that those painters who have sought for sunlight have played with fire and burnt their fingers'—for a short pause is needed to see that sunlight and not gray dawn is represented in the picture. Perhaps one ought to rejoice in that undulating diversity of the human mind which can bring back from the East such varying impressions as this cool, clear light and the hazy, Indian-summer atmosphere of our own Mr. Gifford's painting.

The gray mode appears more probable in the large French landscape by Mr. Daubigny, important by its size and its masculine execution, but with a heavy look, certainly increased by its being very badly hung in the Academy room. A similar blackness afflicts the interesting but not more representative landscape by Rousseau. Mr. Desgoffes' patient and certain art has here an average specimen, wherein one notices the absurd limitations apparently imposed upon him by so brilliant a method of painting. While the deceptive imitation of certain hard surfaces could go no further, and the accuracy of touch which gives them is wonderful, the poor tender flowers which Mr. Desgoffes insists upon painting in positions of honor are made to take the form and texture of sheet-iron, glass, and enamel.

A scene of Alsatian life is conscientiously treated by Brion; and Billet, a well-known follower of Mr. Breton, has a very real and very realistic study of rural French characters entitled 'The Card-Players.' There are some sheep by Mr. Chaigneau, who seems too much afraid of falling into the hardened manner of the school of Rosa Bonheur; Mr. Jacque has no such wholesome fear about his sheep, and has an enormous picture called 'Spring,' which is much better in his little etching on zinc of the same subject. There is a little landscape by Lambinet, pretty but not characteristic, and a nice little picture by X. De Cock, full of the green light that filters through leaves, and probably somewhat despised by the public. Then there are two Düsseldorfers of unequal fame, who manage to combine some of the merits and many of the defects of French and German paintings. Mr. Oswald Achenbach's picture is not exceptional, and Mr. Hoff's is ingenious and gay-colored but rather too large for its not enormous merit.

Among the smaller pictures, which are numerous, there is a pretty little Ziem, a picture by Fortin, and some studies by Edouard Frère, whose merits seem to belong to the past. A recent celebrity is Mr. Worms, who here manages to give so much of nature in his scene, of the date of the first French Empire, that the exquisite archæology of his picture is pardonable. There are also in the collection a number of pictures by well-known names, whose appearance is doubtful or contradictory, and in some way uncertain. The most remarkable is that of Baron Leys, entitled 'The Message,' not evidently by the Leys we all know and admire but painted by the same artist at some intermediate stage. With the same bad mark there are: a picture by Gallait, with some intention, however conventional, but incredibly weak in the drawing and modelling of its figures; two specimens of the decrepitude of Diaz; a Troyon upon whose authenticity it is not pleasant to rest; two more Ziems, almost impossible; and a Chaplin, which, however authentic, represents its painter's usual gray tones by an abnormal bricky color.

The transition to the works of Verboeckhoven, Bouguereau, and Merle, or to those of their imitators—Lecomte-Vernet, and Cot—would here be natural and in connection, but want of space forbids. Something, however, might be said in extenuation of the blame with which they might be visited. Artists and critics forget the very evident and ordinary uses which works of art subserve. Certainly, no better adornment to a certain style of wealthy interiors could be found than paintings by Bouguereau or by Merle, which combine with many of the merits and the look of pictures the look also of furniture, and suggest by their polished surface the presence and care of many attendants. The faces in the pictures are also very pretty, and if the eye catches them in a parlor, they do not seem out of place. Of this quality of parlor-pictures there are several in this collection by Mr. Bouguereau, and one by Mr. Merle, who has more judiciously worked for our market.

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LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

Among the contents of *Littell's Living Age* for the weeks ending respectively January 7, 14, and 21, are: Castle St. Angelo, by W. W. Story, *Blackwood's Magazine;* The Personal History of Imperialism in 1870, *Fraser's Magazine;* The Science of Nonsense, *Spectator;* The Future of France, *Fortnightly Review;* Browning's Poems, *Saint Paul's;* Louis XIV. as a Matchmaker, *Saint Paul's;* The Arts of Destruction, *Pall Mall Gazette;* American Literature, *Westminster Review;* Wesley and Arnold on War, *Macmillan's Magazine;* Some Recollections of a Reader, *Cornhill Magazine;* Life of Madam Beauharnais de Miramion, *Spectator;* From an Englishman in Spain, *Pall Mall Gazette;* The New Constitution of Germany, *Spectator;* the continuation in weekly instalments of the new attraction, "Seed-Time and Harvest, or During My Apprenticeship," translated specially for the pages of this magazine from the *Platt-Deutsch* of the favorite German author, Fritz Reuter; the conclusion of Earl's Dene, etc., besides shorter articles and poetry.

The Living Age is also publishing a story by George Macdonald, and promises to new subscribers for 1871 the last two numbers of 1870, containing the beginning of the story, *gratis.* A good time to subscribe.

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George Macdonald's Story, in *Scribner's Monthly,* bids fair to be the best story of him who is the best of living story-writers. Let us put it a little differently, and say that he will be among novelists what Wordsworth is among poets. But he is more poet than novelist. The present installment of 'Wilfrid Cumbermede' is extremely fascinating; but it is the fascination of poetry rather than of story. It may be enjoyed almost in perfection by one who has not read the beginning, and who will never read the sequel; and it will remain in the memory like a beautiful song.—*New York Independent.*

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1871.

The Week.

THE Massachusetts "Labor Reform League" held its third annual convention last week, and passed a series of resolutions that certainly went to the bottom of things. One of them laid it down that any one who took interest for money, or rent for land, or dividends on stocks, or profits on capital, or sold anything for more than it cost him, "was a thief, whom law should bestir itself to lock up and bring to justice." Another affirmed that no man has any more right to own land than to hold slaves, and that all sales of the Government domain are "void." Still another settled the "average cost of money" at one per cent., and declared that all rates of interest above this are a "fraud," and that, in conniving at it, Boutwell, Colfax, and Greeley are worse than Pierce, Taney, and Buchanan. This is unfair to Mr. Greeley. He only differs with the Reformers on the question of degree. They say anybody who takes more than one per cent. is a villain; he says that any one who takes more than seven per cent. is a villain; but he gets his rule out of his own breast and the Labor Rerformers get theirs out of their breasts—so that it would be ridiculous for them to quarrel over a paltry six per cent. Boutwell and Colfax we do not defend. We are glad to see that the convention not only "aims at establishing justice between man and man," but between "man and woman." This being the case, it is wicked only to sit for a day or two once a year.

A convention has been sitting, during the week, in Philadelphia, attended by two hundred learned and respectable delegates, whose proceedings it is somewhat difficult to criticise. The object is "to secure a religious amendment to the Constitution" which will "indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all Christian laws, institutions, and usages in our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental laws of the nation, especially those which protect society against blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, and polygamy." Speeches were made in support of this scheme. We have not had in our time a more curious display of that feature of Sentimentalism which consists in utter disregard of facts, and which is, therefore, a form of falsehood. The Constitution could not truthfully "indicate" that the nation was more Christian than it really is. Everybody who lives in it knows it is not Christian or anything like Christian, and that it contains hundreds of thousands of Jews and infidels and deists, and millions of Christians in name only. It can hardly be supposed, therefore, that the convention hoped to "indicate" to their countrymen that it is now a Christian nation; so we are driven to the painful conclusion either that they thought they could make it so by constitutional amendment, or impose on the Almighty as to its real character, and secure his favor by a false statement of facts. A "proper oath" must, according to the convention, of course be a Christian oath, which no Jew could take, or, if he did take, could not believe binding. So that we should, if the convention had its way, either have to exclude his testimony or force him to perjure himself in order to present it. In the one case, we should violate the fundamental principle of the Christian religion by a denial of justice, and in the other we should promote and encourage the swearing of the most *im*proper of all oaths, and that is, false oaths. Last of all, there are no "laws which protect society against blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, and polygamy." All these offences are committed every day on which it is possible to commit them by the great majority of the American people. Denouncing them in the Constitution would not lessen their number. Laws, let us remind the convention, do something—but only a little—towards "protecting" society against anything. You make men better mainly by what you put in their hearts and heads, and not by what you put in the statute-book. Some of the speakers drew attention to France as an awful example of the consequences of wickedness. Let us remark that France furnishes also an example of the consequences of the kind of purblind belief in the power of phrases with which the convention seems to be afflicted.

The Methodists seem at last to have become sensible of the error of their way in trying Dr. Lanahan for saying there were frauds in the management of the Book Concern. The rest of the world seemed so strongly of opinion that the proper order of proceeding was to enqnire into the existence of the frauds first, and try the Doctor afterwards, that his arraignment for falsehood, slander, and general cantankerousness became, every day it lasted, more ridiculous; and the brethren finally decided to give it up. Some of them, however, do not see the point to this hour, and have protested against the discontinuance. The whole matter has now been handed over to a sub-committee, which is to report to the General Committee, next year. Some say that this is simply a contrivance for consigning it to oblivion, but if any such scheme is seriously entertained, we trust the press will frustrate it, and that the religious and moral public—for it really seems sometimes as if there was a difference as well as a distinction between them—will keep the scandal in mind by cutting down those dearly-loved "profits" of which Judge Fancher spoke so pathetically. May the profits be small, and the bonds "flat," and the sales "slow," till the mystery is cleared up.

The week in Congress has been rather one of words than of doings. On Thursday, the 19th, to be sure, the President's Missouri appointments were confirmed by the Senate in Executive session, though not without a debate in which their merits, as a political measure, were freely canvassed. On the same day, Mr. Morton succeeded in getting his committee appointed to investigate the lawlessness prevailing at the South, with the usual power to travel about and take testimony, and call for persons and papers. Mr. Wilson introduced a Civil Service bill, whose provisions are very simple and well-considered, and which, besides providing for the examination, by a board, of applicants for offices worth more than $1,200, and fixing their tenure of office and conditions of removal, forbids their being assessed for any purpose, or serving as delegates to any political convention or members of any political committee, etc., on pain of dismissal. The Senate, also on Thursday, listened to a communication from the Chief of Ordnance to the Secretary of War, to the effect that Congress had been so lavish in giving away condemned ordnance for monuments that he doubted being able to satisfy appropriations already made. For the present, therefore, we hope to hear no more of Mr. Clark Mills's monstrous Lincoln monument. Mr. Trumbull's "Importunity Bill," as it is now called for short, came up on Monday, and its author was more than a match for Mr. Morton, who had procured statements from the heads of departments that their clerical force was too small rather than too large. Mr. Trumbull pointed out that this was precisely the effect of incapable appointments, and then brought testimony to prove the amount of idleness in many of the bureaus. The House has been busy with railroad grants and steamship subsidies, and with a bill to establish a Territorial Government in the District of Columbia—one of the votes on the latter involving the yeas and nays on woman suffrage: 55 in favor, and 117 opposed. On Monday, a bill, whose justice in principle we have frequently maintained, was introduced, to assimilate the rank of the staff of the Navy to that of the line.

Mr. Wilson's Civil Service Reform Bill is a great step in advance, and proves, if it does nothing else, the rapid progress the idea is making even among the older politicians, who might naturally be expected to treat it as a fancy scheme, unworthy of serious attention. In the Senate, the only strong opponents of the reform now are, as might have been expected, Messrs. Cameron and Morton. Of Mr. Cameron we have not much hope, but since Mr. Morton came out, in 1867, in favor of paying the debt in greenbacks, and then, in 1869, said it would be an outrageous fraud to do so, we feel satisfied that no good cause need despair of securing his support eventually. We know we shall see him jump round and share our dislike of the present mode of filling the Government service. He is not like that old bigot of whom it is told that he used to say "he thanked God he was not open to conviction." Mr. Wilson's plan has one excellent feature—the clause which forbids

clerks to meddle in politics on pain of dismissal. But it has one almost fatal defect—in that it does not propose to award the appointments on competitive examination. Any other kind of examination is sure to become a farce, and for the sound and well-tested reason, that there is little or no use in imposing a duty of this kind on a public officer unless you arm some one else with the means of asserting the corresponding right. You will say in vain to the head of a department that he must fill his vacancies with the best-qualified men unless you bestow on the best-qualified men the power of insisting on his doing it.

We commented, in August, 1869, on the case of Cheney ag. Chase' in which the Superior Court in Chicago granted an Episcopal clergyman an injunction restraining the ecclesiastical court of his own church from pronouncing on him a sentence of disqualification for unsoundness of doctrine on the question of baptismal regeneration. The injunction was granted on the ground that the profession of a minister was "property," and that any judgment or decree which drove him from it might, therefore, properly be examined, and, if found irregular or unsupported by evidence, overruled by the secular courts. We pointed out at the time that this decision, if sustained, would create a connection between church and state of the most mischievous kind, and would place the discipline and doctrine of every denomination in the country at the mercy of the judges, and it might be of judges like Barnard and Cardozo; and that it was utterly opposed to the spirit of the Constitution and to the manners and usages of American society. We are, therefore, very glad to say it has been unanimously overruled on appeal by the Supreme Court of Illinois. The judgment acknowledges that the profession of a clergyman is property, but it is property created by the rules and regulations of the religious body to which he belongs, and held and enjoyed on condition of obedience to them. On the question —and it is an important one—whether the ruling of an ecclesiastical court is conclusive as to its own jurisdiction, the Supreme Court was divided—a minority holding the negative.

The "Irish exiles," or, in vulgar language, the Fenian prisoners lately liberated by the British Government, arrived on Friday morning by the *Cuba*, and met with a very diverting reception. Two different set of politicians made arrangements to "capture" them as they came up the Bay, and went down in tugs for the purpose—one, the Tammany organization; and the other, a composite body made up of the "Fenian Brotherhood," "The Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood," and the malcontent Democrats, with a Republican reinforcement, the whole headed by our worthy Collector, Mr. Thomas Murphy, who went into the fight in a Government cutter. Although he boarded the *Cuba* in what appeared ample time, he found he had been outmanœuvred by Tammany, as the Health Officer, who is a Tammany nominee, had thrown a powerful force of Tammany marines on board the ship as she passed Quarantine, and the representative of the United States found the *Cuba* full of them. The feelings of the warring factions when they met on board may be more readily imagined than described. They freely denounced each other, and a stand-up fight over the bodies of the "exiles" at one time seemed not impossible. Several addresses were presented; and General Millen, of the Collector's party, bade them welcome "onbehalf of the United States;" but, on being asked tauntingly "if he was the United States," was forced to confess that this was simply a form of speech resorted to to "prevent the men being made the tools of Tammany tricksters." The exiles, seeing how the land lay, politely but firmly declined to accept the invitation of either party, and, after a brief but vigorous effort on both sides to get them to come off in the rival tugs, they were left alone long after midnight. We should like to know what the President thinks of Collector Murphy's part in this performance. It is very curious to read the biographies of the exiles in the Fenian papers, and see how from martyrs they are growing into war-worn veterans. Several have borne, we are told, a distinguished part in "battles" in Ireland the names of which are judiciously withheld. One played a prominent part in a spirited attack on a "British garrison," but we are enabled to fix the scene of his exploits by the fact that the only "British garrison" attacked during the war was that of a police station, and consisted of six constables all told, who capitulated on condition that they were not murdered. The new arrivals, however, seem to appreciate the situation, and understand that they are surrounded by an atmosphere of humbug, which in a Fenian is a sign of extraordinary perspicacity.

The legitimate merchandise trade of the country, which supplies the daily wants of the community, continues to show a moderate degree of activity; the export trade is lively on very heavy cotton receipts and shipments, and an improving demand for our produce from abroad; the grocery trade, partially interrupted during the last weeks of the year owing to the new tariff, is large; and in the lines of manufacturing industry, interrupted by the great drouth throughout New England, there is some speculative movement based upon fears of an insufficient supply of goods in the spring. But all other branches of business are dull and stagnant. The coal strike as yet continues. The iron manufacturers complain of dearth of orders and accumulation of stock. Railroad enterprises, even of the most promising description, find it impossible to raise funds. House-builders say that the prospect of the building trade was never so poor, and real estate in the city, in spite of a large and very successful sale of choice improved property during the week, does not materially revive, while from all other parts of the country real estate is quoted almost unsalable. The rumors concerning a reorganization of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, which has now grown to be a question of the greatest national importance, have taken a new direction, and it is now reported that a controlling interest has been purchased by the Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company, which would tend to make the present great railroad problem even a trifle more complicated. Another fire insurance company, this time in Massachusetts, has made a disgraceful failure, and the question is being asked, Who will insure the insurance companies? Money, in spite of artificial manœuvres of stock cliques, has been easy, and stocks strong. Gold and Government bonds steady, but without activity.

The anticipations which we have all along ventured to express about the course of events in France have been only too fully justified by the news of the last week. The new armies which Gambetta raised with so much vigor have been crushed in detail by a series of defeats, which confirm the testimony which the correspondents have been bearing ever since D'Aurelles de Paladines' defeat at Orléans—that there is no fight left in the French levies. Masses of them may continue to be gathered together, but only to be slaughtered and dispersed. Gambetta, meanwhile, according to the last reports, continues as jaunty and hopeful as ever, and makes it his special business not to despair of the Republic. The state of things, however, grows more terrible as the crisis approaches—and for two reasons. One is, that there is no likelihood that either Gambetta, Favre, or Trochu will have the moral courage to affix his name to a humiliating peace, and any peace that is concluded now must be humiliating. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any one or any two men of any country would, under similar circumstances, have been willing to assume any such odium or responsibility. These three will, therefore, probably shirk it, and disappear from the scene in the whirlwind of a new revolution, leaving the country absolutely without a government, and dependent upon the Prussians for protection against total anarchy. The mere mention of this contingency must be sufficient to convince any thinking man of the guilt of refusing to convene a national assembly. Nothing but a representative body can face such a crisis as is now impending over France.

The second reason is, that there is good ground for fearing that the memory of the misfortunes which occurred under the Empire, and which were only brought home to a small proportion of the population, will have been lost sight of by the time the collapse comes, under the pressure of the greater and more widespread misfortunes of the sham Republic, and that there will be a strong reaction in favor of the Bonapartes throughout the country. Dictator for dictator, the people will say, we like Napoleon better than Gambetta. Napoleon's hold on the peasantry, all competent observers testify, has not been seriously

shaken, and nothing is better calculated to revive it than six months' experience of a defeated, bankrupt, anarchical republic, personated by a rhetorical lawyer. The republicans of the cities, too, have shown themselves arrant impostors. The "Reds" of both Paris and Lyons have proved simply impudent braggarts. Even Rochefort has been disgusted with them, and Flourens, who has led them in Paris, has proved —what we always felt sure he was—a half-crazy agitator. The famous Belleville battalion, which was supposed to be panting for feudal blood, has had to be dissolved as mutinous and cowardly humbugs, who ran away and deserted in the face of the enemy, and fought each other in the trenches. In fact, the Prussians have effectually disposed of the theory that the "Reds" were terrible as fighting men. Trochu plainly declared in his book that their claim to have shared largely in repulsing the foreigner in 1792 had no foundation in fact; and, indeed, the only occasion on which they have supported their pretensions to courage was in June, 1849, in their rising against the Republic or rather against property. The ideas which give them all their fire are essentially anarchical, and make discipline among them impossible.

General Chanzy's disastrous defeat has been followed by the discomfiture of Bourbaki's operations in the East, and the total rout of Faidherbe's army in the North. Bourbaki, undismayed by the reports of approaching heavy reinforcements for the Germans, had continued his advance for the relief of Belfort, amid much skirmishing and some severe fighting, as far as Montbéliard and Héricourt; but in the vicinity of the latter place, near the banks of the Lizaine, the Germans, under Von Werder, occupied a strong defensive position, barring the entrance into Alsace, and the decisive battle was still to be fought. He attacked them on Sunday, the 15th; the combat was obstinate, lasting until dark, and ended with the repulse of the French along the whole line. He renewed the attack on the following day, and was again repulsed with heavy loss. A third and last assault, on the 17th, met with equal failure. Bourbaki now entered upon a full and speedy retreat, which was probably hastened by the apprehension of German movements on his flank; and Von Werder as speedily began the pursuit. This new advance of the Germans must have been very vigorous, as we have the report of their having occupied Dôle, after a bombardment. Dijon, too, has again been attacked, but unsuccessfully, by a Prussian force, the French troops commanded by Menotti and Ricciotti Garibaldi being in the action, and "behaving splendidly," according to a Bordeaux despatch. That Prussian force, however, may not be of Von Werder's army, but a division of the Prussian Second Corps, whose arrival from the vicinity of Troyes has been looked for by the Germans in the East. Bourbaki's main line of retreat is not distinctly indicated in the despatches here received—a portion of his troops, however, seem to be retiring east of the Doubs.

General Faidherbe, having been reinforced by a large number of mobilized national guards, resumed the offensive about the middle of the month, slowly advancing from his positions between Arras and Cambrai towards the Somme. His right wing, possibly with the intention of deceiving the enemy in regard to his objective, moved in the direction of Amiens, occupying Albert, and pushing forward as far as Corbie; his centre, however, marched on St. Quentin, which fell into his hands with some military stores, and subsequently occupied positions in front of it. Here he was attacked, on Thursday, the 19th, by General Von Goeben, Manteuffel's successor in command of the Prussian forces in the North. After a severe fight, the French were driven from all their positions, and into St. Quentin, with a loss of four thousand prisoners; the national guards, panic stricken, flying in the utmost disorder. Von Goeben lost no time in pursuing the disorganized army, and, on the 20th, took St. Quentin, making still larger captures. The total loss of the French—on both days, as we presume—is stated, in the Versailles telegram "to the Empress Augusta," to have been fifteen thousand. That telegram adds: "The enemy has withdrawn to Valenciennes and Douai; we have again occupied Cambrai." The latter statement, however, refers to the open portions of the town. The wildest consternation prevailed in Lille and its vicinity, but Faidherbe and Gambetta, who met in that city after the defeat—the latter coming from Cherbourg—tried their best to rouse the spirits of the people, by "enthusiastic" harangues and "hopeful" orders of the day, to continue the struggle "to the bitter end." "France," Gambetta declared, "prefers an eternal war to the surrender of any portion of her territory." And the patriotic audience cheered the declaration—fragments of Faidherbe's army all the while arriving "in a pitiable state."

The bombardment of Forts Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge, and, as it seems, of the adjoining parts of Paris, has been continued throughout the week with some intermissions, but it would be hard to state with what effect. Versailles despatches have it that the Prussians are steadily advancing their batteries nearer to the city, but, according to reports received from the besieged, their fire is far from being in a high degree destructive. The statements concerning the stock of provisions still left to the Parisians are equally contradictory. The people, however, are evidently becoming more and more impatient of the siege, and of the resultlessness of Trochu's attempts to raise it. The last sortie was made on the 19th, from the side of Mont Valérien, under cover of a heavy fire, and in great force. The French succeeded in surprising the Prussians, and carrying their position on the heights of Montretout. The besiegers, however, soon rallied, and, concentrating a considerable force of infantry and artillery, retook the position, after a sanguinary conflict, and repulsed the enemy with great loss. The French remained outside of Paris, massed at the foot of Mont Valérien, and threatening a fresh attack on the 20th, which, however, they failed to execute, withdrawing into the city at a late hour of that day. This new failure gave rise in the besieged capital to fresh and loud popular denunciations of Trochu's military leadership, which was decried as feeble and temporizing. This dissatisfaction seems to be shared by a portion of the Parisian Council of Defence, at the last meeting of which—shortly before or after the sortie—Trochu, importuned by demands for grander efforts, is reported to have offered his resignation, which came near being accepted in favor of a military triumvirate. The news of Chanzy's defeat, we hear, had been received "stoically" by the people of Paris. In pursuit of that general, the troops of the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg had advanced beyond Alençon, and those of Frederic Charles beyond Vaiges, on the road to Laval. Cheered by favorable reports from every quarter, William of Prussia, on the 18th, formally proclaimed himself at Versailles Emperor of Germany—an empire which now embraces also Bavaria, the Federal treaties with this kingdom having finally been ratified by both houses of its legislature.

In no point is the superiority of the Germans more striking than it is in their finances. While the French are unable to raise any more money, and talk of returning to assignats, the recent North German loan, in spite of much grumbling at the method of its introduction, maintains itself at a premium, and money at Frankfort is reported "a drug," and the bank rate has been reduced to three per cent. There is, however, according to late Cable advices, an unexplained drain of specie from England to Germany, which may indicate preparations for peace, or may be the first indication of financial depression. The total debt of the North German Confederation amounts to less than $150-000,000 in coin, while that of Prussia proper, including all the states annexed in 1866, amounts to about $300,000,000, one-half representing the cost of railways built by the state, which, unlike some of our state roads, are worth their cost, and are even paying off the principal of the debt at the rate of two and one-half per cent. per annum. While on the subject of foreign finance, we may mention that the kingdom of Spain, over which the young Italian now reigns, has a floating deficit, totally unprovided for, of nearly $70,000,000, in addition to its funded debt, and enters on the new year with a further deficit in prospect of about $20,000,000, and without the cash to pay nine or ten millions of interest just maturing. It is, after all, no wonder that, with all our mismanagement, American securities continue to advance abroad.

THE MORALITY OF ARMS-DEALING.

The fact that although the French have drawn supplies of arms and ammunition nearly if not quite as large from this country as from England, and that Prussia, though inveighing bitterly against the toleration of the traffic by the English Government, has taken no notice of its activity in the United States, has perhaps done more than anything else to cause uneasiness in England touching Prussian intentions with regard to her, and has given fresh vigor and point to the demands for active and immediate interference on the French side which a portion of the English press has been recently putting forth—a portion, too, which has no sympathy with the Positivist notion that France is the Holy Land and Paris the New Jerusalem. The discrimination between England and America, made not only by the Prussian Government, but by the public and the army, there is no denying it, looks more like an indication of a desire to pick a quarrel, or get materials ready for a quarrel with the former, than of a desire to patch up the rules of international law. The doctrine of "benevolent neutrality," too, produced so solemnly by Count Bernstoff, being clearly not a joke, has been taken, and not unnaturally, in spite of the pacific sound of the term, as a sign of growing ferocity of temper, and of a desire on the part of Prussia to thrash some neutral or other. The British public has, consequently, been for the last two or three months in the same uncertain frame of mind about its relations with the Prussian Government as we may suppose the Jew to have been who was severely cudgelled with the royal hand in the streets of Berlin, for running up a side street when he saw Frederick William I. approaching. His subjects, his Majesty said, ought to love and not to fear him, and he enforced the rule by inflicting a sound thrashing then and there on the first person taken *flagrante delicto*.

If the Prussians had from the beginning assailed the United States as well as England—that is, made the obligation of "benevolent neutrality" general and not particular, they would doubtless have received hearty support from that large body of persons in this country who hold the sale of arms to belligerents to be immoral, and its prohibition by municipal law a duty resting on higher grounds than international usage. The illustrations they have adduced in support of their theory, and especially that pet one of the two men fighting in the street, one of whom a neighbor supplies with a knife or pistol, shows, however, that they have contented themselves with a very limited survey of the field. What makes the fight of the two men useless for their purpose is, that the manufacture and sale of arms, which go on on a great scale in the United States, England, and Belgium at all times, employ an enormous amount of capital and thousands of operatives. The export of rifles and revolvers for military purposes is a very important branch of the national trade in all these countries. It is viewed with no disfavor or reprobation. A manufacturer of arms, or the inventor of a new cartridge or breech-loader, not only finds that his achievements do not injure him in the estimation of his neighbors, but that, if he is successful, they are actually titles to honor and distinction. Colonel Colt, or Remington, or Sharpe, or Sir William Armstrong, or Krupp, has certainly never found that his calling brought any stigma on him, or that it barred his entrance into any Christian church, or charity, or mission-board, or made his subscription to any benevolent or religious enterprise unwelcome. On the contrary, the fact is—and in view of what we sometimes listen to on the subject of "the horrors of war," we think we may call it an amusing fact—these forgers of weapons are held in high honor and repute as great industrial chiefs. Their factories are pointed to with pride; their contracts with foreign governments are chuckled over for their glorious effects on "the balance of trade." All this is, of course, comprehensible and defensible on various grounds. We know several good reasons why the business of a manufacturer or dealer in arms should be treated as perfectly legitimate; we should be sorry to see him brought before a court of philanthropists as "a bad man," and condemned on the ground that certain ladies and gentlemen were of opinion that there should be no more war.

But here comes in the absurdity of this outcry about the immorality of selling arms to belligerents. Turkey has been arming for the last three years vigorously with Remington breech-loaders, all imported from this country. It is well known that they are to be used in killing Russians, but no word of protest has ever been heard against the transaction, or will be heard as long as the killing has not actually begun. France, between 1866 and 1870, procured about 500,000 Chassepots, some at home but many abroad, without any whisper of objection also, though it was well known that they were intended to be used in killing Germans. Let Turkey, however, begin to defend herself this summer against an attack by Russia, and we shall be gravely told that to sell any more Remingtons to her to take the place of those lost in active service, or to arm fresh troops, is a crime against humanity. So, likewise, it would, in June, 1870, have been a perfectly proper thing to have delivered 100,000 rifles in Paris, to arm the troops getting ready to invade Germany; but to deliver them at Bordeaux, in December of the same year, when, according to these same moralists, France is defending the cause of human freedom, besides fighting for her own life, is blood-guiltiness.

We have only, indeed, to state the case to show the absurdity of the distinction which the Prussians have been trying, and not unnaturally, to set up for their benefit, and to which they have managed to get the adhesion of some people here and elsewhere who ought to know better. There is not a shred of authority in international law for the doctrine that any neutral government ought to interfere with the trade of any dealer in arms who chooses to run the risk of capture by belligerent cruisers. There is not the shadow of excuse in morals for applauding the sale of arms for warlike purposes up to the moment the war breaks out, and then reprobating it as unchristian. War, and the preparation for war—as we endeavored to show some weeks ago when discussing the peace agitation—are parts of one great transaction, which must, in the forum of morals, stand or fall as a whole. If you give your neighbor lessons in shooting and fencing, and sell him powder and ball, and pistols and cudgels, and in all your conversations with him impress on him the beauty and glory and justifiability of thrashing somebody, you cannot save your Christian character and build up a reputation as a peacemaker by shutting your doors and refusing to let him have any more cartridges or knuckledusters as soon as you see him actually engaged in a fray in the street; and if you take to preaching the duty of forgiveness of injuries to him out of a window, you cannot wonder if he recognizes and denounces you as a Pharisee and a cheat.

The Prussian complaint, we are glad to see, is likely to have its absurdity made still more patent by the action of some of the Germans in this country. Meetings have recently been held in the West, at which the partiality of the Government at Berlin was rectified by denunciations of the Administration at Washington for permitting the export of arms to France, and resolutions have been passed refusing it confidence and support till it changes its policy. When we see German-American citizens voting against the Republican party because it refuses to violate a well-known rule of international law, and to saddle itself with new and difficult duties, to the great loss and detriment of American citizens, in order to compensate Germany for the want of a navy in a war with France, the doctrine of "benevolent neutrality" will have been relegated to its proper place among the odd fancies, born of excitement and embarrassment, to which all belligerents are liable.

AMNESTY MEASURES.

The various bills now, or lately, before Congress providing for a removal of disabilities in particular cases, or for a complete amnesty to all persons engaged in the rebellion, or to certain classes thereof, make it proper to examine the exact legal status or condition of the rebels towards the United States Government in relation to the personal penalties, civil and political, incurred by them on account of their acts and defaults. Under laws long in existence, it is certain that all those who "levied war" against the United States were traitors, and liable to the punishment prescribed for the crime of treason. We assume the same to be true of those who adhered to the rebels, and gave them aid and comfort; although there is some doubt upon this particular point growing out of old dicta in the English books, which confine the operation of this clause in the statute of treasons to those who give aid and comfort to foreign enemies, and deny its application to any rebel-

lion or insurrection. Under the broader assumption, however, the number of persons who became liable to the penalties of treason was small compared with the entire population of the Southern States, because the "aid and comfort" of the law mean material aid, which, if not exclusively of a military nature, must be such as will directly sustain and promote the armed resistance to the authority of the United States which the same law calls "levying war." Sympathies, friendly acts to persons, words, and opinions are not embraced within the phrase. But the rebellion assumed such proportions that the contest was conducted with all the forms of public war. This brought it under the domain of international law, and within the rules applicable to hostilities between independent sovereignties. The Supreme Court has repeatedly decided that, as a consequence, all the inhabitants of the insurgent States, without regard to their private opinions, were enemies, and that their property was liable to seizure and confiscation. Congress, however, did not exercise this power to its full extent, but provided for the forfeiture of property belonging to the disloyal. It also contrived the well-known system of test-oaths. Such were the personal liabilities imposed upon residents within the revolted States, viz., the punishments inflicted for treason and sedition, confiscation of enemy's property, and the scrutiny of the test-oath.

It is not denied that all these penalties, unless they had already been fully executed, would be uplifted and removed from any particular offender by a pardon. Proceeding upon the notion, which was undoubtedly a mistaken one, that such an act was necessary, Congress, on the 17th of July, 1862, passed a statute authorizing the President, at his discretion but under some limitations, to grant a general pardon or amnesty. President Lincoln, on the 8th of December, 1863, issued a proclamation announcing to all persons who had been engaged in the rebellion, and who should take a prescribed oath of future allegiance, and keep the same, that a free pardon was thereby granted to them, with restoration of all rights of property except as to slaves. President Johnson, as is well known, granted a large number of specific pardons. On the 7th of January, 1867, Congress repealed the statutory provision of 1862 above-mentioned. Notwithstanding this repeal, and claiming to possess the constitutional authority independent of Congress, President Johnson, on the 4th of July, 1868, issued a proclamation by which he conferred full pardon and amnesty, with restoration to all rights of property except as to slaves, and except, also, any property of which any person might have been legally divested under the laws of the United States, upon all persons except those under indictment for treason or other felony. Finally, on the 25th of December, 1868, he granted in the same manner full pardon and amnesty to all persons, without exception, with restoration of all rights, privileges, and immunities.

The Supreme Court of the United States has recently had occasion in several instances to pronounce upon the effects of a pardon, and has uniformly sustained the settled doctrine of the English law, that it relieves the offender from all penalties and forfeitures to the government which have not already been completely executed. In the case of Padelford *vs.* The United States (9 Wallace, 531), Mr. Padelford claimed the proceeds of his cotton which had been seized and sold when Savannah was occupied by the national forces. The statute provided that the owners of cotton so taken should be entitled to the proceeds thereof if they established their loyalty to the Government. Before the seizure, Mr. Padelford had taken, and subsequently kept, the oath prescribed in President Lincoln's proclamation of 1863. The Court held that his loyalty at the time of the seizure was thus established, although previous to taking the oath he had done acts which were decided to be disloyal. Mr. Chief-Justice Chase remarked that "after the pardon no offence connected with the rebellion could be imputed to him." Immediately upon the announcement of this decision, Congress passed a statute to the effect that in other similar cases a pardon should not be sufficient to establish the claimant's loyalty. The validity of this last enactment may well be doubted, for it seems to infringe upon the pardoning power which belongs exclusively to the President. The case of Armstrong's Foundry (6 Wallace, 766) was a proceeding to confiscate a rebel owner's property. He had received a special pardon, and this, it was held, relieved him from liability of forfeiture to the United States. In the celebrated case, *ex parte* Garland (4 Wallace, 333), the Court decided that a pardon granted to Mr. Garland enabled him to practise law without taking the test-oath required by Congress, its effect being to uplift and remove that penalty. The prevailing opinion said of him that "he is as innocent as if he had never committed the offence." It should be observed that there was no dissent in this case as to the powers of the President, nor as to the general effects of his pardon; the minority simply denied that the test-oath was a penalty to which the act of grace could apply, and insisted that it was merely a qualification to the exercise of an attorney's office. No decisions have yet been made directly based upon President Johnson's two sweeping amnesty proclamations issued after the repeal of the statute of 1862. There can hardly be a doubt as to their validity. The principle of constitutional law, that the President is clothed with all the prerogatives of mercy which belong to the British Crown, and that the word "pardons" used in the Constitution includes all the species known to English jurisprudence, was settled long before the rebellion; and the Court, in Garland's case, said the power of the President is unlimited, and is not subject to legislative control. The result is, that all civil penalties which hung over the Southern people, all forfeitures not fully executed, all liabilities to punishment, are wiped out and utterly destroyed.

The same would probably be true of any political disabilities imposed by Congress. It is unnecessary, however, to discuss this abstract question, for the XIVth Amendment has established a class of such disabilities which, being created by the organic law itself, are beyond the reach of the pardoning power. It has often been said that the third section of this amendment disfranchises the persons embraced within its prohibitions. As the word "disfranchise" is commonly used, this statement is untrue. The right to vote is not interfered with; only the capacity to hold office is taken away. Persons who have been members of Congress or of a State legislature, or officers of the United States, or executive or judicial officers of a State, and who, as such, have taken an oath to support the Constitution, and have engaged in the rebellion, or given aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States, are debarred from all official positions, civil or military, under the national Government or under a State. This prohibition is sweeping and inclusive; for the term "judicial officers" embraces justices of the peace as well as judges of the highest courts, and sheriffs and constables are executive officers as well as governors.

Congress has already passed several statutes removing these disabilities from designated individuals. This method of procedure is plainly liable to great abuse. It can be made, and h s been made, a means of accomplishing mere partisan ends, and of gratifying partisan dislikes. Persons who have undergone a political conversion which brings them into harmony with the majority are easily set free from the restraints of the amendment, no matter how deeply they may have been implicated in the rebellion; while political opponents are subjected to a severer scrutiny and escape with difficulty. We are glad, therefore, to learn that Senator Trumbull will hereafter resist all such special bills until the Senate shall have considered and passed upon some general measure. The conviction, long felt by the more thoughtful members of the Republican party, that a scheme of substantial relief would not only be just but politic, is beginning to impress itself upon the professional politicians. There exists, however, a great difference of opinion upon matters of detail which it will be difficult to harmonize. In December last, Mr. Butler introduced a bill which has been termed an amnesty, but is so only in name. It entirely ignores the general pardons issued by President Johnson, and professes to remove all civil penalties and forfeitures as well as the disabilities created by the Fourteenth Amendment. It excepts from its own operations, however, the following large classes of persons who have engaged in rebellion or given aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States, viz., those educated at the military or naval schools; members of Congress and of the Confederate Congress; heads of departments, foreign ministers, judges of the United States courts, and the like officers under the Confederate Government; members of conventions voting for or signing ordinances of secession; governors of seceded States; persons in the Confederate service who treated pris-

oners with cruelty; persons having charge of public moneys who have not accounted for the same; deserters and bounty-jumpers. It also excepts from its restoration of property-rights all forfeitures already executed, and the national cemeteries. Finally, it declares invalid all rights of action and liabilities arising on any ordinance, law, or contract in aid of the rebellion. It will be observed that Mr. Butler recognizes the existence and provides for the continuance of penalties far greater in number and more stringent in effect than those embraced within the prohibitions of the XIVth Amendment. His bill, instead of being an amnesty, is, in fact, a stringent measure of repression and punishment, and would, if possible, reverse the decision of the Supreme Court and annul the pardons of the President. Mr. Beck proposed to except only persons educated at the military or naval schools, members of Congress, heads of departments, foreign ministers, and judges of the national courts. Mr. Farnsworth offered a substitute, short but comprehensive, that all political disabilities imposed by the third section of the XIVth Amendment be removed. The discussion which followed showed that Mr. Butler's bill cannot pass, and the whole matter seems to have been left in a lethargic state, only to arise, we hope, with renewed energy and vigor.

We should be glad to see the simple measure of relief offered by Mr. Farnsworth adopted, with an amendment excepting from its operations a very few individuals, who should be designated by name—the first of whom should be Jefferson Davis. The objections to the third section of the XIVth Amendment, which exist in the nature of things and can never be obviated, are the reasons why Congress should at once use its power and abolish the system of disabilities. These objections and reasons are summed up in the single fact that the amendment is an *ex post-facto* law, and one, moreover, of the very worst character. When the Constitution was adopted, *ex-post-facto* laws were well known as the ready and efficient instruments of a tyrannical parliamentary majority. All history, and emphatically all English history, had taught their danger. Their very essence is injustice. Both Congress and the State legislatures were therefore forbidden to pass such enactments. It is a scandal that side by side with this prohibition there now stands in the very Constitution itself a provision which embodies all the features which make *ex-post facto* laws odious—a provision which is especially opposed to the primary conceptions of a republican government, because it works a deprivation of political privileges. It is doubly a scandal that this was the work of men who claim to be the champions of the rights of man. As these prohibitions are essentially unjust, and as they are peculiarly irritating, it is not strange that they have promoted discontent and disorder.

THE CONDITION OF LIFE INSURANCE AMONG US.

The recent disastrous failure of two life insurance companies in this city has directed public attention anew to a subject the magnitude of which is scarcely realized even by those directly interested. The discussion which has arisen is rendered confusing by the failure to discriminate between the different parts of the subject to be discussed. The question of the morality and public policy of the system, which has been revived by recent events, however important in itself, has really nothing to do with the questions now before the country. Practically, these latter relate solely to the general possibility of making life insurance safe, to the soundness of our present system, and to the methods now in use for putting that system into practice.

The theory of life insurance is based upon two essential assumptions—the rapid accumulation of money invested at compound interest, and the average duration of human lives, or, in other words, the average number of annual deaths out of a given number of individuals of the same age. The latter is derived from a mass of statistics which, by competent authority, are asserted to be amply sufficient to warrant the conclusions drawn from them; although it should be borne in mind that since the origin of life insurance the civilized world has been visited by no general pestilence, which it is by no means certain may not again recur, in spite of our great progress in modern times in medical and sanitary science. The danger from pestilence is, however, undoubtedly remote; and although we, in the United States, are trying the system under novel conditions, owing to the most extraordinary migration of peoples that the world has seen since the Middle Ages, which have already somewhat modified the conclusions of European experience, we may yet safely adopt the dictum of scientific enquirers that the calculations of our life insurance companies, as far as the element of mortality is concerned, are sound and satisfactory, and that life insurance itself is sound in this respect if the rules established by science are rigidly adhered to. If the companies exercise ordinary prudence in the selection of their risks—in other words, if they only assure the lives of persons of good habits and in good health, or receive a corresponding increase of premium for the insurance of those whose health and habits are less perfect—they will be safe in this particular.

Unfortunately, the system of inducing people to insure their lives adopted with us tends directly to destroy prudence in this regard. The system of employing agents to solicit insurance, especially in cities and towns at a distance from the chief office of the companies—the agents receiving a commission on the amount of premium paid by the insured—is utterly subversive of all sound business principles. The principle that the agent's earnings depend upon the number of persons whom he can induce to insure their lives—however apparently sound in ordinary business—is utterly unsound here, because it puts the agent's interest in direct conflict with the interests of his employer, the company. It is the agent's interest to procure the acceptance of every life that he presents for insurance, and, instead of making it his duty to aid his employer in discovering every cause of rejection, it virtually pays him a premium to aid in concealing it. It is utterly useless to urge in extenuation of this fact that the application must be accompanied by statements from the insured, any falsehood in which would vitiate his insurance; that he must present certificates from the family physician, or other reputable medical adviser, or from friends; that each policy is submitted to the medical counsel of the company; and that, finally, the company itself reserves the right to reject any policy accepted by its agents. No man or woman of the world need be told how weak are these supposed safeguards, especially when both the physician and the agent are virtually "retained," to use a legal phrase, on the side of the insured against the company.

The case is somewhat different where the insured resides in the same place as the chief officers or one of the competent branches of the company, and where the medical adviser of the company is engaged, at a salary, to serve the exclusive interests of his client. But even here an element of demoralization enters that saps the whole system. Every employee of the company is *ex officio* an agent for the company to solicit insurance. With a view to increase the interest of the employees in the success of the company, they receive, the same as any other agent, commissions on the premiums which they procure for the company; but, by a process of the most extraordinary sophistry, they are supposed to be securing the *success* of the company while they are merely increasing its *business*, and while their own interest in the matter is directly opposed to that of the company. It is true that the medical advisers of the company reserve the final decision as to the acceptance or rejection of the risk; but, when president, vice-president, secretary, cashier, and every subordinate clerk is in the receipt of annual commissions on policies procured for his corporation, varying from five hundred dollars to twenty-five thousand, and, if common rumor is to be believed, to even more; when even directors—directly or indirectly—become solicitors for the companies, and receive commissions; when men are openly spoken of as having made fifty or a hundred or two hundred thousand dollars "by life insurance," where, in this age of moral obtuseness, is the value of the approval by a salaried medical man of any risk submitted to his decision by the very men who hold his appointment—frequently his sole means of support—completely at their mercy? It is idle to say that there *are* men who can remain honest under such temptations. No doubt there are. But it is positively wicked to expose the purest man to such influences; and, unfortunately, the pure and strong are few and far between.

So long as agents for life insurance companies are paid by commissions, and thereby virtually rendered the enemies of their employers; so long as officers of companies are allowed to receive commissions on the premiums that they procure, just so long will there be an element

of weakness and corruption within the organization itself, which no amount of honesty and business shrewdness in its managers can permanently counteract. When the public begins to understand and appreciate this circumstance, it is to be hoped that some of the older and well-established companies, whose reputation insures them a certain amount of business independent of agencies and employees, will make or enforce the experiment of abolishing this system, and either secure its prohibition by law, or else by the force of public sentiment compel the younger or weaker companies to follow their example. The injurious results of the commission system, arising from the enormous expenses thereby incurred, are insignificant compared to the injury arising from the corruption which it almost inevitably engenders. The magnitude of the temptation offered by it is seen when we remember that the annual premiums received by insurance companies doing business in this State exceed fifty millions of dollars, on which some companies are reported to pay as high as forty per cent. commission, while probably the average does not fall much below twenty per cent., making a fund of something like ten millions of dollars to be earned by a system which is in itself a temptation to dishonesty.

It is scarcely too much to say that this commission system is one of the main incentives to the establishment of new companies by reckless or overambitious persons. When companies with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars can obtain an annual income of one million, a very small portion of which only can be called for in the earliest years of its existence, it will be readily seen how easy it must be to obtain the loan of that capital, by the processes known to incorporators, until it can be repaid, in some form or other, out of the receipts of the corporation; and where shrewd, active, and unscrupulous managers thus have the opportunity to earn for themselves annual commissions amounting to more than their capital, the temptation is irresistible. The process is generally as follows: The parties who desire to get up a new company, themselves make liberal subscriptions to the capital stock. The lawyer who is to be retained by the company at an annual salary is expected to take at least an amount of stock equal to his salary; the medical adviser, the same; the stationer, whose bills form a very large and important part of the annual expenses, does the same. The advertising agent, the president, and other officers of the company, and, finally, the persons who expect to become the company's principal agents, follow suit; and then, of course, as many outsiders as possible are induced to join. Most of these persons have to borrow the money to pay for their stock; but it is generally easy to borrow money for a short time on such stock, because it is known that with ordinarily decent management and activity it is next to impossible for a life insurance company to fail in the first years of its existence, and because it is known that the gains of the parties in interest are likely to be large enough to enable them very speedily to repay the lender. With a company thus organized, even if started with the most honorable intentions, and with the temptation of large commissions constantly dangling before the eyes of every one concerned, it is evident that the supposed safeguard of medical inspection and control becomes a mere delusion—a farce. Premiums and commissions *must* be earned, and the safeguard of medical control is swept to the winds. It must be remembered that we are speaking of companies intended to be managed honestly, and are speaking only of the evils resulting from one bad principle incorporated into the system—the principle of paying commissions on premiums procured by agents and officers of the company. This principle, we maintain, is subversive of all safety in the business of life insurance, because it upsets all calculations based upon the "average duration of healthy lives," which forms one of the two fundamental facts on which the whole system of life insurance rests.

The second of these two facts is the rapid accumulation of money at compound interest. It is evident that this fact depends entirely for its value upon the safety of the manner in which the money is invested. Now, it has generally been believed that no investment could well be much safer than that of bonds and mortgages on real estate, and, indeed, we find that the life insurance companies doing business in this State hold bonds and mortgages exceeding sixty millions of dollars. They have in fact become during the last few years the principal lenders of money on real estate, and have done more to create and perpetuate the present real estate speculation than almost all other influences combined. From fifteen millions in 1865, the amount thus invested has risen to over sixty millions in 1869—a capital of forty-five millions of dollars added to the real estate speculation in four years, surely sufficient to account for a very large advance in the value of property over a very wide area. It is only a few weeks since a piece of property was offered for sale at the Real Estate Exchange of this city, and reached a certain price beyond which no bids were to be obtained, when the agent of an insurance company or savings-bank announced that the corporation he represented would advance a certain amount on the mortgage of the property; bidding was immediately resumed, and the property finally sold for ten per cent. more than what was bid for it previous to the announcement. Such is the influence which the enormous amounts offered on bond and mortgage by the life insurance companies have had and have on the prices of real estate in this city and elsewhere. The latter have advanced in many instances four and five-fold since 1864, and prudent men are seriously asking themselves whether they can be maintained. It is argued that the great rapidity with which the population and wealth of the country are increasing, and are likely to continue to increase, prohibit the thought that real estate can decline. But those who argue thus forget that it took thirty years from the collapse of the great real estate speculation, in 1836 and 1837, to bring prices back to the level of those years, and that in some instances property on this island is to-day selling for less than its supposed value prior to the crash in 1837. We do not intend to argue that, with the liberal margins usually required by life insurance companies, there is any momentary danger of loss from any supposable decline in real estate. It is merely intended to point out the enormous power which these companies possess to affect the value of property, and the great temptation which there always will be to use that power for corrupt purposes. Nearly two-thirds of the available assets of the life insurance companies doing business in this State are thus invested in a security subject to more violent though less frequent fluctuations than fancy stocks in Wall Street—in a security the prices of which are most seriously influenced by the investments of the companies themselves, and which hence offers unusual temptations for illegitimate transactions.

It would seem that in a business so hazardous as life insurance would appear to be under a system of commissions to agents and investments in real estate, the community would require that the company should possess large means of its own to give some guarantee to insurers, both as a financial security and as a means of insuring the interest and watchfulness of the stockholders or their representatives, the board of directors. But the very reverse is the case. The total capital of all the insurance companies doing business in this State, with an annual income of over $60,000,000, annual expenditures of nearly $40,000,000, with total assets not far from $200,000,000, and with risks exceeding $1,600,000,000—the total capital of all these companies doing this enormous business is about $10,000,000, or one-fourth of their annual expenditures, one-sixth of their annual income, one-twentieth of their total assets, and one one-hundred-and-sixtieth of their total risks. Of all the companies doing business in the State only two have capitals of $1,000,000 (one of them doing only nominally an insurance business, the other quite recently started), one of $500,000, two of $300,000, and the rest almost exclusively of $100,000 only, including the two largest companies, which together do nearly one-half of the entire business. The disproportion between the capital of these companies and the enormous magnitude of their business is less important with regard to their financial safety than it is with regard to their management and their responsibility towards the public. In all other financial institutions, the large pecuniary interests of the stockholders and directors are looked upon by the public as a guarantee of honest management. But in life insurance the pecuniary interest of the stockholders and directors is ridiculously insignificant. In the case of one of the largest companies, the total capital was less than one per cent. of the annual income, and less than one and one-half per cent. of the annual expenditure, while the annual fees to medical examiners nearly equalled the capital, and the commission paid to one single agent exceeded the entire capital of the company seven-fold. It is evi-

dent at a glance that men do not undertake the management of and the responsibility of being directors in such enormous concerns for any possible benefit to accrue to their diminutive capital invested in them. There are undoubtedly men who do devote their time to the management of corporations from mere love of the thing. But, as a general rule, directors in such corporations understand that their services as such are to entitle them to a preference, under equal conditions, in the legitimate and proper, but nevertheless very advantageous and very desirable, use of the funds of the company. Nor would there be anything essentially wrong in this if the "equal conditions" could be preserved. But that is notoriously impossible.

FORENSIC ETHICS.

THE history of the Erie Railroad during the last two or three years has brought into considerable prominence, besides many other questions of law and morals, the question of the proper limits of an advocate's duty to his client, and it has derived additional interest from the fact that it has been raised by criticisms on the professional conduct of a leading member not of the New York bar only, but of the bar of the United States, who has achieved a world-wide reputation as a legal reformer. We believe there has never been any general agreement either amongst lawyers or among moralists on this subject. Many distinguished moralists have always held that the lawyer's trade was essentially dishonest, and that it was not possible to pursue it successfully without more or less moral deterioration; that even the most careful and restrained presentation of a case involved concealments, evasions, and attempts to make the worse appear the better reason—or, in other words, to deceive—which could not be allowed a place in the art of legitimate persuasion, and which, hardly pardonable to a man in the excitement of pleading his own cause, were wholly unpardonable in a hired advocate.

On the other hand, lawyers, while acknowledging their general subjection to the ethical canons which govern men in the ordinary dealings of life, have always claimed, on purely utilitarian grounds, the benefit of certain exemptions, which they maintain to be absolutely necessary to the proper conduct of judicial enquiry, as long as that enquiry takes the form of attack and defence. Out of these exemptions they may be said to have framed a code of their own, which, even if it will not bear the application either of Christian or Stoical tests, they say serves a great public need, without detriment to the character of those who practise it. As pure and upright men as ever lived do practise it, we all know. These exemptions have, doubtless, been pushed in some cases to an intolerable extreme. The liberty claimed by Brougham for an advocate—that of treating his client's safety as the very highest interest, and seeking it at any cost, *per fas aut nefas*, is simply detestable. The laity has never acknowledged it to be anything but detestable, and any bar which acted on his doctrine would become a public nuisance; but no bar, we believe, has ever done so.

The main cause of the difference of opinion which exists, and has always existed, between laymen and lawyers as to the modes in which it is permissible to advocate a client's cause, and as to the rightfulness of pleading causes known by the lawyer to be bad, or of defending men known by the lawyer to be rascals, we take to be forgetfulness, on the part of both lawyers and laymen, of the fact that the advocate, under our system of jurisprudence, and, indeed, we may say under every system in which the courts administer laws and are bound by rules of procedure, has a twofold character. He is not simply the counsel of one of the parties; he is an officer charged by the government with the task of assisting in the administration of justice. When he appears in court, it is not simply as the representative of one of the litigants, but as the guardian of the general interests of the community. It is not simply his business to get the prisoner off, but to see that his trial is properly conducted; not simply to enforce or resist a claim, but to see that the procedure provided by the legislature for testing the validity of claims is not evaded or twisted or ignored. In doing all this, he acts not simply for the parties to the cause, but for everybody who may ever become a party to a cause; not simply for the person whose life or liberty or property is jeopardied by the pending case, but for everybody whose life or liberty or property may be brought into jeopardy in any case. When A is sued on a fraudulent demand, or tried on a false accusation, he unquestionably is indebted in a considerable degree for his chances of escape to the labors of lawyers who push such accusations or such claims, inasmuch as in those cases, as well as in others, they help to keep the machinery of justice in working order, and help to keep alive that sense of the importance and even sanctity of forms which is, after all, our principal defence against oppression or spoliation.

This part of a lawyer's duty laymen almost invariably overlook. They see in him only the hired pleader, determined to win, no matter what the moral complexion of his case may be, and they are never thoroughly satisfied that an attorney who appears for a man whom he knows to be guilty and dishonest, does not thereby become *particeps criminis*. It has, however, been often pointed out, and is familiar enough to those who have given any attention to this class of questions, that the thing of most importance to a civilized community with regard to crime, for instance, is not so much that criminals should be brought to justice as that they should be brought to justice in the prescribed way. In this all innocent men are interested; if it were of no consequence, martial law and lynch-law would serve our purpose as well as any other. It follows from this that all judicial enquiries are enquiries not into a man's moral but into his legal guilt. Juries are told this by the judge at every trial. The court sits and lawyers argue in order to find out, not whether a man committed a murder, but whether the proofs, without which the law says no man shall be hanged for murder, are forthcoming in his case. It makes no practical difference, therefore, whether an advocate is satisfied that his client really did commit the murder or the robbery, or not. He has really, *quâ* advocate, nothing to do with that question. His duty is to see that the evidence is sufficient and the procedure regular; and, to make sure of this, he is bound to give both the severest possible handling, and direct the attention of the court to every point and stage of them, and, in doing all this, he acts, as we have said already, not simply for the prisoner at the bar, but for every other person in the land. How confused the popular notions are on this subject, and how little consideration the Sentimentalists have ever given it, was well illustrated by the outcry against Mr. Evarts for undertaking the defence of Andrew Johnson, as if he did not at the impeachment trial appear for Grant and all future presidents, as well as for his actual client—for those whom "the party" might some day factiously and viciously seek to overthrow, as well as for him whom it was then righteously seeking to bring to justice.

As we have said, however, lawyers do often forget their character of officers of justice, and do act as mere advocates whose sole business is to get their client out of his scrape, and make money by it. It is the natural tendency of human nature, of course, in this profession as in all others, to look rather to the effect of a course of conduct on a man's personal fortunes than on the general welfare, and a lawyer's temptations to do this are so numerous, and the injury wrought by his doing it is so great, that in every country in which a bar exists, while he is allowed some special exemptions from ordinary moral responsibility, he is also saddled by law or usage with certain special restrictions. His dishonesty or ignorance works mischief not to his clients only, but to the community at large, by diminishing the power of the only criticism which the judges seriously regard—that of the bar. An upright and learned bench is not possible in conjunction with a knavish or unlearned bar, because nobody but lawyers can tell whether judges have either knowledge or principle. Moreover, as there is no relation between man and man in which one party has to place himself so helplessly in the hands of another as the relation of advocate and client, so there is no class whose want of personal integrity so seriously shakes mutual confidence and the general sense of security as the lawyer class. Indeed, honesty among a nation's lawyers may be said to be nearly as essential to its healthy existence as chastity among its women. They are expected, more than any other class, not simply to be just in the transaction of their professional business, but to promote justice by their influence and example.

It must be remembered, however, that the theory of the duty of the bar with regard to all classes of cases and of clients, rests altogether on the assumption that the courts are pure, and that when an advocate asks a thing of a judge the judge will only give it him if the law allows it. The bar is, in short, supposed to get the law, and nothing but the law, from the bench. If a state of things arises in which the bench is in a league with the dishonest, then we say, unhesitatingly, any lawyer who carries a dishonest man's case before the bench does *ipso facto* connive at the fraud; and it is the fact that that state of things has arisen in this State which has given the discussion about the Erie road and its lawyers so much of its acridity. There are two judges at least on the New York bench who are believed, on evidence which can hardly be gainsayed, to be corrupt, and to be in a corrupt league with the persons who have secured possession of the Erie Railroad. About the character of these persons there is, unhappily, no sort of doubt, and yet they have a perfect

right to have the claims made against them passed on by the courts, and to have competent legal assistance in doing so. Their character, be it never so bad, is, it must be admitted, according to the well-established usage of the bar, no obstacle to this. But the questions which now agitate the public mind are, whether, their power having become so great as to raise them to all intents and purposes above the courts and the legislature, their claims to legal assistance ought not, in the eyes of a right-minded lawyer, to be modified by the higher claims of public decency and morality; whether it is permissible to take any of their cases before a judge with whom they are known, or believed on good grounds, to have corrupt relations; whether any order, granted by such a judge for their benefit, can be considered in any proper sense a judicial finding, or anything better than an instrument of spoliation; and whether every lawyer is not bound to abstain from procuring, or using, or conniving at the procuring or using of such orders. The public is, in the matter of judicial corruption, very much at the mercy of the bar. The bar only knows whether judges are corrupt, for corruption is hardly ever patent or discoverable by the non-professional eye; and a lawyer is bound as a lawyer not only not to profit by such corruption, or allow his clients to do so, but to watch for and expose it. To use it for professional purposes is one of the gravest offences a member of the bar can commit against the community, and he is not only bound not to seek a corrupt judge, but to avoid using him. Nay, more, if there is no other judge to be had, we hold he is bound not to apply to him in a case in which he is likely to be dishonest, for what takes place before him is not, and cannot be a judicial proceeding. A corrupt judge is no judge at all; he is a robber. To refuse to appear before him no doubt may involve the loss of practice, but so might a refusal to bribe him.

Now, whether any member of the bar has in any way connived at or profited by the corruption which we know to exist on the bench of this city, is a grave question, but it is one which no layman is competent to answer. All charges of this kind must rest on facts. Names, dates, and circumstances are needed to give them substance, and these are not within the reach of the general public. There is probably no subject on which general report or gossip is of less value. Moreover, after the facts are secured, they need to be professionally interpreted. A layman may know that a lawyer did a certain thing on a certain day, but to decide whether he did wrong in doing it he needs the aid of professional opinion. He cannot condemn a lawyer, for instance, for appearing before a corrupt judge, without knowing whether he was brought there by the other side or went there voluntarily, or whether he could have possibly avoided it. There ought to be some tribunal before which such a charge as this, the bench being unreliable, could be investigated. In this State there is no such tribunal. The bar has no control over the conduct of its members; but there is an association in this city known as the Bar Association, which, if it cannot expel an unworthy lawyer from the profession, can at least let the public know what to think of him, and, if it refuses to perform this duty even toward its own members, it can hardly claim any higher character than that of a not very select social club. We submit that, if grave charges are current against one of its members, affecting his professional reputation—if these charges are generally believed by the public, and find frequent expression in periodicals of good standing on both sides of the Atlantic, and are of such a nature as to shake confidence all over the world in the security of property in this State, and to bring odium on the very name of a New York lawyer—the Bar Association should either enquire into their truth, and, if found to be false, publicly vindicate their member's character; or, if found to be true, make such proclamation of the fact as would put the community on their guard against him, and relieve the bar from the odium which, in the absence of any protest or reprobation on its part, his connection with it is calculated to bring upon it. If it refuses to do either of these things, both the accused person and the public will have abundant reason to complain, and the Association may fairly feel some doubts as to the reason of its existence. Our firm belief is that all that can be done for reform by private conversation in offices and over dinner-tables, and by general homilies on corruption, has been done. We have reached a point at which, unless persons of influence and character can be found ready to assume open responsibility for their opinions, we may as well surrender at discretion. There is no use in making a breach in the walls unless volunteers can be found for the forlorn hope.

ENGLAND.

LONDON, January 6, 1870.

POOR Mr. Gladstone is unlucky in his constituencies. Everybody admits that he is one of our greatest orators and ablest ministers; yet it seems as though nobody cared to be represented by him for any great length of time. When he lost his seat at Oxford, he found a refuge in South Lancashire; driven from South Lancashire, he received the honor of an election without canvass from the borough of Greenwich; and now it seems that some of the good people of Greenwich are repenting of the honor which they conferred, and would like to give Mr. Gladstone notice to quit. I am not acquainted with the details of Greenwich politics; but I imagine the cause of this discontent to be easily guessed. The reductions made by the present admiralty in the neighboring dockyards of Woolwich have caused a certain amount of distress and a good deal of irritation. The Tory party have, I presume, taken advantage of this circumstance to open fire, so to speak, upon Mr. Gladstone's rear, and have endeavored to give the complaint a character of general rather than of local dissatisfaction. Of course, the matter has been taken up more or less in the newspapers, and has led to some discussion of the errors committed by Mr. Gladstone's administration, and the defence set up for them. That there is a good deal of dissatisfaction in different quarters appears to be tolerably clear. The complaints are twofold. In the first place, the radicals have not forgotten or forgiven the concessions made to the church party by the education bill. They say that that measure was carried by the help of the opposition in spite of the efforts of the most genuine liberals; and they are suspicious of similar measures in future, especially in regard to the Irish educational system. From the other side, the conservatives declare, and a good many liberals sympathize to some extent with them, that Mr. Gladstone has pursued a very false policy in regard to military and naval reforms. He reduced our forces, they urge, till we found ourselves scandalously ill provided with men and materials in the midst of the most terrible of modern wars, and we are now endeavoring to make up for lost ground in urgent haste, and therefore at an extravagant rate. We discharged 20,000 useful soldiers, and are trying to entice them back again; we allowed our supplies of powder to fall to a ridiculously low ebb, and have now to buy from private manufacturers at an advance of 40 per cent. above the average price. I have no means of distinguishing the truth which may be contained in these assertions from the errors by which it is doubtless accompanied, but they presage a stormy session, and will no doubt lead to some very uncomfortable debates.

I see a letter in the *Daily News* of to-day which gives utterance to some of these feelings. The writer professes to be a radical, and says that his party looks forward with great anxiety to the fate of three leading measures. These concern the ballot, the licensing system, and army reform. The programme is, to my mind, very feeble; and I do not believe that many rational human beings care much for the ballot at the bottom of their hearts, or believe that we are going to make a serious legislative assault upon drunkenness. The third question, however, is more likely to lead to political complications. Though I have already touched upon the subject on one or two previous occasions, I will venture to call your attention to some of the difficulties involved. The gentleman who has been most active in the endeavor to get up an agitation on the subject is Mr. George Trevelyan, who has been publishing pamphlets, making speeches, getting into newspaper controversies, and generally seeking to gain a hearing for his views. Mr. Trevelyan is a very able as well as a very zealous and honest politician, yet he has scarcely met with the success he deserves; partly, I think, because he has fallen into some statistical inaccuracies, and has so given the enemy occasion to triumph over him. He tells us, and the statement is near enough to the truth to be unpleasant, that we spend near $30,000,000 annually upon our army, and that for that sum we can only place in line, after making the necessary deductions for garrison duty, something like 35,000 men. In other words, we could produce one strong Prussian corps at twice the cost of the entire Prussian army. There are certain deductions to be made from this statement with which I need not trouble you. It is, however, remarkable that such statements can be made, and made with at least a plausible approximation to accuracy, and excite so little sensation as they do.

One main cause of this comparative quiescence is that the country is by no means prepared, in spite of all that can be said, to adopt anything like the Prussian system. Advocates of army reform have expressed a wish to see every man in the country drilled; and we are by no means so frightened or so ambitious of military glory as to be ready for so sweeping an innovation. Lord Derby expressed the general sense of the country when he said that it would be a retrograde measure to turn the nation into an armed camp. The suspicion, in fact, that a disposition to sacrifice everything to military efficiency underlies the eagerness of most military reformers, goes far to neutralize their efforts. The argument, indeed, remains that, as we choose to spend

so much, we ought to get more for our money. It seems, however, that the British public aquiesce pretty comfortably in an old-established abuse, and do not work themselves up to the pitch of demanding reform till some serious catastrophe has made its necessity obvious to the meanest capacity. What has been done even by the terrible spectacle now before our eyes is not to produce any vehement popular outcry, but to make it necessary for the ministry to introduce some measure of reform in the ensuing session. To that, in one way or other, they seem to be pretty well pledged; they have the advantage that a moderate scheme will content the general public; but, on the other hand, in the absence of any strong pressure, they will have a difficulty in encountering the opposition of many men, and bodies of men, whose interests must be materially affected by any decided measure.

What is the nature of these interests may be briefly indicated by the resolutions of which Mr. Trevelyan has given notice. He intends to move, in the first place, that the purchase system should be extinguished. That system is so utterly monstrous in theory that it is difficult to understand how any reasoning being should get up and defend it. Yet, as every abuse which has lasted for generations must be convenient to a large class of men, and as most people hold that what is convenient to them must be good for the nation, it does not want eager defenders. Their great practical stronghold is that the first expense of extinguishing it would be enormously costly; yet it is impossible to move a step towards army reform without finding this preposterous arrangement in the way. A bit of evidence from an able general will be enough to point out its most palpably mischievous effect. "If a man knows," said Sir J. Franks, "that, with very little attention, and a smattering of knowledge, and lots of money, he is certain to get on, he is not likely to pay proper attention to his duties. I conceive that, as long as men think that money and interest will forward them in the service, they will not devote themselves to their profession." The consequence is, in fact, that English officers are essentially amateurs. They enter the army, as the Duke of Cambridge admitted, for three or four years "to see how they like it." It is not true to say that the army is aristocratic in any strict sense of the word; but it is certainly plutocratic, or, as Mr. Trevelyan puts it, a "plutocracy tempered by social interest." Of the various indirect modes in which the vested interest of officers in their commissions stops every attempt at improved organization, I have no room to speak; but they can be easily imagined. Mr. Trevelyan's next resolution points to bringing the Horse Guards under the complete control of the Secretary of War. The existing system of double administration is one of those things which nobody can understand who has not been initiated into its secrets by practical experience. It is enough to say that at present the Duke of Cambridge, as commander-in chief, has a kind of independent and indefinite authority; but, as he is a member of the royal family, ministers are generally too delicate to interfere with him; that Mr. Trevelyan's assault upon him has been considered as something between treason and sacrilege; and that the Duke, though a well-meaning man enough, is a thorough obstructive, and an obstinate defender of all the worst points of our system. Then Mr. Trevelyan proposes that the militia and the line should be united in one common organization, and that various reforms, into which I need not enter, should be carried into effect, having for their main object the introduction of a short term of service, after which the soldier should pass for a time into some efficient body of reserves. As matters stand, we have a small regular army; a half-drilled and badly-officered militia, which has no particular relation to the army; and a large mass of volunteers who, at the best, are mere raw materials out of which an army could be gradually formed. To make a coherent and well-organized whole from these chaotic materials is a task so difficult that one rather hopes than expects that the ministry will propose some satisfactory scheme for the purpose.

Reformers have thus to contend against a number of discouraging circumstances. The intricacy of the system, which serves to condemn it in the eyes of intelligent observers, makes it almost impossible to explain its evils to the outside world. The assailant is easily enticed into such a labyrinth of complicated detail, where he makes statistical blunders and finds all kinds of unexpected arguments spring upon him at every turn, but ordinary readers grow bewildered, and give up the question in despair. Then there is all the enormous weight of social interests, beginning from that of the royal family down to the tradesman who gets some advantage from his connection with the local corps of volunteers; there are the whole body of officers who have invested large sums in their commissions, and regard any tampering with them as picking their pockets; there is the very large military element in both Houses of Parliament which despises outside reformers, and is ready to swear that the British army is the envy and admiration of the universe; and, finally, there is the dislike of the radical himself to anything which savors of military extension. He is apt to regard the services as an abuse, which ought to be abated by a simple process of cutting down instead of improving their organization. It is still popular to condemn standing armies altogether, and to propose to rely upon our admirable band of patriotic volunteers. The ministry may well dread doing either too much or too little in so ticklish a business; and, though something must be done, I would rather not make any guess as to what that something will be.

As the piece of news which I am about to announce has already got into the newspapers, I have no hesitation in revealing it. Miss Garrett, the ablest of our lady doctors and advocates of women's rights, is about to be married. It is stated—though I cannot understand on what ground—that she thus forfeits her position in the school-board; but she is certainly not prevented from continuing her professional practice, and I am informed that she intends to do so.

CHRISTMAS IN WAR TIME.

CASSEL, December 26, 1870.

LAST night a train carrying 800 sick and wounded French prisoners arrived here, and halted for a few hours that the men might have an opportunity to recover in some measure from the effects of the cold and hunger and thirst with which they were all suffering, have their wounds dressed, and be supplied with any medicines of which they stood in need. They were on their way to Berlin, whence they were to be sent still further north, and everything was done for them which could possibly help them to endure the hardships still in store for them, as their journey must continue through the night and be prosecuted in miserable freight-cars, neither lighted nor warmed, and supplied only with a scanty allowance of straw. To say merely that they had been suffering from the cold is to put it too mildly by several degrees. The fact is that, while numbers of them had frost-bitten hands, feet, and faces, four poor fellows were found actually frozen to death. The train had left Nancy two days before, when the weather, though raw, was not severe in temperature; but during the first night the cold became intense, reaching 14° to 16° Réaumur. The prisoners were transported in open platform cars, with no shelter, except such as their clothing afforded, and that, in many cases, was little indeed. The train did not stop for the weather, but continued its route with true military observance of orders and disregard of consequences. The prisoners were, many of them, weak, sick, and exhausted, and the effect of forty-eight hours of uninterrupted suffering from cold upon such men will not be exaggerated by the liveliest imagination. Many of the men were in such a state that it would have been murder outright to send them further; their lives would have come to an end long before their journey did, and the destination for which some of them were already plainly bound was not Berlin but the grave. Hence a considerable number were detained here, and divided among the military hospitals of the city.

Sixteen were assigned to the hospital where I am engaged, and, as I was "officer of the day" at the time of their arrival, I had the duty of examining them. They required to be looked after with special reference to small-pox, as that disease had seized some of their comrades on their way hither from France. They did not present any symptoms of that fatal complaint; but nearly all of them were afflicted in various degrees with one or another of the pests which prey upon the soldier in war-time in winter. In the first place, their forty-eight hours' chill was showing its disastrous effects in various ways. Here the dusky countenance and partial asphyxia of a commencing severe pneumonia, there the swollen joints and intense agony of rheumatic fever, presented themselves. Poor exhausted victims of dysentery and typhoid fever, with chattering teeth, were vainly trying to get warm in bed. Some had frozen feet, many less extensive frost-bites. Their bodies were emaciated in nearly every case and covered with eruptions of various sorts, and they were infested with vermin in a truly appalling degree. It was on this latter account that they were all forced into a warm bath and given fresh clothing before they were allowed to take their beds. The bath was a necessary but cruel precautionary measure. It increased their discomfort to the last degree, chilling them still more by the rapid evaporation which it caused; and they must have felt their first reception in the land to whose tender mercies they had unwittingly committed themselves a coldly inhospitable one.

The men were all from the Loire army, and had been made prisoners in or about Orléans. Four of them were "Turcos," stupid but apparently good-natured fellows, certainly not the savage and blood-thirsty animals

they are usually represented to be. Four wore the picturesque Zouave uniform. The rest were from infantry regiments, several from the 16th infantry. There was one fair-skinned, flaxen-haired, blue-eyed Alsatian, or "Elsasser," as the Prussians called him, who spoke German with entire fluency, and whose Teutonic traits offered a marked contrast to the Latin proclivities of his comrades. He had received a severe gunshot wound through the shoulder at Moulin d'Anvilliers, before Orléans, on the 3d of December, where the French made such obstinate resistance, but were finally overpowered by the Holsteiners. He seemed to win the hearts of the German attendants by his manly behavior under his severe sufferings, his forlorn looks, and still more, perhaps, by his temperament and appearance, which allied him so closely to them, and every possible attention was paid to his comfort. He acted as interpreter to his comrades, and, indeed, spoke better German than French. He was complimented on his German looks and language, and assured that he could now forget French entirely, and make German his mother-tongue. He made no reply to this jest, but his countenance fell, and it needed no penetration to see that he had not yet learned to reconcile himself to the idea of transferring his allegiance from the defenders to the conquerors of his country.

A soldier's funeral cortége is no uncommon sight in these times. Almost every day two or three of them pass in the street before my window; but this afternoon I have seen two whose unusual nature will perhaps merit a few words. In every particular save one they were exactly like the procession which ordinarily escorts the Prussian soldier to his grave: a squad of perhaps 50 men marching in rear and van divisions, between which are borne upon the shoulders of six comrades the soldier's mortal remains. The coffin is enfolded in a black pall, upon which rest the sabre and helmet of the deceased, encircled with garlands of flowers. The one particular in which these two processions differed from the ordinary ones was that, instead of the burnished helmet encircled with its wreath of immortelles, there rested upon one coffin the elaborately braided red cap of a French soldier of the line, and upon the other the tasselled headpiece of an Algerian Zouave. The bright red of these head-coverings formed a striking contrast to the solemn black pall, and told its sad story in an instant to the glance of every passer-by. These were two of the poor fellows who made so disastrous a journey hither yesterday from France; and it cannot be long before they are followed by still others of their unlucky comrades, many of whom are in a low condition which forbids the hope of their recovery.

It will, perhaps, seem like cruelty or criminal neglect on the part of the Government that men should be frozen to death during transportation through the country, but the circumstance was one which could not have been foreseen, and, if it had been foreseen, would have been difficult to prevent. The soldiers of the Prussian army are transported in precisely the same manner, and ordinarily ride safely if not comfortably. The cold came on suddenly, other cars were not to be had, military orders are necessarily peremptory, and the fate which overtook these poor men was only one of the inevitable consequences of disastrous war. This is the manner in which I heard the thing settled in a solemn conclave of warriors and burghers at the "Spotted Buck," a quiet old inn near the hospital, which I visited last night. One veteran of 77 years, who had been at Leipsic, as he handed his snuff-box round the table, recounted the horrors which stared every sick or wounded soldier in the face in "*anno* '13," and by contrast of those times with these the loss of half-a-dozen men by freezing to death seemed indeed only a trifle. Altogether, these Hessians and Prussians do not find it difficult to console themselves for the misfortunes of France. The manner in which Napoleon I. made these provinces his hunting-ground is not forgotten here, neither are the designs which his nephew entertained.

Besides the survivor of Leipsic, there was an old comrade present who had been at Waterloo. The two old companions in arms meet at the "Spotted Buck" regularly on Wednesday evening of each week. They are both men of character, wealth, and influence, and the tendency and effect of their conversation may be imagined. Northern Hesse, Prussian only since '66, might be restless under the Prussian military system in other circumstances, but she has shown no reluctance to send men against France, and, indeed, has done valiant service on more than one occasion. The young men who are now being called into service for the first time, under the new regulations, as a rule respond with alacrity to the summons. At the very worst, indeed, the severe but impartial and enlightened policy of the Prussian Government could not but be preferable to the petty tyranny which the former Kurfürst exercised.

Whenever an American finds himself in Prussian company nowadays, he is sure to encounter, in one form or another, the question of American sympathy with the French Republic. The veteran of Leipsic aforementioned, in speaking on this question of the relations of the United States with the "so-called" Republic of France, permitted himself to describe that republic by the untranslatable term "schweinerei," and expressed it as his firm conviction that the Americans were reasonable beings, and, whatever Mr. Washburne might do, would understand the difference between a "schweinerei" and a genuine republic. R. S. D.

DRESDEN, December 30, 1870.

IN these war-times, when we read, day after day, of marchings and countermarchings, of ruined homes, and all the misery and desolation which war brings both to the conquered and the conquerors, it may interest your readers to turn to a short account of two among the many celebrations characteristic of this strange, sad Christmas of 1870, which sees the German Fatherland reunited after so many years, but its peaceful home circles broken up, and almost every family dwindled by distance and danger, if not by death.

The following is a literal translation from yesterday's *Dresdener Nachrichten*:

"Certainly never has Christmas festival been solemnized with a more fitting or more deeply impressive consecration than that which the German and French soldiers held together in the hospital here. In the small room of the pious sisters, the soldiers stood around the flaming Christmas-tree, which, indeed, has its special significance only for the Germans. The latter sang with much feeling their beautiful old Christmas songs, 'O du selige, o du fröhliche gnadenbringende Weihnachtszeit,' 'Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht,' etc., concluding late with Fatherland songs. As the French, of course, could not follow the words of these, they were encouraged to sing some of their own songs. Although they had observed that the Germans sang their 'Prussian Marseillaise,' they did not respond to this, but began 'Le Montagnard,' whose sad, touching melody every German clothed almost involuntarily with the words 'By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept; we hung our harps upon the willows,' etc. Many of the German soldiers wept, till at length a one-year volunteer proposed a song in common, 'O sanctissima, O purissima,' which holy hymn was known to many, both Germans and French. At the conclusion of this, the one-year volunteer set his French vocables in order of battle, and addressed the following speech to the French:

"'Mes chers camarades français! je demande pour un moment votre attention. C'est aujourd'hui la fête de Jésus-Christ, qui a été premier apôtre de l'amour pour le monde entier, qui n'a pas voulu la guerre, et qui a commandé aux hommes d'aimer les uns les autres. Eh bien! Espérons que le jour arrivera bientôt, où il n'y a plus de guerre, où tous les peuples aiment les uns les autres comme des frères, et où, sur le drapeau de l'humanité, seront écrits les mots: Fraternité! Liberté! Égalité! C'est pourquoi je vous demande d'écrier avec moi devant cet astre brûlant: Vive la Fraternité, la Liberté, l'Égalité!'

"Free from national passion, the French joined with enthusiasm in the concluding words."

The other occasion was a "Christbescherung" (Christmas present-giving), at which we were present last night, and which interested me from its thoroughly German character. A week or more ago an advertisement appeared, stating that the Dresden "Liedertafel" (glee club) would give a "patriotic evening" on the 29th, for the benefit of children of men who had fallen in the war, or whose prolonged absence left their families without adequate support. Tickets were to be had for ten neugroschen (25 cents), or in exchange for useful and appropriate presents, and the notice ended with an earnest appeal to the rich and happy children of the city in behalf of those less fortunate. The hall in which the concert was given is the largest in Dresden, and was very prettily decorated for the occasion. A tall fir-tree, covered with candles, surmounted by a Christ-child, and embraced by a woe-begone waxen St. Nicholas seated at its foot, occupied the centre of the room. Eight long tables, covered with ticketed presents, radiated out from this, each terminating at its outer end in a smaller tree, connected by long, hanging streamers with the central one. Smaller tables were scattered through the hall, round which the audience were seated in family and friendly groups, prepared to absorb music and beer at the same time in true German fashion. Soon the singers formed on the stage, under the flag of United Germany, and the performance began with Körner's "Prayer before Battle," music by Weber, most beautifully given by one of those rich, soft, perfectly trained choruses which only a musical nation like the Germans can produce. Then came a new song, "On September 3d, 1870," marked by the earnest, religious feeling, the absolute outspoken

conviction that "God, even their own God," is fighting with and for them, which makes them in their own eyes a chosen people, almost like the Jews of old. I suppose every nation, especially in its time of trial, has something of this feeling, but, since the days of the English Puritans, no people have taken it so solemnly and seriously to heart as the Germans. The thought is summed up in one line of the song to which I refer:

"Nun bebt vor Gottes und Deutschlands Schwert"
("Now tremble before the sword of God and Germany"),

and with the deepest sympathy for this great people in this time of national exaltation, and a real respect for the simple earnestness which makes such expressions natural to them, one cannot but smile at the literalness of the statement. A Christmas hymn followed; then a poem spoken by the author, and describing, as far as I could follow it, the camp Christmas before Paris, the coming in of the field-post with news from home, the hope that the day might pass without bloodshed, etc.

Meantime, the candles on the smaller trees were lighted, and after a few moments the door was thrown open, and with a burst of martial music the children's procession entered. It was headed by a brass band, a "Musik-Chor" of small boys, playing the "Wacht am Rhein" with a will, and in excellent time and tune: then came a figure with long gray beard, hooded cloak spotted with snow-flakes at alarmingly regular intervals, a bundle over his shoulder, a toy in one hand, and a bunch of rods in the other, known to readers of German story-books by the name of Pumpernickel. The strains of the music passed in through the great hall, and a long line of children followed with their mothers, the young faces of the women and the little children, many of whom were in their mothers' arms, making one think sadly of the young fathers who had marched away to the sound of that same melody, many of them never to see their German homes again. There was a weary sad look in the women's faces, some full of feeling, others with something practical, almost hard in them, as of people on whom the daily cares of life weighed too heavily to leave much room for sentiment, but all with that steadfast, patient endurance so characteristic of the Germans, especially of the women. The children gazed solemnly at the lighted trees, little ones on the floor struggling vainly to get a glimpse of the wonders around through the mass of grown people in which they found themselves embedded. Without being especially pretty, not nearly as pretty as the English charity children, for instance, there is something particularly taking and childish in the ways of the German children, and these looked well fed and were comfortably clothed —a bright hood or new coat here and there giving token of some previous festivity. The presents were numerous and handsome, comfortable winter garments and other useful things, and really nice toys, mostly contributed from the toy-shops, I believe. It was good to see the little faces light up, and the mothers smiling and enjoying their children's pleasure with a ready demonstrative gratitude which one will hardly see on such an occasion with us. There was none of the stiffness which is so apt to mar our public benevolences, but a cordial, homelike cosiness pervaded the whole affair. Every face was bright when they passed us again on the way out; the children's arms filled, the mothers' quite loaded down, each woman carrying a large "Stollen," the German Christmas-cake, on top of her basket or bundle. Some of the children stopped to shake hands and show us their presents. As they went out, the boys began to play again, and it was striking to see how many, even of the smallest children, kept time to the music, little ones in arms beating time with their hands, and others falling unconsciously into a marching step. When the poor children were gone, and the boys' music over, fresh supplies of beer and sandwiches were brought in, pipes and cigars made their appearance, more songs followed from the "Liedertafel," and in a thick cloud of tobacco smoke the performance came to an end; the "Wacht am Rhein," which, though not in the programme, was called for by acclamation, forming an appropriate finale to this "patriotic evening."

H.

[*Extracts from the private letters of an American lady.*]

VERSAILLES, Dec. 26, 1870.

On Saturday we went to a Christmas-eve party, and helped to dress the trees beforehand. Never was a sight more "sad and strange." We were in the central hall of the château, lighted by regal chandeliers of rock-crystal. Just remember, for a moment, what were the last fêtes seen in the palace. "Le repas des gardes du corps" was the fatal banquet which precipitated the Revolution. After a long interval, Louis Napoleon received at Versailles the Queen of England, ready then to call him "cousin." The next time the candles are lighted, it is for the German wounded, of whom more than twenty-five witnessed the festivity from their beds, and as many more came in, limping and bandaged, helped along by their nurses or trying their crutches for the first time. Besides these, the company consisted of six ladies, English and American and German, who visit the hospital every day, ten or twelve *sœurs de charité*, some of them surprisingly lovely. The medical staff, headed by the chief-surgeon, superbly dressed, an aide-de-camp of the Prince Royal, and the Commandant Voights-Rhetz, in full dress with decorations. A clergyman made a prayer and read the old familiar story of the Nativity. A military band in the vestibule played Christmas hyms. It was wonderful to see them there, grouped between rows of high pedestals, with gilt branches for candles alternating with tall shrubs in ornamental pots. Louis XIV. died in the chamber above the spot where the Germans were blowing their cruel trumpets and stirring the frosty air with their Protestant hymns on Christmas eve 1870. Those who are familiar with the château will recognize the Salle Louis XIII. as the place where this lugubrious fête took place.

"What, shall our feast be kept with slaughtered men?
Shall braying trumpets and loud churlish drums—
Clamors of hell—be measures to our pomp?"

After service, we helped to distribute the gifts: a flannel shirt, pair of stockings, apples and nuts, for 200. Three ladies gave 600 apples. There were also 200 large cakes with plums, according to a German custom. We had great fun, on that day and the next, giving our particular gifts—hair-brushes, boxes of matches, cigars, knives. —— gave two new ribbons to a most beautiful wounded officer who had worn his medals since 1866. Words cannot describe his beauty. This is the man to whom —— gave a pretty little box, in which to keep his bones, extracted from his foot! There were eight Christmas-trees, all arranged on long tables in the Salle Louis XIII. They were very pretty, and I learned a number of German fancies while helping Herr Barons and others to dress them. It was a very touching scene, and even painful to those not familiar with its elements; but I know of far more heart-rending exhibitions in some far-away halls of the great palace. I had made my visit in the morning to the *condemned*. You would not like to know about them, dying of hospital fever, and actually pained by this advent of Christmas. One officer, who has been in a dying state for days together, delirious sometimes, asked to have a Christmas-tree. They say he tried to sing a hymn when it was brought to him. We make a point of going to him, for he mistakes us for his family and friends, and astonished my brother by saying he used to see him in Berlin with Mr. Hildebrand. However, I have no intention of dilating to you on these things. It would not be right to force on you our experiences in hospital, which are made tolerable by excitement and action. . . . . This morning I went to skate on the Grand Canal, where an old woman with hot coffee and a pot of charcoal represented the luxury of the ex-Empire. No hussars skated *in spurs* to-day, but a Polonaise in costume, also an English lady with three little children, all on skates, and prattling and laughing, in pleasant contrast with old Gen. Von Moltke, quite alone, seeking sylvan solitude, while far-away guns were audible; stern-faced, without insignia of rank, and enveloped in an overcoat, through the arms of which he doesn't put his own. He thus looks like a man in a tragedy about to do a foul deed. They who know say it is impossible to read his countenance, which is the same on the eve of a great battle, in victory, and in defeat. I once saw the funeral of a poor private cross his path, and watched him narrowly. But, as usual, not a muscle of his face stirred. He merely stopped to let it by, gave the salute to the dead body, and went on, apparently unconcerned. An anxious Versailles woman asked a friendly Prussian soldier, quartered in her house, whether the French could send shells as far as she was. "*Die Français nix boum-boum Versailles.*" *Nix* is the one word now known by all French, and *nix pain, nix beurre* tells soldiers they are out of bread and butter.

Notes.

MESSRS. D. APPLETON & Co. have in press several scientific works, of which that by Mr. Darwin is first in point of interest if not in importance also: "Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex." "Electricity and Light," by Prof. Tyndall, and "The Beginnings of Life," by Prof. H. C. Bastian, with whom Prof. Tyndall has lately been having some sharp words in regard to spontaneous generation, are two other works announced by the same house.——Messrs. Leypoldt & Holt have admitted to partnership Mr. R. O. Williams, a gentleman connected with the house for some

years, and whose name will appear in the firm style of Leypoldt, Holt & Williams. Following the line so well begun by Prof. Pumpelly's popular book of travel, they will soon issue "Travels in Central America: including accounts of some regions unexplored since the Conquest," by the Chevalier Arthur Morelet. The translation is by Mrs. M. F. Squier, and Mr. E. George Squier furnishes an introduction and notes. The operations now in progress to connect by rail and by canal the Pacific and the Atlantic must inevitably attract attention to the history and archæology of the remarkable country which this book treats of, doubtless without revealing more than a small part of its mysteries.——Messrs. Hurd & Houghton's announcements for February are: "A Hand-book of Legendary and Mythological Art," by Clara Erskine Clement, which will be "fully illustrated;" two more of the Hans Christian Andersen series—"Stories and Tales," and "The Story of My Life;" "From Fourteen to Fourscore," a novel by Mrs. S. W. Jewett; the second volume of the "Life of Nathanael Greene," by Prof. George W. Greene; and Volume V. of Albert G. Browne, jr.'s "Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts."——The author of several juvenile works has produced, and Messrs. Dodd & Mead will publish, "Max Kromer: A Story of the Siege of Strasbourg in 1870." The same house announces, with considerable reduction in price, new editions of "Cruden's Concordance, unabridged" and "The Quarto Gospel Treasury."——Messrs. Harper & Bros., besides several novels, have in press "The War Correspondence of the Daily News;" "Strange Dwellings," by the Rev. J. G. Wood; Yonge's "Musings on the Christian Year;" Holland's "Sinai and Jerusalem;" Tristram's "Scenes in the East;" Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India;" and Jesse's "London."——"Nebraska Legends and Poems" is the title of a work by Rev. O. C. Dake, which will shortly be published by Messrs. Pott & Amery. The mention of this firm reminds us that they are the agents in this country of the Arundel Society of London, whose objects and productions are doubtless known to many of our readers. To others we may say that it was founded in 1848 to promote the knowledge of art by copying and publishing important works of ancient masters, and that it has been instrumental in reproducing many perishable and actually perishing paintings, as well as in making more widely known the works of various schools and masters, an acquaintance with which must be supposed improving to the taste as well as gratifying to the curiosity. For particulars of membership we must refer to Messrs. Pott & Amery, at the Cooper Union. The Society's publications consist of a spring and an autumn issue, and those for 1870 are as follows: (1) Three chromo-lithographs, on one mount, from the panels forming the upper centre picture of the altar-piece, by the Brothers Van Eyck, in the Cathedral of St. Bavon at Ghent, and representing the Triune God, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist; and two chromos after frescoes by Fra Angelico and Fra Bartolommeo, in the Convent of St. Mark at Florence, viz., Christ and Mary Magdalen in the Garden, and Jesus and His Two Disciples at Emmaus; (2) A chromo after a fresco by Fra Angelico in the same convent, representing the Transfiguration; and two chromos from pictures by Albert Dürer in the gallery of Munich, which represent the apostles John and Peter, and Mark and Paul, respectively.——Mr. Sibley's "Harvard Biographies" is now in the printer's hands, although the requisite number of subscribers has not been obtained—requisite, that is, to pay for the actual outlay, since the author's time and labor he consents to count as nothing. We trust that his faith will be justified, and have little doubt that it will. The work has grown on his hands, and will be larger than he expected at the time of issuing his prospectus, and will be printed on better paper.

—No one yet knows the loss to the literary, scientific, and artistic worlds, and to the world of affairs, wrought during the year just gone in the war waged upon each other by the two nations which are at the head of civilization. The gain to mankind which is to be brought about by the appalling sacrifice of German and French lives had needs be great to compensate the world for the extinguishing of so many fine and great intellects as the last six months have seen snuffed out. But apart from the killed in battle, the necrological history of 1870 is mournfully rich in eminent names; and America furnishes more than her share of names that everywhere are justly celebrated. Thomas, Farragut, Lee, and Dahlgren—two great generals whose names are to be familiar to many generations; a great admiral; and a scientific sailor, eminent in his profession, and secure of long remembrance as an inventor—are counted among our American dead of the last twelve months. From among our authors we have lost none of great distinction, but several who were of merit and are well known, as Gulian Verplanck; Kennedy; Anna Cora Mowatt Ritchie; William Gilmore Simms; Albert Barnes, the widely known commentator on the Scriptures, whose works have been scattered abroad by hundreds of thousands, and deserved their popularity; George Prentice, an editor of very great influence; and Nathaniel Willis, the father of the poet, and the Nestor of American journalism. In politics and law, the deaths are recorded of Robert Grier, a justice of the United States Supreme Court; David Burnett, once famous in Texas politics; Anson Burlingame; Pierre Soulé, of better fame in law than in politics, and of abilities much greater than his reputation; and George Ashmun, lawyer and politician, and the chairman of the convention which first nominated Lincoln for the presidency. Prince Salm-Salm, too, we might mention among the American dead of the year, one of the more striking passages of his adventurous life having been four years of service in our war of the rebellion, and a year of service on the staff of Maximilian. He was killed at Gravelotte, fighting a French marshal whom his Mexican experiences had given him small reason to love.

—The English, as well as the French, suffered by the loss of their greatest story-teller, Dickens having died in the summer, at the comparatively early age of fifty-eight. Lord Clarendon, Sir James Clark, Captain Cowper Coles, the inventor of the shields for armored ships; Mark Lemon, one of the founders of *Punch;* Sir George De Lacy Evans, who fought with distinction in Spain, in India, in the Crimea, and against us, and died at the age of eighty-three; Canon Dale, Maclise, the artist, and Balfe, the musical composer, are others of the best known of the Englishmen who have died within the year. In Spain, in the very last days of the year, on the 28th of December, Don Juan Prim, one of the most striking of the historical figures of this age, so rich in striking historical figures; leader of the revolution which dethroned the last Bourbon, Isabella II., whose love he had refused, and who had twice exiled him; life-long intriguer and conspirator, for the last two years the ruler of Spain and the soul of Spanish politics; the man by whose act the present eventful war between France and Germany was precipitated, ended his strange career by death at the hands of an assassin, perhaps by the manner of his death doing as much to establish firmly the monarchy of his choice as his labors in life had done to make its first establishment possible. He was but fifty-six years old at the time of his murder.

—Paris as a city of the first magnitude, eating its omnibus horses and gradually reducing itself to immobility, is not so astonishing a spectacle as the same capital besieged into silence, with its periodicals suspended and its great book-houses devoid of business, and the press itself contracted and powerless. The unloosing of tongues will follow soon enough the taking of Paris, and for a time, at least, there is reason to expect—if only topics are considered—an unprecedented literary activity. One class of works, whose popularity has already been enormous, though the sale was restricted in every way under the Empire, is likely to be sought after with increased avidity, and this time let us trust that their lessons will, after the late bitter experience of the horrors of war and "glory," be taken more deeply to heart than they have ever been. We refer to the remarkable fictions of Messrs. Erckmann-Chatrian. A correspondent of the London *Times* lately had an interview with the former of the two partners at Pfalzburg—a place of which the siege in 1814–1815 has been commemorated by them in "Le Blocus." Erckmann announced his intention of narrating also the recent siege, which, he said, "has features differing greatly from the last blockade. Then we lay under a military despotism; now it is France and her people who are fighting for their hearths. There is a human interest which was wanting before." The correspondent was cruel enough to compare mentally the promised picture of the present crisis with that which Victor Hugo may be expected to give us. Erckmann seemed to desire the neutralization of Alsace, believing it could be maintained as Belgium's had been. As for France, he chiefly expressed anxiety on account of the gulf which, he had begun to fear, was widening between the two great races, of which the Gascon and the Breton are the types. "The world is not cognizant of this," he added, "but I have watched it with foreboding." What has heretofore attached Alsace to France was not, "as is so often said, simply the wars of the Empire. It was the Revolution, against whose excesses and terrorism it so stoutly struggled. It was the abolition of the vexatious seigniorial oppression, the destruction of feudalism, the establishment of equality." These gains, we must admit, may suffer somewhat at first from annexation to Germany; but as they did not preserve Alsace from subjection to the second Napoleonic despotism, it is clear that the value of them has been overestimated. To exchange equality of the French sort for German feudalism plus the university and a popular army may, considering the tendencies of the

age, be accounted a good bargain; while by helping to remove the remnant of feudalism in Germany, Alsace may worthily repay its debt to France.

—The editor of the Boston *Congregationalist* promptly disavows the paragraph on which we commented a fortnight ago, and which charged the *Nation* with "a manifestation both in its own editorials, and in the communications which it receives from others, of an open and undisguised contempt for clergymen as a class." He states that it was published by mistake, after explicit directions to the contrary, and to his sincere regret; and that "it certainly would not have appeared without substantial modifications," he being of opinion that the charge, if it had any force, related to the communications to this paper, and could not justly be brought against its editorials.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW FOR JANUARY.

THE number before us is, we should say, an average number, though, perhaps, rather below than above the average. It opens somewhat unfortunately with a paper entitled "The Aborigines of Nova Scotia." A good solid piece of out-of-the-way philology, unreadable by most of mankind, is, we take it, what the editor owes us who proffers us an article concerning the aborigines of Nova Scotia. Or else an article, readable by everybody, containing something like a good account of the curious ways of a singular people, three-quarters pagan and not half-civilized, who live undisturbed their peculiar lives amid a race which is of one blood with ours—ours which murders the Indian, and which our Indian constantly does his endeavor to massacre. The same sort of strange torpidity which in its own home characterizes that vigorous and energetic offshoot of the English race which inhabits the Dominion would seem to have affected the savage Algonquin also, and in the solitude of the Canadian pines and junipers he has vegetated into a hulking, lazy, healthy rascal, who has forgotten scalping and the chase, and is content with petty larceny and going a-fishing and setting traps and selling baskets. Mr. William Elder, our author, has made neither an article that would please Mr. J. H. Trumbull and Professor William D. Whitney and the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, nor one that the unphilological reader might enjoy for the freshness of its description of an unknown tribe of neighboring men. He has merely strung together a few Indian legends, not unamusing in the perusal, but so plainly alloyed with what the Micmacs have picked up from the French, the English, and perhaps also from the Provincial negroes, with whom they have for some generations been in contact, as to be very unsatisfactory when considered in any light but that of merely entertaining reading with which to while away an idle half-hour. It is a good subject very inadequately handled. It will, however, in all probability remain good for a long time, as there is sufficient reason for believing that the Micmacs maintain their numbers, and that they, like their brethren in other parts of the British possessions in America, are as numerous as they ever were. Apparently the secret is, not that the Yankee is crueller and less regardful of human life than the other members of the English-speaking family, but that in the vast spaces of the northern half of the continent there is plenty of game and fish for all, an inhospitable climate, as unfavorable for warfare as for horticulture, and that there is no possibility of the occupation of any considerable part of the whole immense region. It has been but little worth the Indian's while to kill the white man instead of partaking of his rum and tobacco, and catching him his fish and deer; and it has been as little worth the white man's while to give his attention to killing the Indian instead of buying his peltries and bear's meat. On this side of the line the two races have always crowded each other, and, seemingly, they always will—a short always, the Indian historian may most likely think it.

The closing article of the number is one entitled "Pope," by Mr. Lowell, who accords the great Anne-Augustan wit more praise than it might by many have been expected that he would give, and more, no doubt, than will to many seem just. Indeed, there will be some who will be little less than astounded on reading that, "where Pope found a subject exactly level with his genius, he was able to make what, taken for all in all, is the most perfect poem in the language"—"The Rape of the Lock," namely. If it were only a poem at all, one says to one's self. But it is true that Mr. Lowell, when so speaking, has in his mind a remark of Lessing's which he has just quoted, and in which it is said that "Pope's great, I will not say greatest, merits lay in what we may call the mechanics of poetry." Moreover, although Mr. Lowell is not at pains to point out and insist upon the heaven-wide difference between poetry and the verse which is the rhythmical utterance of the experiences of conventional life, nevertheless he gives us to understand plainly enough that his praises of Pope are of Pope as the poet who gives metrical expression to the highly sophisticate London life of his very periwigged day. And here, to our mind, he appears to concede too much. He even says: "The question properly stated is, How much was it possible to make of the material supplied by the age in which he lived, and how much did he make of it?" And to this question Mr. Lowell would answer—seemingly he would answer—that Pope made of it a vast deal, and that he merits great praise among poets. A truer answer, one would think, would be that there was so little to be made out of it that contemporary poets like Thomson and Collins and Akenside and Dyer—whom Mr. Lowell does not forget to mention—would none of it, but left the material furnished by the age to the age's born prose-writers, of whom, by the way, the best, Addison, is the age's typical and representative man. And as for the question itself as above given, one would think that "the question properly stated" would be not that at all. That his age has its unescapable influence on the poet, however great he may be, is past doubt; that he need make it the subject of his work, and let it saturate all he does—this is not an altogether indubitable proposition. We confess unwillingness to speak without more consideration; yet, recognizing our obligation to speak after having expressed dissent from the conclusions of an authority not to be lightly questioned, we shall say that Pope seems to us not "to stand for exactness of intellectual expression, for perfect propriety of phrase" (when taken at his best), but that he has, as in the imitation of the "Pollio," a sounding rhetorical eloquence; as in the "Abelard and Eloise," something of the passion of a sickly man, who knew little of affection because he was of a heart neither large nor tender, and that while he had no imagination, and was by this deficiency and by the others mentioned made incapable of poetry, he was, nevertheless, fitted for the place he attained, and which he holds without a rival, because he had an unequalled faculty of tipping with wit the products of the common sense and quick and keen perceptions of a mind neither very high, very broad, nor very deep, and the emotions—to call them so—of a spirit perfectly subdued by the spirit of the vulgar time in which he lived.

As sometimes happens in Mr. Lowell's writings, there are in this essay incidental things that are even better than the main thing. Some of the remarks about other poets than Pope are extremely good and valuable. It may be proper, too, to call the attention of admirers of Mr. Lowell's wit to the fact that the brilliancy is never at the expense of soundness. Where else to look for so much truth of criticism, lit up by more brilliancy, and brilliancy less delusive, we do not know.

We have left ourselves little space to speak of the other articles in this number of the review. One, and the one which has attracted most attention and called forth most comment, is by ex-Secretary Cox, who treats of the prospective reform in our civil service. There is, perhaps, in what he says, not much that has not been in print before, and that has not been as forcibly and effectively said as he says it. But literary considerations are here of least importance; the essay is the well-considered work of a man who has had the best opportunities for knowing his subject most thoroughly; who brought to the learning of it a mind as able and a temper as philosophic as is often seen in Washington; and whose words will sooner or later, if not just now, have great influence, Mr. Cox having to an enviable extent the good opinion of almost every man in the country outside the ranks of the politicians, and having the politicians' hearty contempt.

"Mining Schools in the United States" is by Mr. John A. Church, a mining engineer recently returned from Germany, who undertakes to give some brief account of existing schools of mines in this country, and similar schools in Germany, Austria, and Russia, and also to indicate the proper course to be pursued in the establishment and management of such mining schools as may in the future be set on foot in the various rich mineral regions of the United States. Mr. Church's paper, whether or not all its conclusions are correct and all its statements are accurate, seems very intelligent, and is a very fair example of such treatment of a subject intrinsically possessed of only technical interest as may make it interesting to the general reader who has some curiosity.

"Modern Architecture" is by Mr. Russell Sturgis, Jr. It is difficult for the profane to say anything about these sacred subjects without feeling uneasy as to how blasphemous and heretical he has been; and as to whether he has exposed himself as preyed on by only a pitiable or by a thoroughly execrable degree of ignorance. This article, we make bold to say, has for at least one merit that it condemns that imitation of the admired architecture of other ages which has now for so long a time been

the habit of modern architects. Doubtless, coming from so practised an architect as Mr. Sturgis, and one of such wide reading and study, there is very much in it that will be of interest and advantage to the professional reader. Other readers will not find it so instructive; if we judge by our experience, they will understand just enough of it, and so well like what they do understand as to wish that the writer had made himself more comprehensible to the multitude.

"Prussia and Germany" is a survey of recent Prussian history by Mr. H. W. Hemans, who is firmly pro-German. In "The Government and the Railroad Corporations," Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., makes another attack on his old enemies, the railroad directors, and of course has the least difficulty in the world in making the case look very bad for them. But, then, they carry us about, and they carry our goods about; and if they do buy up our legislatures and do steal our public lands, why, we have so much public land that we do not know how much we have, and we voters can afford to be cheated, though you stockholders may think that you cannot, and as for the corruption of legislatures, that is bad; but it happens at a long distance from our farms and shops. Moreover, Mr. Adams confesses that the remedy for this monstrous rascality and great danger which he attacks is still to seek; and the one he hints at is not so promising of unmixed good that people will not put up for a good while longer with the ills they have rather than fly, as they fear, to others, of which also they have had unpleasing experience. The case is a bad one; and it seems as if something must speedily be done; nevertheless, it will be a number of years before people will believe that our State governments have got so good that the railroad corporations had not better be left to their cheating than that railroads should be brought into State politics; and shortly thereafter into national politics—a natural and, indeed, all but inevitable sequence. The history of the relations of the railroad directions of foreign countries with the state seems little likely to be of much use to us here, at least in the discussion of our main problem. But Mr. Adams's suggestion of the establishment of a tribunal which should interpret and enforce general legislation in reference to railroads, all special legislation being absolutely forbidden, may have in it the germ of much good, and appears to be worth pondering.

The literary reviews are not many—only half-a-dozen; a number that is seen to be very small indeed when we think of the *Review* as a literary journal, which comes out but once in three months, and which should by rights deal with all important and some unimportant publications in American literature, and with a good part of what is published in Germany, France, and England. But, though few, the critical notices are all good, the best being an admirable article—doubtless Mr. Whitney's—on Cox's "Aryan Mythology." Mr. Cox is one of the classical and philological scholars who were completely taken off their feet when Mr. Max Müller introduced "The Solar Myth" to their attention. Mr. Whitney's notice, which is a model of condensation, and apparently of learning unostentatiously employed, contains besides its learning some subdued fun making which everybody, including Mr. Cox, will enjoy.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1871.

The Week.

THE New Idea which Miss Victoria C. Woodhull brought to the aid of the Woman's Suffrage movement, by petitioning Congress to pass a declaratory act affirming the right of women to vote everywhere under the Fourteenth Amendment, has been crushed by a majority report from the Judiciary Committee of the House, presented and, we presume, drawn by the heartless Bingham, of Ohio. The report says that the privileges and immunities of citizens referred to in the amendment are the privileges and immunities embraced in the original text of the Constitution, Article 4, Section 2, and that the franchise is not among the number—the giving or withholding of this resting still, as it has always rested, with the individual States. According to this cold view, therefore, women must look for the suffrage to the action of the people of each State. The question will probably now suggest itself to many, how long are our constitutions and laws to be interpreted by man-made, cast-iron rules of construction, in which no play whatever is allowed to the warm impulses, the passionate longings, the delicate fancies, the flashing intuitions, which the Feminine Half of Humanity alone can supply? Has it not occurred to Mr. Bingham, we wonder, that the well-known rule—"They builded better than they knew"—applies to Article 4, Section 2? The Cause has, however, made solid gains at Washington by having got a debate and an adverse vote on the proposal to establish female suffrage in the District, and by getting this adverse report from the Judiciary Committee. What the friends of the movement desire above all things is noise, whether the result be victory or defeat—feeling very much like the Irishman who, when his lawyer returned him the fee, telling him he had no chance, and that there was no use in his appearing, cried: "Keep it, anyhow, an' make the coort ring!"

There has been during the last ten days, in New York, a theatrical sensation of the first order, and, owing to the close relations which exist between the actors and the New York correspondents of the country newspapers, it has been tolerably well spread over the whole country. Mr. George Holland, a well-known actor of excellent character, died at an advanced age. His friends applied to Mr. Sabine, a young Episcopal minister of the Evangelical school, whose church Mr. Holland attended, to perform the funeral services *in the church*. The application caught Mr. Sabine shortly after he had been denouncing the theatre from the pulpit, and he declined to officiate except at Mr. Holland's house, and sent the family to Dr. Houghton, another Episcopal minister in the neighborhood, who cheerfully complied, not feeling himself authorized to make any difference in his treatment of the remains of an honest actor and those of a knavish lawyer or broker. Mr. Sabine's performance was simply weak and uncharitable, and has no warrant in Scripture, rubric, canons, or articles, and was, therefore, in no way indicative of anything but the confusion of Mr. Sabine's mind. Nevertheless, there arose a prodigious storm in the theatrical world. Mr. Sabine rose, with the help of the newspapers, in the course of a very few days, into a well-developed monster of fanaticism and intolerance, while Dr. Houghton, who is a very modest and unassuming man, and hates notoriety, found himself dragged before the curtain as the champion of actors' rights and free funerals. The reporters interviewed Sabine so as to get from the wretch's own lips the confession of his cruelty and baseness; they also interviewed Houghton so as to get his own account of the workings of his truly Christian and catholic spirit; and swarms of "friends of the theatre" called to thank him. The excitement, however, also took a useful turn, for all the actors got up a grand Holland testimonial, which has realized $6,000 for Mr. Holland's family; but some of the country papers, hearing so much of Dr. Houghton, gave out that the money went to endow his church, and some of the actors proposed to build him a fancy gate to the churchyard, or, if he liked it better, an ornamental porch to the church. It would be hard to say whether he or Mr. Sabine has suffered more from the whole affair, but we suspect the former. The dastardly attempt of the theologians to deprive actors of Christian burial has, however, been met and defeated. Sabine—the bigoted and desperate inquisitor—has been crushed, and the claims of the theatre to a prominent place among the means of moral culture fully vindicated. We wish, however, that side by side with the discussion of Sabine's base conduct, the papers had not contained a correspondence between Mr. George Vandenhoff, a well-known actor, and a person claiming to be his illegitimate son, in which Mr. Vandenhoff repudiates the paternity on the ground of the exceeding badness of the mother's character. The foes of the stage are apt to receive very powerful aid sometimes from behind the scenes.

The "Established Church" in this State, to whose pretensions, as we have more than once said, there is absolutely no limit, has had a bill introduced into the Legislature intended to cripple the operations of the Children's Aid Society, and similar organizations, in a very ingenious way. The Children's Aid Society, besides providing schools and lodging-houses in the city for orphans, deserted children, and children earning their living in the streets, sends every year a large number of those who are willing to go, to the West, where they find homes with the farmers, and where the great majority subsequently enter on a useful and prosperous career. It may be said, indeed, to be the only charity we have which goes to the roots of our city vice and crime; for it is from the ranks of these neglected street children that nearly all the criminals come. The bill now before the Legislature is the second of the kind which has been introduced, a similar one having passed last winter, but failed to receive the Governor's signature, and it binds the societies to keep a register containing, among other particulars, "the religious belief" of each child picked up, and forbids interference with such religious belief—which, if it could be shown that the parents belonged to the Catholic Church, would, of course, put an end to *all* religious teaching—and provides that no child shall be sent beyond the State without the consent of the parents, guardians, or nearest male relatives, and that the persons receiving them shall give bonds not to "interfere with their religious belief," etc. The opponents of the bill are denouncing it as an attempt to "make religion hereditary," which does not seem to us a very strong point to make against it, as religion really is hereditary in youth with nearly everybody. The main objection to it is that it puts it in the power of priests and politicians in this city so to impede the operations of our most useful charities as to render them practically useless. Its success, too, would strengthen the confidence of the church in its own strength, and prepare the way for fresh exactions. We should not be at all surprised to see a large grant of State money made to the Catholic clergy before long to enable them to take charge of all juvenile vagrants, and orphans, and deserted children, on the presumption that they belonged to the Catholic Church as the church of the majority.

The Senate spent considerable time during the week in repealing the income tax by a vote of 26 to 25, and was immediately informed by the House that it had exceeded its prerogative in originating a revenue bill. Senators Fenton and Conkling had some preliminary sparring over the New York Custom-house, but the grand encounter is yet to come off. The House passed on Friday the Indian Appropriation Bill, having tediously discussed the old question, whether Indian treaties approved by the Senate bind the House to make the appropriations called for by them. If they do not, one might ask what the Senate's approval is worth; and the question arises in the case of foreign treaties as well. General Butler leading off, the House on Friday, by a very large majority, extended a welcome to the Fenian exiles just landed, and directed the President to transmit the resolution to them. He will find Collector Murphy a willing medium, though not to be compared for enterprise with Tammany.

The question of abolishing the income tax is in a curious position. General Pleasanton, the Revenue Commissioner, says the tax will not yield more than seven million dollars, and that it will cost that to collect it. Mr. Boutwell says, on the other hand, that it will yield fourteen millions, and will cost far less than General Pleasanton says to collect it. So Mr. Boutwell advises that it be kept up, and General Pleasanton that it be abolished. A difference of opinion of this amount between two such officials, on such a point, suggests some curious reflections as to the management of our finances. It is not wonderful that under the presence of these distracting counsels only a majority of one could be secured for the abolition in the Senate, in spite of the vigorous bombardment of the press. When the bill reached the House, it was thrown out on the singular ground that the Senate could not originate a revenue bill; and the Committee of the House is now going to bring in one of its own of a similar purport. What will be the end of the matter it is as yet difficult to foresee. Some people are flattering themselves that they have at last got a tax which pinches only a few, and these few belonging to the wealthier class, so they hate to give it up; and Mr. Boutwell is absorbed in the work of paying off the debt, and thinks all reduction of taxation injudicious. Mr. Evarts and Judge Miller, of Philadelphia, have given an opinion against the constitutionality of the tax.

Some of the recent accessions to the United States Senate have not been of a sort to be very welcome to the better portion of that body. The character of the Senate cannot be said, indeed, to be as venerable as it was before the carpet-bag invasion, and the presence of General Frank P. Blair does not, therefore, present so striking a contrast as it might have done in other days. Except for appearances, the country can as well afford to have him there as at large in Missouri, but happily it is not bound to accept Governor Gratz Brown's "distinguished testimony that for perfect purity of character he has not an equal in the United States." If this were anything else but after-dinner and after-election buncombe, Republicanism might safely be pronounced a failure. General Logan, who is also (but more immediately) promoted from the other House, is perhaps not of the ideal senatorial stamp either, but is certainly far superior in every way to the author of the Broadhead letter. His last utterances on the civil service reform leave us a little doubtful whether he will reinforce Mr. Morton or will withhold his opposition to that "aristocratic" measure. The original Senator Saulsbury, of Delaware, is to be succeeded by an older brother, whose views on the subject of temperance, it is to be hoped, will not be inherited with the place, as might be feared. The new Senator, we believe, is considered by his constituents well out of the way; and Dr. Gove Saulsbury, the third brother and present Governor, if he could feel the popular pulse, would probably find that the approaching end of his second and (under the Constitution) last term of office, with no vacant place to fall into, is cause of sincere rejoicing to his fellow-citizens. Most conspicuous of all in the Senate, precisely because he has failed to get there, is Mr. Sidney Clarke, of Kansas, whose services being also dispensed with in the House, we are now at liberty to congratulate the country on his retirement from Congressional life, and to say for him that he has, as Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, done at least as much as any other man to persecute the Indians and oppose the most enlightened efforts to preserve peace and promote civilization along the border.

The working-men of this State have sent delegates to a "Workingmen's Assembly" which has been sitting in Albany during the past week for the purpose of taking some action against the contract system of prison labor. They, however, instead of demanding the immediate abolition of the system, agreed to support the recommendation of the commission appointed by the Governor last year to enquire into the condition of the prisons, that an amendment to the constitution, taking the management of the prisons "out of politics," be submitted to the people. The amendment failed to pass the Assembly last year, and we greatly fear "the men inside politics" will see that it does not pass this year either; but to have a working-men's convention take up a reform so practical, and so urgently needed, is certainly a good sign of the times. The condition of the prisons is bad, and grows worse, and all owing to "rotation in office."

The situation of the *Alabama* question has again become less hopeful, owing to increasing doubts whether the Senate will confirm any treaty Mr. Schenck will be able to negotiate. Some members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, and more of the Senate itself, are opposed to any settlement which does not include either a cession of Canada, or at least the formal withdrawal of England from this continent, and the chances of either of these, as a penalty for bad behavior, are at least small. Should these views prevail, it would, of course, involve another indefinite postponement of the whole matter. But it is to be sincerely hoped, and is, we think, to be believed also, that Mr. Schenck is not going abroad to reopen negotiations without having found out very clearly what kind of treaty the Senate *will* approve. It would be far better that the *Alabama* claims should be unsettled than that the Executive should for the third time in three years be placed before the world in the ridiculous and contemptible position of making bargains which it cannot carry out. Another failure of the Senate to approve of the deliberately made agreements of the President would certainly go far to shake the confidence of all foreign nations in the *bona fides* of any negotiations with the United States.

The second batch of Fenians has arrived, and all have now been "received" by the Common Council, and have been presented with $15,000 of city money "on account," showing that more is still coming. At the reception, they intimated several times that their appearance was not to be taken as a sign of countenance for any political party, a warning which the worthy aldermen declared gave them "the greatest satisfaction." Our esteemed Collector has, we fear, been beaten out of the field. He has not a single "exile" to show for all his trouble, and treads the custom-house halls "remote, unfriended, and solitary," though, of course, not "slow." In Congress, Mr. B. F. Butler has got ahead of everybody, and particularly of the Democrats, with a resolution giving the Fenians a "cordial welcome to the capital and also to the country." It passed, of course, only twenty-one members daring to vote against it. The commission employed by the English Government to enquire into the charges of cruel treatment in prison made by the Fenian prisoners, have reported them well founded in several cases, that of O'Donovan Rossa in particular, who was kept with his hands tied for thirty-five days, for having saluted the jailer, on entering his cell one morning, with the contents of the slop-bucket. The whole party were, doubtless, reckless and impulsive men—the kind of enterprise in which they embarked showed it—and were highly exasperated by its termination, but if met by kindness would have behaved well. Treating them, as they were treated most inexcusably, as common convicts, of course made matters worse, and reduced the prison authorities to measures which have certainly not injured the Fenians and undoubtedly have injured the English Government. But the question remains whether, considering what the training, prejudices, antecedents, and temperament of Irish patriots is, Providence could well have reserved for them a worse fate than to deliver them into the hands of American politicians. There is hardly a weakness or delusion from which the poor devils suffer, which the wretched schemers and blatherskites with whom they have to do in Washington and New York do not help to aggravate or deepen.

We did the Germans of the West injustice last week in our article on the morality of arms-dealing, by ascribing to them a desire to force the Administration into preventing the export of arms to France, when the fact appears to be that they only protested—and, we admit, rightfully—against the Government selling arms from its own arsenals to French agents for export to France. We were misled by the telegraphic reports of some of the meetings; but we have since seen the full report of the meeting in Cincinnati, at which Mr. Stallo spoke, and the international law propounded in the proceedings was certainly unexceptionable. A distinguished German writes to us accusing us of "dexterously evading the real and only point of the German objection." We suppose we must confess we did hope to palm off a falsehood

about the Germans on this one occasion, but, having been so promptly found out, we certainly shall not try it again.

Famine, the ravages of disease—whose victims in the week ending January 20 were about four thousand five hundred—the increasing fire of the besiegers, the bloody repulse of Trochu's sortie of the 19th, the total rout of Faidherbe's army on the same day in the battle of St. Quentin, the disastrous retreat of Bourbaki from the vicinity of Belfort, and "Red" riots, which assumed a serious character on the 22d—all these may be equally reckoned among the reasons which finally decided the military and civil rulers of Paris to open negotiations for its surrender. These began with an interview between M. Régnier and Count Bismarck, which was followed by Jules Favre's arrival at Versailles on the evening of the 23d. On the following day, a council of war was held by the German Emperor, at which the Crown Prince, Bismarck, and Generals Moltke, Roon, and Boyen were present. The German Chancellor communicated its results to Jules Favre, who returned to Paris, but soon after resumed negotiations at Versailles, aided by Picard and Dorian, his colleagues in the Government of National Defence. Various propositions were made by both parties and alternately rejected, until an agreement on the basis of a military surrender and armistice was reached on the 27th, and signed on the evening of Saturday, the 28th. On the following day, the surrender of the forts to the German troops took place, accompanied by no particular incident.

The full and exact tenor of the articles of the capitulation and armistice can as yet not be stated on the authority of the despatches forwarded us by the Cable, which are both defective and somewhat discordant. The main points, however, are contained in King William's telegram to the Empress Augusta: "An armistice for three weeks has been signed. The Regulars and Mobiles are to be *interned* in Paris as prisoners of war. The National Guard will undertake the maintenance of order. We occupy all the forts. Paris remains invested, but will be allowed to revictual as soon as arms are surrendered. The National Assembly is to be summoned to meet at Bordeaux in a fortnight. All the armies in the field will retain their respective positions, the ground between opposing lines to be neutral." Some additional light is obtained from General Walker's telegram to the British Foreign Office, which says: "The military forces . . . are all to deliver up their arms, except the National Guard and one division of the regular army;" and from Mr. Moran's to Secretary Fish, which, officially, in the name of Count Bernstorff, communicates the fact "that the armistice extends over the sea." Jules Favre's despatch to Bordeaux states the armistice to be for "twenty-one days, the National Assembly to be convened at Bordeaux on the 15th of February, the elections taking place on the 8th." There are widely conflicting unofficial statements concerning the war contribution to be paid by the city of Paris, and a statement—which lacks confirmation, although the last military reports from the Franco-Swiss border give it a coloring of truth—that Bourbaki's army and the fortress of Belfort are not included in the armistice. This certainly conflicts with the words of the Emperor William, as telegraphed, which speak of "all the armies in the field."

That this armistice will more or less speedily be followed by a treaty of peace dictated by the conquerors, will be doubted by few who consider the prostrate condition of France, which, within the latter half of January, lost—by defeat or capitulation in the North, in the East, and on the Seine—about 400,000 combatants, and, in fact, retains only scanty remnants of the forces created by the Republic, and those hard-pressed and mostly doomed to surrender should hostilities be resumed. What conditions of peace will be dictated by the Chancellor of the German Empire, what the character and color of the National Assembly convoked for the settlement of the chaotic affairs of France, who will sign the treaty surrendering a portion of French territory, and perhaps also a portion of the French fleet, and who will, after the peace, assume the reins of government over the bleeding, enraged, and divided nation—all these are points of the highest interest, but they can be answered only by guesses. Rumor speaks of Count Bismarck's demanding Alsace and Eastern Lorraine, a guaranteed indemnity for the war expenses of Germany, a portion of the French fleet, and one of the French colonies; of his intriguing, and also of his repudiating all intrigues, with the Napoleon family; of strong influences at work favoring a regency composed—oddly enough—"of the Empress, Trochu, and Favre;" of Eugénie's patriotic "spurning" of all overtures looking toward a dismemberment of France; of Gambetta's attempting suicide on hearing the news of the surrender—but all this is more or less idle talk; and the last piece of it is an exploded story—the latest report being: "Gambetta ratifies the capitulation, and will not resign."

Bourbaki, on the other hand—by the by, a Greek by descent—seems actually to have attempted his life, in order not to survive the disasters which virtually destroyed his army. These disasters were the natural consequence of an adventurous march from the Loire to the Vosges, aiming at the rescue of Belfort and the "cutting of the German communications generally," and resembling in aim, character, and issue the march—in our civil war—of General Hood from the Chattahoochee to Nashville. The dearly purchased successes around Villersexel seem to have been to Bourbaki's forces, exhausted by long winter marches, what the victory of Franklin was to Hood's army. Von Werder retreated before Bourbaki, as Schofield did from Franklin, and the three days' fighting south of Belfort resulted in no less decisive a defeat to Bourbaki than was Hood's in the two days' battle before Nashville. Hood's army was broken up, Bourbaki's was caught—its retreat being cut off by the forces of General Manteuffel, which surrounded Dijon, captured Dôle, crossed the Doubs, cut the railroads leading to Lyons at Bians, and occupied Quingey, Sombacourt, and Chaffois, near the southern border of the Department of Doubs, before the French, closely pursued by Von Werder, and pressed towards the Swiss frontier, could reach the border. In fact, Bourbaki's entire force may be considered as lost, while Garibaldi's at Dijon has but a poor chance of escape. What the remnants of the French First Army, left behind by Bourbaki in the valley of the Cher, may amount to, we do not know. Chanzy is pressed by the Grand-Duke, and by troops belonging to Von Goeben's army, from the north-east, and by Frederic Charles from the south-east. The remnants of Faidherbe's army have sought shelter in the fortresses of the North. Longwy has surrendered. The sieges of Cambrai, Maubeuge, and Landrecies—a fortress which our Saturday evening papers and our great dailies of Sunday and Monday called by the fine name of Laumricrech—will hardly be resumed.

The siege closes, leaving 800,000 unwounded French prisoners in the German hands, including the Emperor and the Marshals of France, about 6,000 cannon, 112 eagles, not to speak of less illustrious spoils in the shape of rifles, munitions, and stores of all kinds. And the campaign in which this has been done has only lasted just six months. There has been nothing like it, or in any way approaching to it, in history. Compared to Moltke, Napoleon I. was a bungler and a slow-coach. How the French will ever get over it, or the Germans either, it is hard to see; but we are afraid the prospect that the French will do so is not so good as that the Germans will. The sobriety of the latter has, however, lasted very well—the failure to subject Paris to the humiliation of actual occupation shows it; but it must be admitted the character of the troops, as regards kindliness and honesty, was breaking down under the prolongation, the hardships, and the triumphs of the campaign. Professor Von Sybel has discussed the German future in an interesting article in the *Fortnightly Review*, which, however, high as its author's intellectual standing is, bears traces of that peculiar muddle, which it is easier to mention than describe, which is so apt to seize the brains of belligerent writers, and so often makes them see double or crooked. He predicts for Germany peace, liberty, and industrial growth, but not parliamentary government in Prussia, as the English understand it. The Prussian Government will, he says, rather resemble that of England in the days of the Tudors, or of the United States to-day, if the Presidents were permanent; that is, the Executive will enjoy an amount of independence unknown in parliamentary government proper, and ministers will not resign under an adverse vote.

WHAT WILL THE SAN DOMINGO COMMISSION DO?

A FOREIGNER who knew nothing of the San Domingo affair but the appointment and departure of the Commission of Enquiry, would naturally suppose that the people of the United States had just heard of a newly-discovered island some thousands of miles off, and that in order to gratify their curiosity they had thought fit to send out a scientific exploring expedition. Perhaps he would begin to deplore the profound ignorance of our people, unless indeed some one better versed in our way of managing political schemes were to ease his mind by telling him that we knew all about San Domingo; that Colton's descriptive atlas was found in almost every log-cabin; that we had had commercial agents and consuls for years past in both parts of the island (Hayti and San Domingo proper); that our diplomatic and consular correspondence had given us full tables of its commerce, exports, imports, and of the products of the field and the mines; that in every elementary school history was to be found an account of the population being nine-tenths colored, not to say downright black, and one-tenth Spanish and French Creoles; that their struggles were internal and eternal; that we knew all about the climate, its insalubrity being well attested by the fact that France lost in the time of the first republic about 60,000, and Spain, only a few years ago, some 15,000, men by the yellow fever. Even as to the frequency of "certain meteorological phenomena," to adopt the phrase in the resolution, and which is simply fustian for *earthquakes*, and which the commission is also charged to investigate, there is no lack of knowledge. Earthquakes occur once or twice every five years, and serious ones, destroying whole cities and towns, once in about twenty.

But, then, the ignorant foreigner would say, perhaps you want to know whether the people there wish to be annexed. Not at all, would be the reply. There is not the least doubt about that desire; they annexed themselves in 1861 *unanimously* to Spain, and almost unanimously to the United States in 1870. The last vote would have been quite unanimous too, for all the opponents of the measure happened to be in prison for some cause or another just when the vote was taken, or had been sent out of the country. At the last moment, however, it was suggested to President Baez by some shrewd Yankee friend that an entire unanimity might be rather looked upon as too suspicious, and so Baez, on the election day, got some men to cast their votes against annexation.

Indeed, it is hard to treat this commission business seriously, and yet it may have very serious consequences. Some people, not the people of the United States, want to annex all of the West India Islands, and San Domingo offers the best opening for that policy. Ever since the eastern part—in territory the largest, in population (135,000) the smallest—severed its connection, under the name of Santo Domingo, in 1844, with the western part, Hayti, containing about 1,000,000 of people, it has preserved only the semblance of an independent existence. Internal conflicts and wars with Hayti have kept it poor, disordered, and disorganized. Its presidents, one and all, Santana, De Regla, Cabral, Baez, were and are needy adventurers, astute and most unscrupulous men; and, despairing of sustaining themselves in power for any length of time, or aware of the unfitness of the people to govern themselves or to be governed, have all tried at some time or another to sell their country to any power which would pay them best. Mr. Fish is slightly mistaken in his late explanatory letter when he speaks of the late Spanish invasion. It was Baez who, as president, in 1860, first proposed annexation to Spain. But Santana, who desired to make the bargain himself, ousted Baez, and proclaimed annexation (March 18, 1861), sustained, as he asserted, by petitions to that effect signed by the voters unanimously. Baez then played the indignant patriot, and denounced the annexation as treason, but as there happened to be a few Spanish frigates on the coast his opposition became unavailing. That Baez was wholly insincere, and that his true intentions were well known to the Spanish Government, was made apparent by the fact that soon after annexation Baez went to Spain, was well received at Madrid, was made a general of division, and was decorated with some order.

The annexation itself was by no means popular in Spain, and even the Queen's Government hesitated long before it acceded to it. Indeed, it was charged that it was originally an intrigue commenced by Baez, carried out by Santana and General Serrano, then Captain-General of Cuba, and that it was a surprise upon the home cabinet. But as Serrano was the special favorite of the Queen, it did not dare to oppose it. Indeed, the Queen's speech from the throne (Nov. 8, 1861), in which she announced to the Spanish people the reannexation, shows, in spite of her assertion to the contrary, evident marks of doubt and hesitation, perhaps somewhat increased by the formal protest against this annexation which our Government had placed on record in Madrid in the spring of 1861. She said in that speech:

"The island of Hispaniola, the first discovery by which Columbus immortalized his name, has again become a part of the monarchy. The Dominican people, threatened by external enemies, exhausted by intestine disorders, in the midst of its conflict invoked the august name of the nation to which it owed civilization and existence. To look upon its misfortunes unmoved, to turn a deaf ear to its wishes, inspired by lofty recollections and by a never-extinguished love for Spain, would have been unworthy of our noble nature. Convinced that they were *unanimous*, and acting on their free will, I have not hesitated to receive them, regarding the honor still more than the advantage of my people."

But a little more than a year after those words had been spoken, San Domingo was in open revolt, assisted, as it always will be, by an abundance of men and money from Hayti, whose doom is sealed when San Domingo passes into the hands of a foreign power. The best Spanish authorities state that, even before the insurrection, the acquisition proved a financial failure; that to subdue a revolt of the people was impossible, on account of the deadly climate of the interior; that, owing to several parallel ranges of mountains, some of them rising to the height of 7,000 feet, forming valleys full of marshes and swamps, exhaling a pestilential air, no troops could penetrate into it, or could be supported for any length of time. The best troops of Spain, their rifle battalions, counted amongst the very best light infantry in Europe, it is well known were uselessly sacrificed, although most of them had previously stood the climate of Cuba. After an effort of about three years, costing many lives and about $40,000,000, Spain gave up her ungrateful child in despair.

As regards the Commission, its report, nine chances to one, will be favorable to the views of the annexationists. Baez, who has the reputation of being a most wily politician; the titular General Cazeneau, whose talents for intrigue are also well known; our new consul, undoubtedly selected with a foreknowledge of his views, and who has replaced that explosive young man, R. S. Perry, who has turned a sort of State evidence against annexation, will take good care that the Commission will not fall into improper company. Besides, there is really no doubt but that Baez, and also his adversary, Cabral, are both in favor of annexation, provided they can make it pay. It is almost certain that a majority of the people whom the commissioners will see—the inhabitants of the coast districts—are supporters of annexation. There is no doubt, also, that it would be an excellent thing for the interest of the whole people of San Domingo, and that the natural riches of the country would be greatly developed under our auspices.

But, really, that is not the question. It is, Is annexation for the benefit of the United States? The cession of the Bay of Samana might be well enough for a coaling station. The manifest-destiny policy of President Pierce was directed to its acquisition. In fact, our Government had negotiated a treaty with San Domingo (October 2, 1854), called a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, containing a *secret* article for the Bay of Samana; but it failed to receive the sanction of the Dominican Congress, owing to the threats of England and France, who had obtained information in some way of this arrangement. Annexation of the whole Republic of San Domingo, however, inevitably to be followed by that of Hayti, will involve us in something like a chronic Indian war, will be a heavy drain on our treasury, will prove a graveyard to our troops, will be a point of weakness instead of strength in case the country should be involved in a foreign war.

The late speech of Senator Schurz is, however, so exhaustive as to the impolicy of annexation that but little could be added. The object of these remarks is solely to show the uselessness of the appointment of this commission, if anything else is intended than manufac-

turing public opinion in favor of the scheme, to which, up to this day, the people have shown decidedly the cold shoulder. No censure of the commissioners is implied. They are honorable men; but they are on a most singular errand, and may find out too late that much against their will they have been used as instruments to accomplish a very bad end. Two of them, as we pointed out some weeks ago, Dr. Howe and Mr. Wade, are men of singularly unsuspecting and unjudicial turn of mind; and whether Mr. White, young, shrewd, and versed in affairs as he is, will be able, single-handed, to escape the snares which will be assuredly laid for the whole party, is something which, much confidence as we may have in his ability, it is permissible to doubt.

THE SURRENDER.

The increasing extravagance and inconsequence of Frenchmen and French sympathizers have for some time past made many people regard the speedy fall of Paris and the conclusion of peace as almost as important for the credit of the human mind as for the welfare of France. It was not unnatural that the friends of progress should have seen in the first French Revolution the rising of "the day-star of liberty," but there is something painful in the eagerness with which some of their grandsons have, with the last sixty years of French history open before them, hailed the *coup d'état* of September 4 as the establishment of "a republic." The conversion, too, before our eyes within the last six months of so many sober and able Frenchmen, whom we had all been accustomed to listen to with respect and confidence, into raving fanatics and zealots, at a moment in their country's history when cool heads and clear eyes were above all things necessary, has been a sad and disheartening spectacle. That the Imperialists should have proved incompetent, cowardly, and shiftless was what it was natural to expect; and that Rochefort and Flourens and the Reds should, when the time came for real work, and for the display of *human* qualities of knowledge, courage, and self-restraint, turn out worthless blatherskites, was also quite natural. But when a man like Mazade rants like a club orator; and Jules Favre takes up a senseless quarrel begun by the Empire and tries to make a holy war of it; and Thiers, after preaching for forty years that the ruthless conquests of Napoleon were among the greatest of French glories, and that the welfare of France required and prescribed the systematic division and degradation of the neighboring nations, and particularly of Germany and Italy, goes forth to seek allies to save France from the consequences of trying to carry out his policy; and when even Laboulaye declares, as he recently did in a letter to a friend in this city, that "the triumph of Prussia will be the triumph of despotism, and will condemn Europe to servitude or a new Thirty Years' War;" that the 300,000 honest German workmen who did so much to enrich France and to secure the predominance of certain branches of French industry, had *all* been made "spies of by Bismarck to guide the armies to the homes of their former employers to plunder them more easily;" and denounces the Prussians as "barbarians" for firing on balloons which kept up the communication between two great French armies and two branches of the French Government—one feels that for the credit of the French intellect no less than for that of French arms, it is time that peace was made. Enough, we all say, not of slaughter only but of fustian, of bombast, of equivocation, of perversion, and of self-deception: the disease from which France is suffering evidently lies far deeper than the form of government.

The effects of the war in some other countries were also rapidly becoming very injurious. In the United States, the delusion that France was a "republic" did not, except with very few people, survive the determination of Messrs. Favre and Gambetta not to call a National Assembly; but many excellent people were rapidly working themselves into the belief that Germany, in exacting the very kind of satisfaction from France for having attacked her which conquerors have always exacted after victory (and none more remorselessly than France herself), and in refusing to make a display of magnanimity and self-restraint which no other nation has ever made, was giving reason to fear that the new Empire would prove the scourge of humanity. In England, we have been witnessing for some months the gradual growth of the same order of craze, and its expression in very much the same language as that which had such a disastrous effect on her relations with the United States during the rebellion. We read the same ferocious denunciations of the Germans for exercising the ordinary rights of war which were hurled against the Northern armies; the same extravagant vituperation of King William and Bismarck which used to be heaped on Lincoln and Stanton; and are entertained with the same lofty views with regard to the immorality of war, and the same dismal anticipations with regard to the bloodthirsty ambition which the Germans may be expected to indulge after their triumph, as were so freely uttered with regard to the North. It is just as sure that the Confederation will seek to reduce Europe to vassalage as it was that the North would find employment for its vast armies in the invasion of Canada. Even our excellent contemporary, the *Spectator*, which kept its head so clear during the American war, seems to have lost the thread in this one. It has for some time past been "sympathizing with the weaker side" in a manner worthy of Mr. Roebuck or Mr. Beresford Hope; and not only this, but worked itself into the belief, in defiance of all experience, that Chanzy's raw levies were going to smash Prince Frederic Charles, and that Trochu and his motley host were going to break through the veteran hosts of the Crown Prince. When so careful and intelligent an observer as it is gravely declares, as it did recently (Jan. 7), "that there was nothing at that moment to prevent General Chanzy from raising the siege of Paris except the inability of his soldiers to do their work;" that they were afflicted with some "unaccountable moral paralysis" which, if it lasted, "would render the cause of France, which was then that of human freedom, hopeless"—peace is clearly to be desired in the interest of other people than Frenchmen.

The National Assembly is now going at last to meet, and for the first time since the fall of the Empire the French people are going to be allowed to express their opinions on the gravest national questions. They are at last to have an opportunity of deciding whether they will retain at any cost a nominal hold on Alsace and Lorraine or will cede them formally to Germany, or whether they will have a republic, an empire, or a constitutional monarchy. We presume no believer in the principle of popular government will deny their right to have whichever they please. The success of monarchy in a country in which monarchical traditions have no root in the soil it is, of course, permissible to doubt. Judging from the past, the future of monarchy in France cannot be considered very hopeful; but it must be admitted that experience compels us to be even less sanguine about a republic than about monarchy, for its history in France is far more lugubrious than that of monarchy, and the conditions required for its success are far more difficult. For want of these conditions, the two French republics have speedily ended in the coarsest form of despotism. Foremost amongst these conditions are the habit of self-government and a high state of popular education. Both are almost essential, but, in the absence of either, trusted, influential, and wise leaders might make success with the other possible. The French have no political habits; the idea of law as something higher than the emperor or the prefect or the *maire*, and to which an appeal against him may be made, is something of which few Frenchmen know anything. Whatever reaches them in the shape of an edict or order from Paris through the regular functionaries, they obey blindly, and their notion of a "revolution" hitherto has been, not a change in the system, but the setting up at Paris of a new source of authority. Between 1851 and 1870 the orders emanated from Louis Napoleon, who had his own views of what France required, and they were blindly obeyed. He has now been kicked out, and his place during the last six months has been occupied by Gambetta, who left Paris simply because it was surrounded by the enemy. Now, Gambetta has *his* views of what France requires, just as Louis Napoleon had, and he has set to work to use the machinery of state for the purpose of carrying them into execution, and for the purpose of preventing any opposition to them, just as Louis Napoleon did He decided out of his own head, and at most with the advice of one other man, that a dictatorship was better for France at present than a representative government. Accordingly, he at once went to work, just as Louis Napoleon did, to stifle all expression of a contrary opinion. In order that there might be no organized bodies left in France capa-

ble of opposing his will, one of his first acts was to suppress the councils-general of the departments, the most respectable of all the institutions of the Empire, and furnishing the nearest approach to local self-government France has ever had. The next thing was to gag those who said the councils ought not to have been suppressed, and that a National Assembly should have been convened, and this has accordingly been done. His prefects have suspended, we are told, the *Gazette du Midi*, the *Défenseur*, the *Union de l'Ouest*, and the *Ami du Peuple*, and other provincial papers, and have actually sent out circulars forbidding people to subscribe to the *Journal de l'Indre-et-Loire*, and the *maires* have all been forbidden to receive papers which call for departmental councils.

This done, M. Gambetta decided that he ought to fight on to the "bitter end," and fight he did as long as his armies held together. His reign is probably now at an end, but it will be observed that from first to last he has used his power to prevent the formation of habits or modes of thought favorable to popular government, to keep out of sight the idea of law as something higher than mere power, to bring odium on the notion that the people is at all times the proper judge of its own needs and the proper arbiter of its own destinies, to keep alive the belief in "saviours" and "deliverers" which has hitherto been the curse of France, and hold up representative bodies as a kind of debating clubs, all very well in quiet times, but dangerous in days of peril. In fact—and it is a painful fact—the French "Republicans," when in power, have thus far shown as great hostility to republican institutions as the Imperialists.

Turning to the condition of popular education, we cannot be said to find much encouragement there. It is universally admitted that in any attempt to found a government on universal suffrage, the peasantry and the bourgeoisie hold the decision in their hands; the artisans of the cities, who have hitherto made the revolutions, count for nothing, or very little. Now the peasantry vote pretty blindly under the dictation of the local functionaries, and if M. Gambetta had his machine in good working order, and had plenty of time, and had a few victories at his back, he would probably roll up a majority for his republic as readily as Louis Napoleon rolled up one for his empire. But he comes before the country as a beaten man, and an exposed braggart, and has only three weeks to canvass in. The peasantry, moreover, have, thanks to him, learnt to associate the republic with the continuance of the war and the presence of the enemy and the ascendency of socialism, and the priests, who, next to the functionaries, influence them most powerfully, associate it with the downfall of the temporal power at Rome, and the separation of church and state in France, and—partly owing to the employment of Garibaldi—with infidelity generally. Of the feelings of the bourgeoisie, we need not speak; they are well known. There is little doubt that a National Assembly convened under these auspices, even if it adopts a republican form of government for the moment, as a necessity and the readiest thing, will do so in a secret determination either to get rid of it at the earliest possible moment or, as in 1848, to make it as little republican as possible. Gambetta and Jules Favre will probably be pushed out of sight very soon, and with just as little compunction or respect as the men who did the perorating in February, 1848. What will happen afterward nobody knows. The one thing certain is, that nothing durable need be looked for till the government is decentralized and the peasantry taught. At present, according to M. De Lasteyrie—an excellent authority—"not one in fifty" of them knew three words of the constitution which they "approved" so many times under the Empire. They will know just as little of the constitution which will now be offered them. Had Jules Favre and Gambetta, after Sedan, accepted any terms they could get from Prussia, and calmly gone to work to set up the machinery of local self government in the departments, to create a good system of popular education, and to abolish the standing army, they might not perhaps have saved Alsace and Lorraine, but they would have made a France which would have been a worse thorn in the side of Prussia than a military France can ever prove, and would have dealt a deadlier blow at Junkerdom than the French army can ever inflict. It was for them, and not for King William, to set the world a splendid example of confidence in "modern ideas," of devotion to peace and industry and liberty, which they have been denouncing Prussia for not displaying. Instead of this, they took up the fight with feudal war-cries, fought it out under the influence of feudal ideas, and have lost it, to the great glory and strengthening of the Prussian system, the great discredit of republicanism, and to the deep and, we fear, lasting detriment and humiliation of their own unhappy country.

MORE ABOUT LEGAL MORALITY.

An angry correspondence between Mr. D. D. Field and his son, Mr. Dudley Field, on the one side, and Mr. Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield *Republican*, on the other, has been published during the week, arising out of some very unwarrantable gossip about Mr. Field, written from New York by a correspondent of the *Republican*, and of a kind in which its correspondents are apt to indulge, followed by some sharp editorial comments on Mr. D. D. Field's professional connection with the Erie Railroad managers. The letters are numerous—eighteen in all—and are long, and full of recrimination and personalities. We shall not, therefore, attempt to give a complete analysis of them. The public is not much interested in the question which of the disputants had the best of the argument, but it is interested in learning what new light, if any, the correspondence has thrown on the general subject of the rights and duties of counsel, and, in particular, on the nature of Mr. Field's relations with Fisk and Gould. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to picking out whatever bears on these points. Mr. Bowles's charge is that Mr. Field's clients are offenders against the peace and integrity of business.

"They have achieved," he says, "and hold possession of a railroad by means little short of robbery itself. They have sought, for mere purposes of personal aggrandizement, to corrupt the very head of the nation. And they have, with like purposes in view, brought temporary disorder into the financial condition of the country, and spread ruin, with a wanton hand, among its people. It is in assisting or defending these men in such plans and in such operations; in borrowing the forms and technicalities of law to sustain them in their positions, or to screen them from justice: it is in lending your great ability and your legal knowledge, either to the concoction or the defense of gross schemes of stock speculation or railroad and business aggrandizement at the expense of innocent parties and the public; it is in interposing yourself and your professional services between men whom the nation supposes, rightly or wrongly, aye *believes*, with a faith that cannot be readily shaken, are men of public corruption and men of business dishonor—between such men and their dispossession of their ill-gotten gains and power, and the relief of the business of the country from their paralyzing control and corrupting example—it is for acts and influences like these that you have been arraigned before the public, and that not only professional but popular opinion sits in judgment upon you."

To this Mr. Field's reply, either from himself or through his son, is that he is necessarily at a disadvantage in defending himself, as he is bound by his confidential relations with his clients to suppress many facts that might put him in a favorable light, but he alleges—

1. That he fully concedes his responsibility for the proper and honorable conduct of his cases in court, and that he holds himself bound to defend his clients *per fas* and not *per nefas*, and that he has never conducted any Erie case otherwise than properly and honorably, that he has not in "giving advice perverted or misunderstood the law, or in arguing a cause suppressed evidence or misled the court." He holds, too, "that a lawyer being entrusted by the Government with the exclusive function of representing litigants before the courts, is bound to represent any person who has any rights to be asserted or defended."

2. That he has never been consulted beforehand "about the management of the Erie Railway, or the issue of any of its stock or bonds, or the payment of any dividend to any stockholder or class of stockholders, or about what is known as the Erie Classification Bill, or about the gold transactions of 1869," or about any transactions, public or private, of Messrs. Fisk and Gould to which exception has been taken.

3. To the charge, which readily suggests itself, and which Mr. Bowles makes, that, even supposing it to be technically proper for him to accept Fisk's and Gould's retainers, the badness of their characters, and the injury inflicted by them on the community, ought, on the general ground of duty to the public, to have prevented him from accepting them, he replies that, in accepting them, he has only done what Messrs. Evarts, Stoughton, J. T. Brady, S. J. Tilden, A. J. Vanderpoel, Dorman B. Eaton, William Fullerton, E. Burrill, J. K. Porter, H. W. Robinson, J. S. Bosworth, F. J. Fithian, and C. A. Seward have done—why, then, should he only be singled out for reprobation?—and that in every litigation in which he has

been concerned for the Erie managers, "he has been associated with most reputable and eminent counsel."

This is all the correspondence contains that is worth notice with regard to Mr. Field's professional conduct. A collateral issue was raised in the course of the debate, however, touching the rights and duties of editors, in which Mr. Field took the ground that editors have no right to indulge in their papers in criticisms on a man's professional conduct in which they would not venture before his face in a drawing-room, which is what we may call a military view of the duties of the press, but which Mr. Bowles disposes of very effectually.

It will thus be seen that Mr. Field meets the charge of aiding the Erie conspirators by his advice with a flat denial; challenges exception to his conduct of cases; and meets the charge of defending rascals by pointing to various leading lawyers who have done the same thing. Mr. Bowles does not touch on what is one of the current charges against Mr. Field here, that he has carried cases before Barnard and Cardozo; knowing or having reason to believe that their relations with his clients were corrupt. The correspondence does not, therefore, address itself to this point, but we have ourselves taken the trouble to make some enquiry about it, and are assured that Mr. Field has had only one argument in the Erie cases before Judge Cardozo, and in that the decision went against him. Before Barnard he has had three motions and three trials. Of the motions, two were made by the other side, and the third was a motion to punish Ramsey for a contempt in violating one of Barnard's injunctions. Of the three trials, one was in the suit against Vanderbilt to recover the celebrated $1,000,000, paid in a settlement made without Mr. Field's knowledge or consent. In the second, Mr. Field appeared against Ramsey and Eaton, and got judgment against Ramsey, but was beaten as against Eaton. In the third, judgment was taken by default. This does not include, of course, arguments before the General Term.

The discussion with Mr. Bowles is deprived of some of its value, indeed we may say of most of its value, for the public, by the intensely bitter and personal character which such a discussion inevitably assumes, and by the fact that Mr. Bowles, being a layman, and not conversant with the facts, is forced to fire at long range, or, in other words, deal largely in generalities, and fall back on common reports as his authority. If Mr. Field's defence be not complete and sufficient, all we can say is that the bar of this city are greatly to blame for keeping silent.

We have refrained thus far from expressing any opinion on the various points in the controversy ourselves, and we shall quit the subject for the present, without touching on more than one—but on this one we have neither doubt nor hesitation—and that is Mr. Field's proposition, that "a lawyer, being entrusted by Government with the exclusive function of representing litigants before the courts, is bound to represent any person who has any rights to be asserted or defended." Now, the state does not say a lawyer *must* represent everybody before the courts who has any rights to defend; it says he *may*. He is, therefore, not in theory bound to represent any litigant who asks him; it is his *privilege* to do so if he pleases. Moreover, in practice, no lawyer acts on Mr. Field's rule, or has ever done so. Mr. Field does not do so himself. Every lawyer selects his cases, no matter what the rights of the parties may be. He selects them either with reference to the nature of the proceeding, as criminal or civil; or with reference to their pecuniary result to himself, as great or small, in the inferior or superior courts; or with reference to his personal tastes or capacity, as conveyancing, or office business, or pleading in court. Law and usage allow every lawyer, in fact, the largest liberty in the choice of his business. Out of this liberty, and out of this only, arises a lawyer's moral and social responsibility for the character of his clients. If he had no such liberty, the bar would be the most degraded and degrading of all callings. Therefore, the answer which it is always open to the moralist to make to the lawyer's plea—that he is bound to do the best he can for a knavish client—is, that he need not have had him for his client. Out of this liberty, too, arises whatever distinction there is at the bar, even where there is no suspicion of professional misconduct properly so called, between upright and high-minded practitioners and base and "sharp" ones; and that such a distinction exists, and has always and everywhere existed, is notorious. When the public finds, therefore, a lawyer engaged in the service of unscrupulous and dishonest men, it has a perfect right to arraign him for it, and to treat his plea, that whatever he does for them he does with due regard to professional propriety and the rules of procedure, as an insufficient plea, and to enforce against him a higher code than that of forensic ethics.

Correspondence.

THE SENATE AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28, 1871.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If you had been present at the recent debate on the Civil Service Bill, I fear you would have been less hopeful as to any very early practical result of the movement. The determined hostility of most of the senators was too marked to be misunderstood. The great difficulty is that it is quite possible to show the greatest apparent enthusiasm for civil service reform and yet to find fault with each particular measure. Mr. Trumbull's bill has a fundamental defect, which was the common object of attack on all hands. As long as frequent changes in offices are made, the members of the two Houses are the natural channel through which information and recommendations must come. As Mr. Morton justly remarked, the direct method would merely give place to the corrupt and indirect. It is like the ocean and Mrs. Partington's broom. Any real reform must begin with the pressure for office-seeking from below. Mr. Wilson admitted the annoyance and evils of office-seeking, and said he should vote for Mr. Trumbull's bill (I hope it was not only because he was sure it would not pass), and then proceeded to deliver a labored argument *against* civil service reform in all particulars which would be really effective. Mr. Howard, of Michigan, spoke feelingly of the annoyances to which senators are exposed, admitted that a great evil exists, and asked how it can be remedied; and then proceeded to denounce the proposed legislation (not merely Mr. Trumbull's, but Mr. Schurz's and Mr. Jenckes's) as the dreams of enthusiasts, as anti-republican, and opposed to the rights of the sovereign people to office. He went so far as to ask Mr. Schurz whether he really proposed to exclude from nomination to office all who were outside of the "charmed circle" of examinations—a question which it required some time for Mr. Schurz to understand as propounded in earnest. In short, the Senate seems to be something in the condition of a drunkard, who is feelingly alive to the evils of *delirium tremens*, but declines to see the remedy in abstinence from drink. If this is the state of things in the Senate, what must it be in the House? No matter how high the popular feeling may run, it will be perfectly easy to stave off action by introducing half-a-dozen different bills, and then pretending to divide on their respective merits. But even if a civil service bill were passed providing for competitive examinations, tenure during good behavior, etc., it is almost certain that if the Democratic party were to come into power, after ten years' exclusion from the spoils, which have grown so rich in the interval, it would make short work of the barrier which stood before it.

Seen through this perspective, the prospect is not flattering. I can see but one avenue of escape, however dimly it may open. It is that of introducing into Congress a power which rests upon the whole people, as opposed to local constituencies, which shall be able to call a national sentiment to its support—a power which could introduce a civil service bill which should be *the* bill, to oppose which would bring any member directly under the censure of its constituents. Such a position could be held only by the heads of the executive departments. However it may suit members of Congress to deny the fact, I believe that there is no particular as to which the public sentiment is more strongly aroused than this of the civil service. And I believe that there is no way in which President Grant's administration could be more certain of a second term than by taking a stand firmly *in* Congress upon this ground. And the greatest security against tampering with the reform afterward by a subsequent administration would be to have its cabinet officers standing upon an open battle-ground, where they would be subject to the free attacks of the opposition.

There is another obstacle to the success of civil service reform in this, that the present system, bad as it is, presents almost the only method of combining votes sufficiently to secure election; in other words, it forms the only basis for nominating caucuses. The true basis for nomination should be in the character and services of the representative; but neither in the State Legislatures nor in Congress is there any field for the exhibition of these. The bulk of important business is done in secret; the rest in so loose and purposeless a manner that there is no opportunity for the display of ability. The opposition is merely of interest against interest, and not of one principle against another. It should be the part of the executive, aiming at success with the whole people, to propose general in place of special legislation, and the attack and support of the former would bring out the qualities of the legislators.

Finally, the old party cry was "principles and not men." However

sound this may be in substance, yet in form we need the exact reverse of this. With such vast constituencies, the best part of which is actively engaged in minding its own business, it is impossible that they should come to any sound and general conclusions upon the complicated subjects of legislation. All that they can do is to judge of the bearing, integrity, and capacity of their public men. To this end, it is indispensable that these men should be so placed as to expose all their conduct and legislative action to the public eye, so that the prizes in the gift of the whole people may be the direct result of the public judgment. It is some such basis for nominations which will obviate the necessity of combinations based upon office, and smooth the way to a purification of the civil service. G. B.

[We cherish no illusions as to the state of Congressional feeling about the civil service. Ever since Mr. Cox's retirement from the Cabinet, the nature of the "little game" by which "the practical men" had determined to prevent any change has been perfectly apparent. After a few rounds of hearty abuse of Cox, they all went to work professing an ardent desire to have the civil service reformed. It was only the clumsy old fellows like Colonel Forney who came out and denounced the whole idea as a humbug and delusion. The others all said the present state of things was bad and ought to be changed; the only doubt in their minds was "whether this particular measure" (any bill that was brought in to effect a change) was what was wanted or could be made to work. In fact, it soon appeared that no bill that the wit of man could devise would meet with general acceptance. So the great cry now is that reform is sorely needed but cannot be effected, owing to the extraordinary badness and defectiveness of every "particular measure." Another mode of staving off legislation is to pretend that the existing law provides all the machinery that is needed for reform, and to get up sham examinations, conducted privately, at the same time maintaining stoutly that no examination can truly ascertain a candidate's fitness for office; that it is only the keen and scrutinizing eye of the head of the department, aided by the perspicacious and high-minded Congressman of the district from which he comes, that can tell whether a blatherskite stump-orator or broken-down adventurer does not hide under his unpromising exterior the materials of a first-class public servant. Mr. Boutwell, being rather duller in his perceptions than the rest of the brethren with whom he acts, went so far as to say that "no system of examination could exclude all those who are dishonest, or who under pressing necessity or the offer of sudden wealth might yield to temptation." In sheer fatuity the controversy has produced nothing like this. We should be sorry to class Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, with the ordinary politicians who oppose civil service reform, and yet a striking and almost painful illustration of the obstructive state of mind into which long dwelling in the political atmosphere brings even such men as he, is to be found in an article contributed by him to the last *Congregationalist*, showing that Mr. Jenckes's bill would not "work."

We now warn our readers that they may expect for some time to come to find general approval of the idea of civil service reform in all party platforms and in the letters and speeches of politicians, together with careful avoidance of any attempt at specifying how the reform is to be effected, and at the same time to hear that "this particular measure" is invariably an absurd failure, and the work of a visionary. They may also look for the introduction of occasional bills which will probably be called "really practical measures," whose main feature will be the embodiment in formal legislation of some of the objectionable customs now prevailing, and which at all events will depart from them only on some slight and non-essential circumstance, carefully preserving the patronage for "the party." The President, too, will probably continue to recommend civil service reform, as General Grant did in his last message, while keeping up in the New York custom-house, as he does, a state of things which it is no exaggeration to call a disgrace to a Christian people. All this, however disheartening as it may seem, is a step in advance. The popular feeling on the subject grows every day, and we believe the time is not far distant when men who believe there ought to be some connection between their morals and their politics will no more think of voting for a party which keeps up such an institution as the New York custom-house, than of subscribing to the support of a brothel or gambling-house. This is strong language, but the facts justify it. No man who managed his own affairs as the affairs of the custom-house are managed would be received into decent society; happily no man could so manage them without having his cruelty and knavery, and his encouragement of and connivance at knavery, punished by ruin. The nation saves its rascally agents from the natural reward of their iniquity by every year paying their defalcations in taxation.

The way in which the present system of appointments to office has grown up and the arguments by which it is now defended, are interesting to the student as presenting a tolerably exact picture of the way in which the great historic abuses of the Old World—such as the sale of judicial offices and of commissions in the army, the seigneurial rights, even slavery, and many similar things—grew up and held their ground: First, a small knot of persons began an objectionable practice without attracting attention; then a large number acquired a pecuniary or social interest in it, and it became an object of attack; then a moral and political theory was got up for its protection, such as the sanctity of usage or its necessity to the safety of something else of undeniable value; then it was said to be good on its own account and to produce admirable results; then, as the clamor against it increased, it was said that it worked as well as anything that could be substituted for it; and, last of all, that it was not practicable to abolish it, and that it must be endured, be it evil or good; and, finally, it wore people's patience out, and they swept it away after argument had been exhausted. Judging by experience in other cases—having reached the objection, You cannot do away with it if you try never so hard; and there is nothing to take its place—we are not very far from the end of the civil service difficulty. —Ed. Nation.]

LIQUIDATING THE ALABAMA DAMAGES.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: It is suggested by the President that our Government shall audit and pay the "Alabama Claims," and this course finds advocates both in and out of Congress. I wish to point out what appears to me an obvious objection to it, though one that I have not heard urged.

On general principles of law, such an ascertainment of the damages would not be at all conclusive upon England, even if her general liability to pay these claims be admitted. It would be entirely *ex parte* as to her, and I think it certain that she would insist upon having the proofs taken again, and being represented in the proceeding for that purpose, before paying the first dollar. For the purpose of framing our claim with definiteness, it may be very well, though I should think it unnecessary. But as a means of "liquidating damages," any steps taken by our Government to which England is in no way a party must, in my opinion, be nugatory, and a waste of time and money.—Yours respectfully, H.

New York, Jan. 27, 1871.

THE SCOTCH LANGUAGE.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: I differ from the opinion expressed by your correspondent, Mr. Thomas Davidson, in the *Nation* of January 12, regarding the signification of the Scotch words "*clarty*" and "*crowdie*." Indeed, I question if the former can be strictly classified as Scotch. I have heard it used by Englishmen, natives of Lincolnshire, to whom it was as much a part of their mother tongue as "*eldin*"—the so-called "Scotch" phrase for fuel. Whatever its proper nationality, however, if the ideas conveyed in its daily use among the common people are any index to its real meaning, then "clarty" (or, as pronounced in my native Perthshire, "clorty"), *does* mean "dirty," notwithstanding Mr. Davidson's dogmatic assertion to the contrary. As some dirty things are "sticky," no doubt "stickiness" is one of the ideas so conveyed, but only one, and that not very prominent. Miry roads are "clorty;" the annual purgation of the chimney and the pigsty are alike "clorty jobs;" a person of uncleanly habits is "a clorty broot," or, if one of the softer sex, "a clorty jaud," or (filth incarnated!) "a clorty tawpie." In all these examples the idea of dirt pure and simple, is prevalent; and if "clorty" has the same root as "glaur" (mud), the writer in *Blackwood* has an additional argument in favor of the sense he attaches to it. The bespattered hero who

> "took his bonnet frae his heid
> An' daddit aff the glaur,"

had undoubtedly very decided opinions as to the composition of a Scotch mud-puddle. May not the French "crotté" throw some light on the origin of the word under discussion? Certainly it is no more strained than the etymology which derives "glaur" from the French "glaire," the white of an egg.

As to the word "crowdie," Mr. Davidson is rather hypercritical when he affirms so strongly that it never means "parritch," but sometimes means "brose." The difference between these two delectable results of the Caledonian cuisine is only slightly greater than that between 2×2 and 1×4. In other words, "parritch" is oatmeal stirred into boiling water, while "brose" is boiling water stirred into oatmeal. I dare say any Scotch boy who is a bird-fancier and accustomed to make "crowdie" every morning for his pets, would stare incredulously were he to be told that the correct formula was "a mixture of pressed curds and butter seasoned with salt!" Burns evidently supposed that the "crowdie" with which "my sister Kate cam up the gate" was akin to the "cogs o' brose" in the context, but perhaps Mr. Davidson knows better. I think, however, that he has confounded "cruddy" with "crowdie," two entirely different words, the one being related to "curds," the other to "groats," *i.e.*, oats coarsely ground.

Apropos of curds: An English lady happened, in her travels through Scotland, to spend a day at Blairgowrie, some twenty years ago, and ordered, as an accompaniment to dinner, that favorite Scotch dish, with the English drawl on the word cu—urds. A substantial meal was served, including a liberal supply of boiled carrots, but none of the special preparation of milk and rennet ordered. Supposing it had been forgotten, and not wishing to bring the servant into trouble, she made no remark in his absence, but contented herself with repeating the order for tea. The waiter looked surprised and amused, but withdrew, and in due time crowned the teatable with another enormous dish of boiled carrots. "But where are the cu—urds?" "Here, ma'am" (removing the cover). "Why! I ordered cu—urds, cu—urds and cream." "Oo—oo!" (a Scotchman will understand the length and strength of the interjection) "ye wantit CRUDS an' cream!"

ANGUS COUPAR.

CHICAGO, January 14, 1870.

[We know too much of the tenacity of the Scotch character to let two Scots carry a discussion of this kind any further in our columns. —ED. NATION.]

SENTIMENTALIST "JUSTICE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The duty of the philanthropist and reformer is, not seldom, very painful. At times the professional Samaritan of society—the general binder-up of wounds—finds himself called upon to sit as a Rhadamanthus. I have often been deeply impressed with the stern energy with which the great type of all this class in our day represses on such painful occasions the weak tendencies of his noble nature. Never, however, have I felt my admiration of the sense of duty which is at the bottom of every utterance of Wendell Phillips more excited than by the following recent allusion of his:

"Indeed, the puerile, crude, wordy, vulgar despatch of Secretary Fish (recalling Mr. Motley) would disgrace a sophomore at college—and almost makes one regret the removal of Seward. We know this is a very hard thing to say of the act of any loyal man. But the occasion more than justifies it. Rather than have the Department contemptible, we would almost welcome back the able but tricky vagabond from Japan."

Who can say that this is not very refreshing! "Reformers" do indeed "have terrible memories," as Mr. Phillips has recently well said. *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*—it is pleasant to see a fearless judgment rendered. For some time now Mr. Seward has rendered himself and his country ridiculous by dragging round his paralytic old carcass, made absolutely ridiculous by the scars of Payne's knife, and no one before has noticed him as he deserved. All good and earnest reformers and philanthropists, disciples of Wendell Phillips and his friend Gen. Butler, cannot but rejoice to see the graven old "vagabond," who alone kept us from giving England a thrashing at the time of the *Trent* affair, referred to at last in meet language. Why, however, must such a painful but necessary public duty always devolve on one man? Why is it that it has been left to Phillips's brave, manly, and gentle voice to denounce, in the days of their success, Lincoln as "a slave-hound," Grant "as a drunkard in the streets of Washington," and, more recently, the Governor of Massachusetts as "a murderer?" Is there no courage left among us but in the breast of one man? Let me then, sir, in my place, at least honor that one. Here is Wendell Phillips—the philanthropist, our leader—God bless him! who fearlessly wanders from platform to platform, all over the broad land, and, by exactly the right word, stigmatizes this wretched, paralytic old "vagabond;" and as our great apostle enlightens audience after audience, the peripatetic of this later day, he sets an example full of promise to the American youth both of what a reformer should do, and how a philanthropist should talk. In him we see, as in a model, how love for the race may exist in vast profusion, and yet stern justice be meted out to individuals. That weakness which induces many to speak gently of the dead does not warp the judgment of our leader. He is above such mawkish sensibility. If justice call, he will even strike at the living through the dead. So here, in the case of Seward, the spectacle of a premature old age brought on through wear and tear of public service might excite a foolish and almost wicked good-nature or even sympathy in breasts compounded of a meaner clay; but—bah, sir!—while such considerations might influence the common ruck of male voters, or those who have struck with armed hands—mere brutes!—yet exponents of "female suffrage" and "prohibitory liquor-law" candidates, and friends of "labor reform" and professional philanthropists in general, need be made of sterner stuff. We cannot yield to such peurile sentimentalities. In fact, our cry is for justice; and a long experience has convinced us that justice is wholly inconsistent with any, the remotest, concessions of mercy.

A SENTIMENTALIST.

BOSTON, January 27, 1871.

[We print the above with loathing. Have these men no hearts? We wonder whether this particular Sentimentalist has a mother, or sister, or a wife?—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

IN addition to the announcements of new books made last week by Messrs. Harper & Bros., the following are now made: Lady Belcher's "Mutineers of the Bounty;" the Marquis de Beauvoir's agreeable and modest narrative of a "Voyage Round the World;" "Recollections of Society in France and England;" "Turkish Harems and Circassian Homes;" "The Revolt of the Cevennes;" Dyer's "History of Modern Europe;" "The Autobiography of Lord Brougham;" Hare's "Walks in Rome;" Greg's "Scenes from the Life of Jesus;" and numerous novels. ——Messrs. Appleton have in press: "Science Lectures for the People," five in number, by Professors Huxley, Roscoe, etc.; "The Works of Sir J. Y. Simpson, Bart.," in three octavo volumes; "The Sun," by Richard A. Proctor; and "Musings over the Christian Year," by Charlotte M. Yonge.——"A Concordance to the Poems and Sonnets of Shakespeare," compiled by Mrs. Horace Howard Furness, will be published by Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co.——Messrs. Roberts Bros. have in press two novels: "My Discontented Cousin;" and "The Forest House," by Erckmann-Chatrian.——The Hon. Charles Francis Adams's admirable address before the New York Historical Society, on "The Struggle for Neutrality in America," has just been handsomely printed in pamphlet form by Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co., and will doubtless be in request both by those who did and those who did not hear it delivered.——Messrs. Macmillan & Co. will shortly issue "A Greek Primer," by Bishop Wordsworth (being in great part a translation into English of his "Rudimenta;" and "A Parallel History of England and France," by Miss C. M. Yonge, whose title explains its purpose. It consists of two columns of contemporaneous dates and events in the two countries mentioned, and a middle column of remarks on the affairs of Europe. The period covered is from the Roman conquest of Britain to the fall of the French Second Empire last year. The manual if well executed, can hardly fail to be useful.

—By the death of Mr. George Ticknor, which occurred last week, at Boston, the ranks of American men of letters have sustained the loss of a veteran who now for some years has been past service, but whose services in the time of his activity were honorable and great. Mr. Ticknor lived to be almost eighty years old, having been born in August, 1791. He was of a respectable, though not especially prominent, Boston family; and after having been carefully instructed with a view to his engaging in professional life, he was sent to college. He was matriculated at Dartmouth, and it is said that he entered at the unprecedentedly early age of ten years and a-half. His name appears, however, in the list of the class of 1807, at

which time he was in his sixteenth year, and it would seem that he must have done twice over the work of one at least of the years of the college course, which then as now extended over four years. However this may be, his age at the time of graduation, while it gives evidence of the comparatively low condition of the American colleges in his day, gives evidence also of his precocious ability. In 1813, when he was twenty-two years old, he had not only—with the assistance of private teachers—pursued classical studies for three years, but had read enough of law to secure his admission to the bar. The law, however, was not to his taste, and in 1815 he went abroad. Apparently he had now formed a clear intention of devoting himself to literature, and had determined to fit himself for his future labors by giving his abilities the best culture that the age anywhere afforded. Moreover, it seems that he had already decided upon the particular field in which he would work, and a certain part of his time of European residence was spent in Madrid, where he prosecuted the researches on which is based his most important work. A part of his time, while he was abroad, he spent in Spain; but more of it was passed in Germany, Italy, England, and Scotland. Among his acquaintances and friends he counted many of the distinguished men of all the countries which he visited; he was known and respected by Scott, Rogers, Jeffrey, Macaulay, Byron, Goethe, Madame de Staël, Roscoe, Mackintosh, Southey, Wordsworth, Lord Holland, and many more. His correspondence, one would say, must be of great interest, as certainly his conversation was. Coming home in 1820, he accepted a professorship in Harvard College, his chair being that of the French and Spanish languages and literatures—the chair which since his time has been filled by Longfellow and Lowell. After 1835—in which year he resigned his professorship, to the performance of whose duties he brought great ardor and diligence, and in which his success was marked—Mr. Ticknor had every temptation to lead what is called a life of elegant leisure. A life of elegant labor, severe, though delightful to him, and at the same time profitable to others, was more consonant with his disposition, his temperament being that of an active and energetic man, who might have succeeded as well in the administration of affairs as in the prosecution of literary pursuits. In 1835, he went abroad for the second time, and, after three years, mainly devoted to further examination of the materials for his "History of Spanish Literature," he returned to Boston, and spent ten years in the composition of the work by which his name will be carried down to posterity. This appeared in 1849; and few American books, whether of earlier or of later date, have been more creditable to American literature. Doubtless, there will be among lovers of the Spanish poetry, of which Mr. Ticknor so largely treats, a good deal of question as to the justice or as to the value of some of his judgments. He was so far from being a man to whose judgments of poets one would feel it necessary to pay entire deference, that one might even feel no fear in declining to give them very anxious attention. But there is agreement among students of the literature of Spain that his book is of exceedingly great help to them—is, indeed, without equal in ours or any other tongue; and there is nowhere any question that its author brought to its preparation a degree of laboriousness, knowledge, intelligence, and faithfulness which is rare everywhere, and is here so rare as to entitle Mr. Ticknor to a most honorable place among American writers. Mr. Ticknor's death will be felt as a great loss not only by the literary community in this country, but by the best social circles in his native city. To these, by reason of his attainments, reputation, and character, he did much to give a dignity not inherently theirs. He was one of those "prominent citizens of Boston" who make the city prominent, and not one of those who owe to the city and their place in it more than the city ever owed them or their families. It is, perhaps, not worth while to say that in politics Mr. Ticknor was a Conservative of a very pronounced type. Those of us who think the Radical the highest style of man may please ourselves by recalling the fact that the man whom we feel bound to condemn as a Conservative was a chief promoter of that instrument for making the best style of Radical—the Boston Public Library.

—The Philadelphia Social Science Association recently held a meeting on the subject of compulsory education, and the paper read there is now printed separately, although the report of the discussion was left to the newspapers. It was thoughtful, serious, and earnest, and showed a real comprehension of the importance of the question. In curious contrast, however, to the statement then made of the fact that there were nearly twenty thousand children who ought to be provided for, is the recent issue of a paper on the same subject by the London "Society of Arts," in which it is shown that almost exactly the same number is unprovided for in Bethnal Green, a district of London containing about one hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants. This as against the population of Philadelphia, say five times as great, shows that questions which we consider urgent and ripe for legislative reform are easily met and solved as compared with similar ones in England. The necessity is none the less pressing on us to improve the greater facilities within our reach, in order to make head against the growing mischief of insufficient education, both in quantity and quality. Unfortunately for school reform in this country, neither in legislatures nor in school boards is pedagogy fairly and fully represented as it is, for instance, in Germany.

—The literature of the year 1870 will not cause it to be specially remembered, and, happily (as we choose to say, rather than unhappily), it does not need the distinction which books might have given it. It ought also to be borne in mind that the years spent in producing a work pass unnoticed, while that in which it appears and is catalogued has but an accidental claim to share in its renown. The London *Publishers' Circular* for December 31, 1870, sums up 5,251 books, whose titles it has recorded during the past year. Of these, 426 were importations from America, leaving to the credit of Great Britain 4,656, divided as follows: new books, 3,377; new editions of books originally published prior to 1870, 1,279. The *Circular* tabulates these publications with great care, and shows an average of nearly 300 new books a month, 100 new editions, and 40 American works imported. For the first named, February and March, and the last quarter of the year, are most prolific—exceeding the average; while August and September fall to considerably less than 200 each. Theology obtained the largest number of new editions (208 out of 811); but Fiction had the largest proportion (162 out of 381). This country furnished 55 volumes in Theology—presumably of a fair quality, and as many in History and Biography, which (55 out of 290 new works) make a very respectable ratio. Among 93 new works on Political and Social Economy, and Trade and Commerce, the American contribution is 16, of a quality to us unknown. We furnish about the same proportion to Travel and Geographical Research, viz., 41 out of 286 volumes, and a larger (58 in 263) to Arts, Science, and Fine Art Works. Law and Jurisprudence have derived from this side of the water 20 of the 84 new books catalogued in the *Circular*, which of course has embraced but a small portion of our publications in this as in the other departments mentioned.

—Among the latest publications of the past year in England were "The Duke of Edinburgh in Ceylon: a Book of Elephant and Elk Sport," by John Capper; "All Round the World: Adventures in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America," by Parker Gillmore; Volume I. of the "Ancient Geography of India," embracing the Buddhist period, together with the campaigns of Alexander and the travels of Hwen-Thsang, illustrated with thirteen maps, by Alexander Cumming; "The Capital of the Ancient Kingdom of East Anglia: a History of Thetford," by A. Leigh Hunt; "Clement Marot, and Other Studies," by Henry Morley, in two volumes; "Natural History of the Azores," by F. Du Cane Godman; Mr. John Cordy Jeaffreson's interesting "Annals of Oxford;" and "Siege Life in Paris, by One of the Besieged," Mr. E. B. Mitchell, who got out too soon by half, he must now be convinced. Tennyson's songs of "The Window," for music, which are singularly flat, and Mr. Buchanan's "Napoleon Fallen," another decrescendo on the part of the author, are, with the exception of Mr. Morris's "Earthly Paradise," now concluded in a fourth part, all the poetry worth noticing. Two illustrated works may be named: "Chronicles of the Castle of Amelroy or Ammerzode," by John Box, with photographs; and the "Rembrandt Gallery," containing thirty copies of this artist's most important etchings. A correspondent of the *Athenæum* calls attention to the delay in publishing "the large and well-executed catalogue of the works of Raphael, which has been prepared, and exists in the form of uncorrected proofs. This work was executed by desire of the Prince Consort, and embraces all the collection of works of the master which the Prince had caused to be formed; . . . the whole is the most perfect catalogue of the artist's productions which has been compiled."

—Among the distinguished French dead of 1870 none except the renowned Dumas was better known to the world of literature than Prosper Mérimée. He was one of the last of the brilliant company of French writers who threw such glory upon the first half of the present century. Born in Paris in 1803 (according to some in 1800, to others in 1804), he was a contemporary of Cousin, Guizot, Villemain, Sainte-Beuve, and Ampère, and their fellow-worker. He certainly belonged to the romantic school; but he brought to its subjects the severe taste and elegant style of the classicists. His earliest works were mystifications, the first being a pretended translation of some Spanish plays. These appeared in 1825. In 1827 they were followed by a pretended alleged translation, in prose,

of some Illyrian ballads. In a charming preface, written in 1840, he explains to us that he had formed the plan of visiting Illyria, but that, in lack of money, he determined to write the songs of the people first, and then with the profits to travel thither and ascertain the accuracy of his work. For preparation, he read a book of travels in Dalmatia, studied some statistics, and learned a few words of the language. Goethe was the first to detect the wonderfully ingenious forgery. No one who reads the ballads can wonder that they were successful, and that even Slavic scholars were deceived. Mérimée tells us of a certain German who translated them from the French into his own language and into verse, boasting that he was able to detect beneath Mérimée's prose the proper measure. But, indeed, Mérimée's prose has the simplicity, clearness, dignity, and suggestive rhythm which distinguish French prose translations of foreign poetry from the artificial French verse; so the poor German's mistake is less absurd than might appear. In 1829, Mérimée published his "Chronique du règne de Charles IX.," a most fascinating historical romance. His shorter tales are masterpieces in their way, and may well serve as models of artistic skill. In conception, in construction, and in style they all deserve the praise of being careful, graceful, and polished—and never polished to the point of weakness. "La double Méprise" is perhaps the best. "Tamango," "Les Ames du purgatoire"—but whoever reads one will read all, and can decide for himself about their relative merit, if he thinks it necessary. "Colomba" is somewhat longer, but to our mind as good as any. Some are stories of modern society, and upon the ordinary themes of "French novels;" but the author handles his subject with the purity of an artist; his legitimate right, as artist, to treat of all human passions he never exercises with the offensive delight of those to whom such subjects are most attractive on account of their dirtiness, baseness, and wickedness. The scene of others of his stories is laid in the Middle Ages or in foreign countries; but in all he delights the reader by his ingenious inventions and by his exquisite style. In 1845, Mérimée was elected a member of the French Academy. He was not only a graceful writer of fiction, he was also a scholar. He translated from the Russian a play of Gogol, and some of the novels of Tourguèneff, and, unlike most of his countrymen, was familiar with most of the languages and literatures of Europe. He wrote, too, some historical works—an account of Catiline's conspiracy, the history of the false Demetrius, etc.—but it will be as a writer of fiction that he will live. In 1853, he was made a senator, but he will never be counted as one of the now vanished—and let us trust for ever vanished—Imperial school. He had more than their talent, and was free from their vices and faults. For one thing, his fortunate objectivity of mind was strong enough to save him from the weakness and wickedness of the introspective, self-examining authors who finger and handle their hearts until, for that reason, if there were no other, they become corrupt.

—To those desirous of a complete and intimate knowledge of Mérimée, we would say that during the last twenty years the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has contained a great deal of his work, both original and translated. Among other noted French personages, besides Mérimée and the great Dumas, who have died within the twelvemonth, one is the notorious Madame Ratazzi, née Buonaparte Wyse, grand-daughter of Lucien Buonaparte, a woman of the usual reputation of the Buonaparte women, and of the not unusual doubtful legitimacy of the Buonapartes, who, in 1863, married the Italian premier, Ratazzi, and has since, as before, been distinguished for witty libels upon such men and women as she disliked. Prévost-Paradol's name also comes up for remembrance; and those of the Duc de Broglie, who has a place in history as one of the ministers of Charles X. of France; General Flahault; and, greater than any of these last, Charles Forbes de Tyron, Comte de Montalembert, the historian, publicist, politician, and representative Gallican Romanist. To these is to be added the name of the Duchesse de Berri, who was the mother of the Comte de Chambord, the legitimist claimant of the crown of the French kingdom, and who died in April, before she had seen the downfall of the parvenu Empire; and, too, before she had experienced again the disappointment of seeing France once more convulsed from top to bottom with no ensuing advantage to her family.

—Number 12 of the "Papers and Correspondence of the Imperial Family," which the present occupants of the Tuileries have been publishing from time to time, contains some twenty reports of the Commission of dramatic censorship. But one of these rejects a play on the ground of its immorality, and that turns out to be the immorality of the higher classes of French society assailed by the author. Political objections are found against all the rest, often of the most petty nature. Sometimes a piece would be altered essentially in spite of the protestations of the writer, and the Commission tell how in one instance they insisted that the play should end prior to the Revolution, or else glorify the First Emperor. M. Paul Meurice, accordingly, whose *Paris* was the play under censure, had to resign himself to "a final tableau representing Napoleon I. distributing eagles on the Champ de Mars." The seventeenth number of the "Papers and Correspondence" commences Volume II., and produces some highly interesting notes concerning the Prefects of the Republic, made from July to October, 1852. There is also a letter from a Crimean veteran, Capt. de Boüyn, of the gendarmerie, addressed directly to the Emperor in 1857, and complaining that "he had been ordered to ascertain, and to cause the chiefs of brigade to ascertain, the number of Legitimists, Orleanists, Republicans, Socialists, etc., to watch their movements, comings and goings, their relations, acts, and words," and to mention them in his report constantly. This worthy officer, to whom such service was repugnant, sought relief in an appeal to a decree of March 1, 1854, which says that the gendarmerie shall in no case be employed in secret (*occultes*) duties. The Emperor replies that "the first law of the military hierarchy is to obey without commentary," and that to apply the epithet "occultes" to the orders he had received was to cast unmerited odium upon them, and the Captain was finally dismissed from the gendarmerie.

—We have before us three new and beautiful maps, by Kiepert, of Alsace and Lorraine, and adjoining countries, executed on the same scale (1 : 666,666); one ethnological, one political, and one historical (Berlin: Reimer; New York: L. W. Schmidt.) The first, entitled "Specialkarte der deutsch-französischen Grenzländer, mit Angabe der Sprachgrenze," is chiefly designed to show the linguistic areas (Sprachgebiete) of the French border-lands presented by it, distinguishing them, by colors, as French, chiefly French or mixed, and German, respectively. Almost the whole of Alsace is given as German. The exceptions are: a French strip of land on the southwest border, including Belfort and Giromagny, and extending north to the foot of the Ballon d'Alsace; a mixed area, nearly of the same extent, and including Delle and Fontaine, to the east of the preceding; and some small territories, French or mixed, in the Vosges, west of Colmar, Schlettstadt, and Barr. The dividing line between the German and the other areas in Lorraine runs in a northwest direction throughout—from a point on the Alsatian frontier, opposite Barr; across the Vosges; along the Sarre Blanche; to and along the German Nied; from the juncture of this river with the French Nied to the juncture of the Orne with the Moselle, between Metz and Thionville; and thence to the Luxembourg frontier, near Esch. This line is skirted all along on the west, by more or less narrow mixed territories, separating it from the French area. The German area in Lorraine thus embraces more than half of the Department of Moselle, and about a fourth of Meurthe.

—The second map—"Specialkarte von Elsass und Lothringen, nach ihrer gegenwärtigen Eintheilung seit der deutschen Besitzergreifung"—exhibits the divisions established by the Prussian conquest of last year. The main division, under the provisional Prussian organization, is into the two governments of Alsace and Lorraine, the former of which, however, probably representing what at the time of the new organization the conquerors meant to keep—possibly less than they now mean to keep—embraces, besides the whole of Alsace proper, as it was under the French, about four-fifths of the Department of Moselle, and about half of Meurthe, formerly divisions of Lorraine. This Government contains not only all the German and, with very slight exceptions, all the mixed area of the two provinces, but also some portions of the French, including Metz and Château-Salins, and their surroundings. Its Lotharingian subdivisions are the districts of Thionville, Metz, Saargemünd, Château-Salins, and Saarburg. The third map—"Historische Karte von Elsass und Lothringen," etc.—in elaborating which Richard Boeckh co-operated with Kiepert, contains a maze of territorial divisions and *enclaves*, as they existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and exhibits the successive annexations by France of German territory between the Meuse and the Rhine. The chronological dates of the annexations are given in notes.

—The *Methodist Quarterly Review* for January, 1871, contains a dissertation on "The Slavic Races," contributed by Dr. A. S. Long, of Constantinople, in which that subject gets rather more elaborately treated than is usual in this country; and as it appears at a time when Slavic affairs are rapidly growing in prominence and importance, it deserves the attention of a wider circle of readers than the regular circulation of that periodical will probably secure for it. It contains much that is interesting or learned—though little that is certain—concerning the origin of the Slavi, and

their early spread over the vast countries now occupied by them; speculations regarding their common name as a race, and their specific territorial or national appellations; remarks on their general character, as it appeared to the Byzantine writers of the earlier part of the Middle Ages; something on the old Slavic language and literature, and the Cyrilitic and Glagolitic alphabets; and more ample information on the origin and ancient history of the Bulgarians, a nation on whose present state the author promises a more exhaustive contribution. The critical views expressed in the article evince both soundness of judgment and familiarity with ancient as well as recent authorities. Like the best of the latter, Dr. Long rejects the derivation of the name Slav (in its various forms, Slovak, Sloven, etc.) from either the Slavic *slava*, glory, or the Teutonic *slave*, deriving it from the Slavic *slovo*, word, speech, and explaining it by "endowed with speech, knowing how to talk," in contradiction to *Nyemetz*, dumb—with whom one cannot converse—which was applied by the Slavi, and after them by Magyars, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, to the Teutonic race. Against some of the better authorities, he considers the Bulgarians of Turkey not as a gradually Slavicized, but as an originally Slavic people, though he admits that they may have derived their name from a conquering Turanian tribe, which imposed upon them its sway, and organized the country, but subsequently—like the Scandinavian Varangians, the first organizers of the Russian Empire—were lost in the mass of the original population.

PARKER'S HISTORIC AMERICANS.*

It is a thousand pities that Theodore Parker could not have lived ten years longer. He died at the very threshold of the time the fittest for the development of his immense energies and the exercise of his prodigious activity. He was meant by nature for an active rather than a studious life. The exuberant energy of his mind sought its outlet in the only direction which was open to it; and he certainly stirred up to their depths the rather stagnating waters of the religious opinions of thirty years ago. Whether it were an angel that had descended to trouble the pool, or otherwise, there was undoubtedly a diversity of opinion among men, but that he troubled it was plain for all to see. Yet, after all we have gone through of conflict and suffering within the last ten years, it is almost as hard to understand the violence of that ebullition, or the interest it created, as to comprehend the zeal with which our fathers and grandfathers watched the theological combats of fifty years ago between the excellent Doctors Woods and Ware. Mr. Parker was not a man of genius, nor yet of an original mind. The doctrines with which he connected his name were not of his devising. They had come down from former generations of free-thinkers. It was the freshness of illustration and the zeal and energy which he brought to their enforcement, together with the strong personal influence that went out from him—what we call in this country "magnetism"—that accounts for the stir he made among the dry bones, and the hold he had and still retains upon living souls.

It is well known that Mr. Parker was what is called "a self-made man," and his making was not free from some of the defects incident to that particular manufacture. It were an insult to his memory and an outrage to common sense to class him with those so-called "self-made men" in public life whose sciolism and conceit would only make them ridiculous did they not also make them mischievous. He was an omnivorous reader rather than a great scholar. A *helluo librorum*—a glutton of books—he did not always well digest and assimilate his intellectual food. The rudimental niceties and exactnesses of scholarship which form an admirable discipline for the child, are hardly ever mastered by one who begins his education in manhood. If Mr. Parker had read half as much he would have been a more learned man. In his extemporized speeches he was not unfrequently betrayed into inaccurate statements and mistaken literary allusions because of the very multitude of crude recollections that crowded into his mind. We well remember one of his sermons at his country meeting-house, at West Roxbury, before he went to Boston, in which, having occasion to illustrate the way in which men are "cursed with their prayers," he told the story of Semele, who was consumed by the thunderous glories of Jove, whom she had prayed to visit her as he was wont to approach Juno—only he made the victim of this mythological edition of the "Impertinent Curiosity" a *man!* This mistake could hardly have been made by one who in his boyhood had been introduced into the paradise of the dainty delights of learning through the gate, instead of climbing in over the wall after he was grown up.

The work which is the occasion of these observations we regard as a sufficient evidence of their truth. These lectures are marked by the well-known methods of thought and style of their author. He pronounces judgment upon his illustrious subjects with unhesitating decision, and sustains it by what he considers sufficient reasons. There is nothing especially new in his opinions as to their course or character, though he lays them down with an air of authority, as if he regarded them as final and unanswerable. We do not think, however, that his estimate of them, especially of Franklin and Jefferson, will be accepted as the ultimate settlement of the conflicting views concerning those great men; but we have no space to enter upon that question, were we disposed to do so. It is interesting, however, to read what such a mind as Mr. Parker's thought of these celebrated countrymen of his, and his opinion is as good as another man's on points which will probably never be quite settled. But the narrative portions of the lectures, by which Mr. Parker supports his conclusions, are full of errors, and errors so obvious that it is singular that they should have escaped the notice of the intelligent hearers of them. The Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who furnishes the preface to this book, says in it of Mr. Parker: "In all biographical studies his conscientiousness was a wonder. He laid on himself prodigious labor to satisfy it." This statement of Mr. Frothingham as to the usual accuracy of his friend we are not disposed to impugn; but his preparation for these lectures must have been an exception to the general rule of his literary habits. We cannot doubt that Mr. Parker had read the original authorities relating to his subjects; but he could not have consulted them as he wrote, or he would have been saved from the blunders—some trivial, but others most material—which deform this work, all of which might have been avoided by a proper verifying of his facts. We will quote some of them.

In the Lecture on Franklin (p. 17), speaking of his children, Mr. Parker says: "He left an illegitimate son, William Temple Franklin, who afterwards became Governor of New Jersey." William Temple Franklin was neither his son nor Governor of New Jersey. He was the grandson of Franklin, and the son of William Franklin, who did hold that office. Describing Wedderburn's famous diatribe against Franklin before the Privy Council, Mr. Parker says (pp. 29, 30): "Before this audience did Franklin stand for *ten hours* and listen to this purchased sycophant." Franklin himself says in a letter to Thomas Cushing ("Life and Works," viii. 111), that he "stood there, the butt of his ribaldry, *for near an hour!*" Mr. Parker calls Dr. Price a "*Scotch* dissenter." He was a *Welsh* one. He says that "slavery in 1758 was a very different thing from what it is in 1859. It was by no means the cruel and malignant thing it is now." In Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, then, undoubtedly, as compared with South Carolina in 1859. But Mr. Parker should have known that the slavery of the slave States proper was never so malignant and cruel as in the middle of the last century. The slavery of our time was mild and patriarchal compared with that of a hundred years ago. In his desire to magnify his subject, whose greatness needed no exaggeration, Mr. Parker says that "at forty, Franklin was master of English, Latin, French, Italian, and German." As a student of languages he must have known what an enormous claim this was to make. We have been able to find no evidence of its truth. Of French, though he had lived for years in France, Franklin certainly was not master. Writing to the Abbé Morellet, after his return home, 1787, he speaks of his delight in being surrounded by persons who speak and understand the same language with himself, adding, "You know that if a man desires to be useful by the exercise of his mental faculties, he loses half their force when in a foreign country, where he can only express himself *in a language with which he is not well acquainted*" ("Life and Works," x. 301). And we have been assured that in the two or three short French letters of Franklin, preserved as autographs in what was the *Bibliothèque Impériale*, at Paris, there are half as many grammatical and orthographic errors as there are lines. That he had a passable reading knowledge of these languages (excepting German, as to which we powerfully doubt) is very possible; but every scholar knows what a vast distance there is between this and a mastery of them. At the time of Franklin's death, in 1790, Mr. Parker says, enumerating the great men then in public life, "Jay was at the Court of England." Jay was then Chief-Justice, and did not go to England till 1794. So much for the Lecture on Franklin for the present.

These errors are of no material consequence, but should have been avoided as imperfections in a literary work the merit of which mainly consists in accuracy of details. The next error of which we shall speak it is not too severe to call a highly culpable one. In the Lecture on Washington (p. 98), speaking of his taking command of the army at Cambridge, in July, 1775, Mr. Parker says: "The officers were ignorant of their duty.

* "Historic Americans. By Theodore Parker." Boston: Horace B. Fuller. 1870.

General Ward, the previous commander-in-chief, *was old, and almost imbecile!*" This "old and almost imbecile officer" was at that time *forty-seven years old*—four years older than Washington. He could not have been one of the "officers ignorant of their duty," for he had served with credit in the Old French War, as a field-officer under Abercrombie, to which circumstance, undoubtedly, he owed his commission. His imbecility could not have been noticeably great, since he was the year before elected Captain-General of Massachusetts Bay, and when the army was first organized he was commissioned by the Provincial Congress as Major-General and Commander-in-chief. When Washington was appointed Commander-in-chief by the Continental Congress, General Ward was commissioned as senior Major-General, and commanded the right wing of the army during the siege. After the evacuation, he was left by Washington in command of a force to guard against the return of the British. In the course of 1776 he resigned his commission, from ill-health, but was in the public service in civil capacities for nearly twenty-five years longer, till his death in 1800. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress, and a member of the Second and Third Congresses—1791–95—of the United States. He was also a Judge of the Common Pleas at the time of Shays's insurrection. This story is told of him. The object of the insurrection was mainly to prevent the holding of the courts and the collection of debts. Judge Ward, on going to Worcester to hold his court, found the town in possession of the insurgents. A sentinel on the court-house steps presented his musket and told the judge to advance at his peril. The judge recognized the man as one of his old soldiers, and looking him in the eye gave the word of command, "*Recover arms!*" The old instinct of discipline returned, and the sentinel recovered his piece, and the judge went up the steps, whence he addressed the insurgents in a speech of two hours to convince them of their guilt and folly—but to no purpose. We are sure no man would have regretted more deeply than Mr. Parker, had he lived, the reprehensible inadvertence which betrayed him into this injustice to a gallant soldier and eminent public man, whose honorable record and fair fame are a part of the inheritance not only of his descendants but of us all.

One other error, occurring in the Lecture on Washington, is an odd one to be made by a man who was supposed to have made Revolutionary history a special study. He says (p. 144): "In 1779–80, General Arnold, the traitor, with less than two thousand men, ravaged the *whole State* of Virginia for *two years!*" Arnold was in Virginia precisely *five months*, from January to June, 1780, and his ravages were limited to the River James, from Norfolk to Richmond. But we must hurry on. In the Lecture on John Adams, Mr. Parker says (p. 151): one of his tutors was "Mr. Cleverly, the *Congregational minister* of the town." Mr. Adams says of him ("Life and Works," x. 254), he was "a bigoted *Episcopalian* of the school of Bishop Saunders and Dr. Hicks." Speaking of the argument before the Governor and Council, December 20, 1765, on the closing of the courts, by the appointment of the Town of Boston, Mr. Parker says (p. 164), "It was a great honor for the young men, Otis and Adams, to be employed in such a cause." For Adams, possibly; certainly not for Otis, who was then in his forty-first year, who stood in the front rank of the profession, if not at its head, and who had made the great argument against the Writs of Assistance nearly five years before, February, 1761—the most illustrious law-case ever argued in America, from which the Revolution may be said to date. And he was old enough, and eminent enough, near nine years before to be appointed by Governor Pownall Advocate of the Admiralty. In relating the part Mr. Adams took in the trial of the soldiers indicted for the Boston Massacre, Mr. Parker says (p. 166), "They applied to Mr. Adams to defend them. He induced Mr. Josiah Quincy, jr., to aid in the defence." The fact was exactly the opposite of this statement—Mr. Adams being the witness. Mr. Quincy was first retained, and it was at his suggestion and through his urgency that Mr. Adams was afterwards employed. (Adams's "Life and Works," ii. 230.) The mention of Mr. *Pickering* as one of the Commissioners to France in 1797 we are willing to suppose a misprint for *Pinckney*. In the Lecture on Jefferson, Mr. Parker says (p. 25), that in 1784 "Congress then passed the famous Ordinance of the Northwest Territory. Jefferson drafted the bill." That Ordinance was not passed till 1787, and Nathan Dane drafted the bill. The bill offered by Jefferson in 1784 included much more than Dane's of 1787, to wit, the entire Western region from the 31st degree of north latitude, but it was *not* passed. It contained an anti-slavery clause, as well as the Ordinance of 1787; but it was prospective only and not immediate. Mr. Parker goes on to say, "A motion was made on the 19th of April to strike out this clause. The New England members gave a unanimous vote to strike it out." They gave a unanimous vote to *retain* it. (Hildreth, 1st Series, iii. 449, 450.) We must say it seems to us, if Mr. Parker did "lay on himself prodigious labor to satisfy his conscientiousness in his biographical studies," as his editor says of him, that, as far as concerned the preparation of these lectures, he labored in vain, and spent his strength for naught.

There is one other matter of which Mr. Parker speaks which we think we ought not to pass by in silence, though we had much rather do so. Mr. Parker was not a man to call a spade anything but a spade. He is perfectly plain-spoken as to the immoralities of all his famous subjects in regard to women, with the honorable exception of John Adams. He is the first writer that we remember to have seen who has put in print the suggestion that "Washington himself" was not impeccable in this particular (p. 211)—a suggestion which he had better have spared if he had no better authority for it than the gossiping traditions which have come down to us, and were not ready to produce it. Franklin's own narrative certainly absolves all commentators from any squeamishness as to him. The colors in which he draws himself are dark enough, but Mr. Parker gives the picture a yet blacker hue. The figure which Franklin cuts in his own account of his breaking off his engagement with Miss Godfrey because her father could not give her enough money to pay off his debt to the printing-house, is mean and paltry enough (Sparks's "Franklin," i. 94), but far from being so ineffably base as Mr. Parker represents it. He says, after relating the above facts, "the bargain was broken off, though the woman in question soon became the mother of his only son." If Mr. Parker were alive and could prove this assertion, he would solve the one mystery about Franklin's life, to wit: who was the mother of William Franklin? It has baffled the curiosity of all other enquirers. Mr. Sparks assured us that he had looked it up in vain. The late eminent and lamented Alexander Dallas Bache, Franklin's great-grandson, also told us that he had failed to ascertain this fact, and considered it as past finding out at this day. A venerable lady, who died not much more than twenty years ago, who was married and living in Philadelphia when Franklin returned thither in 1785, who knew him well, and was a part of the society in which he lived, and who naturally heard all the gossip of that society about him (and there was plenty of it), assured us that she had never heard who the woman in question was, and did not believe that anybody knew it. It was probably one of the "low women" with whom he tells us that he intrigued in those days, and who died in obscurity and was forgotten before anybody took any interest in the question. We cannot believe, if there had been any foundation for Mr. Parker's statement, that it could have escaped the research of Mr. Sparks and Mr. Bache and fifty other enquirers, and are obliged to conclude that he had no sufficient authority for loading the memory of Franklin with this enormous aggravation of his despicable conduct, and still less for blackening the good name of poor Miss Godfrey after she had been for a century in her grave.

It is not a pleasant task to speak thus plainly of a work of so famous a man as Mr. Parker, whose memory is still warmly cherished by multitudes who regard him with mingled admiration and affection. When we opened the book we expected to have nothing but praise to bestow. Justice to ourselves as critics, and to the reading public, obliged us to show how very far its performance falls short of the expectations excited by the preface. We think that Mr. Parker's reputation as a man of accurate knowledge and original opinions will not be increased by the publication of this book, and that its editor would have consulted the fame of his friend better by putting the manuscript into the fire rather than by giving it to the press.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS.*

One of the most natural branches of the movement in ethical speculation set on foot by Buckle and Mill (in his essay on Liberty) has been a more careful examination of non-Christian morality, whether before or after the Christian era. Its relations to Christian morality (of which it appears to have been completely independent, and this is not the least of the puzzles in which the subject is involved) embrace many interesting and curious questions. It is a very prevalent opinion among Christian moralists that one of the great benefits of the Christian revelation was its conferring a divine sanction upon certain great elementary moral principles which had until then been but partially acknowledged, the wise and good men who held them having no *universal* authority or jurisdic-

* "Plutarch's Morals. Translated from the Greek by several hands. Corrected and revised by William W. Goodwin, Ph.D., Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. With an Introduction by Ralph Waldo Emerson." Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1870.

tion. One of the latest and neatest statements of this position may be found in "Ecce Homo." How far it can be reconciled, or if it can be reconciled at all, with the utilitarian theory of the origin of morals, is a nice point. Could we accept Mill as a typical specimen of the utilitarian, the question would seem to be pretty conclusively answered in the negative; but, as Professor John Grote has shown *passim* in his valuable and, alas! posthumous work, "On the Utilitarian Philosophy," Mill must be considered a very much modified utilitarian.

But, it may be asked, did Christianity introduce *no* moral novelty? And the reply that it *did* originate something in ethics, although apparently a contradiction to the position briefly noticed in our last paragraph, would not really be such. Christianity *might*, while confirming old moral precepts, introduce some new ones. The general opinion, however, at the present day is that it did not make any additions to the moral code. Even those who are most ready to admit emotional or metaphysical originalities of Christianity, who will allow, for instance, that it invented or discovered religious faith, usually deny that it evolved any new principle of morals. Nevertheless, we think that a plausible case might be made out in favor of the proposition that chastity, as a male virtue, and distinct from asceticism (with which it is often confounded), was, and is, a special product of Christianity.

But neither of these propositions, nor yet a combination of the two, would justify the notion once very popular, and not yet altogether exploded among divines and theologians, that heathen morality may be entirely disregarded and ignored by the ethical student on account of its vast inferiority to Christian morality. There are three *à priori* objections, independent of internal evidence, against such a conclusion. First, it is more in accordance with our conceptions of the Supreme Being that he should have vouchsafed some spiritual light to the world than that he should have left it so long in utter darkness. Secondly, it seems hardly credible that a totally immoral world should not have functioned even worse than the heathen world did. Thirdly, a denunciation so sweeping is likely to provoke reaction, if internal evidence should be found to contradict it in even a few particulars; and this is probably the reason, or one reason, why not only avowed sceptics, but persons who profess and call themselves orthodox Christians, have expressed qualified preferences for heathen morality.

We are, therefore, never sorry to see a translation or popularization of an ancient moralist; but, in the present case, our satisfaction is not unmitigated. In spite of his popularity as a biographer, Plutarch has not the very best name among scholars and critics. His style is often inelegant, his treatment of subjects is apt to be gossipy and diffuse. Though acute as a verbal critic (witness his explanation of the secondary meaning of Ἀρετή *), his filthy perversion of one of the sweetest passages in Theocritus, and his utter misappreciation of Aristophanes, demolish his pretensions as a literary critic; and his attack on Herodotus, like Croker's on Macaulay, may be called "an attempt at murder resulting in suicide." Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch all wrote Symposia. Every scholar has read Plato's "Banquet" in the original. Every man like Keats, Greek-minded, but not Greek-learned, has read Xenophon's "Banquet" at second-hand. But who, scholar or dilettante, reads Plutarch's "Feast of the Seven Wise Men," unless, as now, it is thrust into his face? And what is the natural reflection after reading all these? That Plato's guests are demigods, Xenophon's jolly good fellows, and Plutarch's very positive prigs, properly decorous, and, in many respects, deserving their epithet of wise, but in no respect exhilarating.

It is only proper to say this much, because the general reader might easily be misled by Emerson's glowing panegyric—a very gem of composition in the author's best manner—and when Emerson is at his best, what living writer of English prose can do better? The beauty of the edition may also well create a favorable prestige. Yet even here there is a certain sense of disappointment when we find that the "several hands" thus honored did their work as long ago as the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. From a merely literary point of view, indeed, this is hardly a disadvantage, much of the work being written in that quaint, nervous, fruity, Baconian English which makes us feel how little, after all, our language has gained in passing first through the Johnsonian and then through what we may call the newspaper stage. But many of the versions are only loose paraphrases, some are full of glaring errors, and the best contain many archaisms which tend to confuse their meaning. The mistakes, of course, can be, and have been, corrected; the modernizing of the archaisms is a delicate matter, in which Professor Goodwin has hardly been able to satisfy himself, judging from his preface; and as regards some of the essays, the attempt to patch them up reminds us of the notorious character who had a favorite oath, "God mend me!" which provoked a friend to say, "Mend you, indeed! It would be easier to make two new men." Still, as the preface justly remarks, 'No critical translation of these treatises is possible until a thorough revision of the text, with the help of the best manuscripts, has been made; and this is a task from which most scholars would shrink in dismay."

Whenever—if ever—this preliminary desideratum shall have been accomplished, the translator of Plutarch will at least be free from one difficulty which hampers all attempts to put some greater philosophers into a becoming English dress. In trying the experiment on Plato or Aristotle, we soon find that some of the fundamental and elementary words of their philosophy cannot be fitted with any constant and exhaustive English equivalent. Every schoolboy thinks he knows what *σοφός* and *σοφία* mean; *σοφός* is a wise man, and *σοφία* is wisdom. But, in fact, *wisdom* very inadequately expresses *σοφία*. The phrase "unlettered wisdom" is not a solecism in English; but the Sausage-Seller of the "Knights," who "had never learned the humanities," could not, under any circumstances, have been called *σοφός* (though he might be *δεινός*) because *σοφία* includes *ἐπιστήμη* as a necessary element. A distinguished scholar and teacher (Mr. Shilleto) was so struck with the inadequacy of the usual rendering, that he actually translated and taught his scholars to translate *σοφία* by *genius*. Of course, this was making the matter worse, for *genius* is even farther than *wisdom* from connoting *ἐπιστήμη*; but it shows to what straits a translator may be driven. Then take *ἐπιστήμη*. It means *science*, but so also (in another sense) does *μέθοδος*; and it embraces some things which our word *science* does not. *Acquired knowledge* is probably the best general rendering for it, but two words for one are a periphrasis, or a definition rather than a translation. Let us pass on to the other element of *σοφία*. *Νοῦς* we may consider Anglicized, at least as a bit of scholastic and literary slang; its Anglicized form, *nous*, instead of *nus*, seems to show its bodily importation. In this semi-slang sense it is taken to signify *sharpness* or *cleverness*. But the Greek word is something higher; it is *natural ability*. The fashionable translation of it is *intuition*; yet, if asked to express in Platonic Greek "he knew it by intuition," we should use some such word as *ἀνάμνησις*. *Φρόνησις*, roughly rendered by *prudence*, is another puzzling combination of the intellectual and the moral. Lastly, for *τέχνη* we can find nothing better than *art* or *design*, but they mean several things which it does not, and it involves at least one idea which they do not.

Little of this trouble in Plutarch. He is rarely metaphysical. The "Procreation of the Soul," and some of his polemical essays against the Stoics, are about the only exceptions to his usual simplicity. His morality takes a parænetic or homiletic turn. And this reminds us that a large portion of the large book before us, probably a full half, is not moral—that is, ethical—at all. "It need hardly be stated," says the editor, "that the name 'Morals' is used by tradition to include all the writings of Plutarch except the Lives." Even the exception is not unqualified, for there are Lives in the collection, though not *the* Lives. Indeed, the difficulty would be to say what of the then existing curriculum of knowledge these miscellaneous writings do *not* include. Some of them, as we have just intimated, are biographical; some are like memoranda for novelettes; some are physical, according to the physical notions then current; some are antiquarian, archæological, and philological disquisitions, such curious gossip as Aulus Gellius gives us in all its glory a few generations later. Many are dramatic dialogues, more or less on the Platonic model; and here it is worthy of remark how the narrative faculty (we might almost call it the gossiping tendency) in Plutarch gets the better of the dramatic element. Thus the discourse on the genius or inspiration of Socrates (commonly but most improperly called the *Demon* or *Dæmon*, as if it were a familiar spirit), has a little about Socrates and a great deal about the revolution in Thebes; and the "Banquet" winds up with the story of Arion, told in a manner which is not exactly an improvement on the original briefer narrative of Herodotus. The old saying, *omnes res et quædam aliæ*, is constantly brought to mind. One hardly expects an allusion to tobacco in Plutarch; the very mention of such a possibility sounds like a bad attempt at a joke; and yet the following will adapt itself very readily to the practice of some smokers:

"Now supposing those strong perfumes that are used by many men should prove offensive to their wives, would it not be a great piece of unnatural unkindness to discompose a woman with continual fits rather than deny himself a pleasure so trivial?"—*Conjugal Precepts.*

It is but fair to note that the purely moral element frequently starts up and asserts itself in the dialogue and elsewhere when we are not imme-

* In "How a Young Man ought to hear Poems."

diately expecting it, showing that the ethical sentiment was natural to the author, and not assumed for effect. And his conceptions both of private and public morals are for the most part accurately formed and clearly expressed. His lively, vigorous common-sense often reminds us of Xenophon, even if (also like Xenophon) he sometimes verges on commonplace. When we read such sentences as these, our admiration of their spirit is tempered only by regret that they should be as necessary—and as unheeded—now as then:

"Then saith Solon . . . I hold that state happy and likely to remain democratic, in which those that are not personally injured are yet as forward to question and correct wrong as the person who is more immediately wronged. Bias added, Where all fear the law as they fear a tyrant [as they would fear an autocrat]. Thales said, Where the citizens are neither too rich nor too poor. Anacharsis said, Where, though in all other respects they are equal, yet virtuous men are advanced and vicious persons degraded. Cleobulus said, Where the rulers fear reproof and shame more than the law. Pittacus said, Where bad men are prohibited from ruling, and good men from not ruling. Chilo, pausing a little while, determined that the best and most desirable state where the subject minded the law most and the orators least."—*Banquet.*

What would a conclave of leading editors and politicians make of the above? Would it be Greek indeed to them or "Heathen Chinee"? Would they understand it sufficiently to pronounce it a collection of glittering generalities or sickly sentimentalities, something very dreamy and unpractical?

And these passages, though less startling, are sufficiently striking:

"Solon thought that house most happy where the estate was got without injustice, kept without distrust, and spent without repentance. . . . Thales held that home most happy where the master had most leisure and respite from business."—*Banquet.*

"Besides, I find, by my own observation, that those persons who make it their business to speak so as to deserve the favor and approbation of the scum of the people, ordinarily live at a suitable rate [on a corresponding scale?] voluptuously and intemperately. And there is reason for it. For they who have no regard to what is honest, so they make provision for other men's pleasures, will surely not be any propense to prefer what is right and wholesome before that which gratifies their own inordinate pleasures and luxurious inclinations."—*Training of Children.*

Yet, in spite of many such passages, we cannot regard this beautiful edition without a certain feeling of sadness. As we view its almost gorgeous binding and its lovely large type, reflecting meanwhile how little has been done to popularize Plato or acclimatize Aristotle, we cannot but regret that a little of the luxury lavished on Plutarch could not have been spared for his betters.

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The Week.

If any one is still in the dark as to why the majority of people in France are distrustful of the Republic, and prone to seek repose under despotism, we advise him to read carefully the history of the last week. We are now witnessing the natural and unavoidable consequence of not summoning a National Assembly immediately after the fall of the Empire. Nothing but a certainty of success could have justified rational men in prosecuting the war without the authority or support of some recognized embodiment of the national will, because —and this consideration seems too obvious to have escaped notice—in case of defeat there would be nobody competent to make peace, or willing to take the responsibility of making the concessions necessary to secure peace. Defeat has now come, and the National Assembly *has* to be summoned, but it is summoned under the most humiliating conditions—that is to say, by Prussian permission, and under Prussian protection. And now comes into full prominence the inherent falsehood and absurdity of the "Government of National Defence." Gambetta was sent out, appropriately enough, in a balloon, to act as Minister of War and organize armies for the relief of Paris. He at once went to work to call out the levies provided by the law of 1867, and got them out. He formed two armies, of raw farm-boys, officered them in large part with privates and non-commissioned officers of the regular army, and sent them immediately against the enemy. They have been beaten easily, until of late the Prussians have dispersed them with artillery, as they might disperse a mob, and capture them by brigades, Gambetta all the while shrieking defiance. Paris has fallen, and the "Government of National Defence" has done at last what it ought to have done at first, called on the French people to express its will with regard to the prosecution of the war. Gambetta, however, is determined to go on doing what he calls "fighting to the death;" and as one "Government of National Defence" is as good as another, and as a committee formed in the streets in Bordeaux is as competent as a committee formed in the streets of Paris, he set up Government No. 2 in the former city, whose business it was to carry on the war, even if the Paris Government made peace. Moreover, Gambetta, though only Minister of War under Government No. 1, under Government No. 2 assumed the functions of Minister of the Interior, and issued decrees defining the qualifications of candidates for the National Assembly. Nay, more—inasmuch as the National Assembly is to be a constitutional assembly, intended to set up a government where none exists, his prescribing to the constituencies whom they may elect indicated that he considered himself the Minister of Eternal Justice.

The probable effect of all this on the deliberations of the Assembly is, of course, obvious. The Republic was never likely to find much favor with it, or, if set up, to be set up for any better reason than that there was less diversity of sentiment about it than about anything else. But after the display which its leading advocates have been making of themselves, and the termination to which they have managed to bring the war, there is not much likelihood of its permanent establishment. Men who in the presence of the enemy split one provisional government into two, and who, after a series of defeats unparalleled in history and without the simulacrum of an army left, propose to fight on, are hardly likely to have much weight attached to their recommendations. Even if the Republic is established, it will doubtless be a conservative Republic, and the radicals will go to work to denounce it and plot against it; and it will go to work to strengthen itself by restoring the standing army and drawing tight once more the reins of centralization, and so on. We have sketched the probabilities more than once, but any one who is familiar with the history of the last forty years of French history can sketch them for himself. The first thing to be done now would seem to be to lock Gambetta up, and yet, if he were locked up he would become a glorious martyr. Who can help feeling sympathy for Jules Favre, who, in spite of an unfortunate tendency to cry over spilt milk, seems to have preserved his senses and his unselfishness? But he will unquestionably be before long, if he has not been already, added to the long list of French "traitors."

Although the French have certainly the strongest claims upon our charity, it ought not to be forgotten that the Germans are suffering deeply too. They have lost terribly in action and through the hardships of campaigning, and their losses are made all the more painful by the fact that their Landwehr, who are nearly all married men, have been in the field ever since Gravelotte. The Kummer division, which, finding itself assailed by a superior force at Bazaine's last great sortie, on the 17th of October, and the gaining of time being imperative, set its back to the wall and died *en masse* as it stood, was composed almost altogether of fathers of families. The misery wrought by one such day it is not in human power to calculate. Moreover, the Germans have had to support 400,000 French prisoners, a vast number of them sick and wounded—a burden before unknown in war. We must remind sensible people, too, once more, of the absurdity and injustice of the outcry raised against the Germans on account of their exactions and devastations. This outcry is heard against every invading army in every war; and it is raised in each war with as much vigor as if the world had never heard of war before, and as if "requisitions" and "contributions" and plundering were novelties in warfare, and as if the fact that these things are and have always been the inseparable accompaniments of war is not foremost among the reasons which make good and thoughtful men willing to move heaven and earth to avoid war. An invader inevitably becomes cruel and exacting as hostilities go on. He becomes so in the interest of his own safety. When men are dying at the rate of a thousand a day, and the fate of a nation is trembling in the balance, a peasant's roof-tree, or his horse, or his haystacks, become mere bagatelles. It must always be so. The North wasted and wrecked in the South when anything was to be gained by wrecking and wasting. The proper objects of denunciation for all these horrors are, therefore, not the Germans, or any other belligerent troops, but the wretches of all nations who foster the war spirit, and seek the solution of international controversies, not in reason, but in the wild impulses of their own savage and tumultuous breasts.

Excepting the theatre of the war in the East, all hostilities ceased in France immediately after the conclusion of the armistice which surrendered Paris. We hear, it is true, of the occupation of Abbeville by the Prussians without a fight, and of some movements in the vicinity of Yvetot, but all these took place within the limits dividing their forces from those of the French, according to that agreement. The troops of Frederic Charles and Chanzy—the only French general who has preserved something like an army—are separated by a line drawn from a point on the Channel between Honfleur and Caen to a point on the Loire between Tours—now the headquarters of the Prince—and Angers. In the East, fighting was continued in the vicinity of Pontarlier, in the Department of Doubs, General Manteuffel repeatedly assailing the rear-guard of the retreating French, and capturing nineteen pieces of artillery and fifteen thousand prisoners, and "nests of eagles," while the bulk of what was formerly Bourbaki's army—about sixty thousand—crossed the Swiss frontier and laid down arms chiefly in the Canton of Neufchâtel (in German Neuenburg, which our Cable reports, or their expounders, most ludicrously mixed up with "Neuenburg, on the Baden side of the Rhine") .Garibaldi's command, too, seems to be broken up. This continuation of the fighting was loudly complained of at Bordeaux before the exact tenor of the Versailles armistice was known there; and some of our daily papers even now write explanatory and apologetic remarks about it, after having given, in abstract and in full, the text of the armistice, including these words: "Military ope-

rations in the territory comprising the Departments of Doubs, Jura, and Côte d'Or, as well as the siege of Belfort, will continue independent of the armistice until an agreement is arrived at regarding the line of demarcation, the tracing of which through the three departments mentioned is reserved for an ulterior understanding." This supplementary agreement is now reported to have been concluded.

The most important communications concerning the political situation in France arrive from Bordeaux, where Gambetta and his followers seem to be inclined to keep or to put up an executive machinery independent of the majority of the Government of National Defence, remaining in Paris. On receiving the first despatch from Favre, announcing the armistice, Gambetta, expressing the "country's feverish anxiety" about it, telegraphed to Paris that he "could not order the elections for the National Assembly without further explanations." Soon after, he issued a proclamation to the people urging the necessity of "continuing with unrelaxed vigor the organization for defence, and for war, if necessary," and of "installing a National Republican Assembly, willing to make such a peace only as is compatible with the honor, rank, and integrity of France;" and also a decree ordering the elections for the 8th, but disqualifying as candidates all members of the Bourbon, Orléans, and Bonaparte families, as well as all persons who, under the Second Empire, acted as ministers or councillors of state, senators, prefects, or official candidates. This disqualification clause was protested against by twelve opposition journals at Bordeaux, and, as it seems, by public opinion in the North generally; disavowed by Jules Simon, who arrived in that city soon after its publication; ignored in the corresponding election decree issued by Jules Favre in Paris; declared by Bismarck contrary to the stipulation of the armistice; and finally annulled by a special decree signed by all the members of the Paris Government, and maintaining the supreme authority of the latter. Gambetta, however, defended his ordinance, as "frustrating the plans and insolent pretensions of Bismarck and his Imperialist accomplices," and issued a declaration maintaining the electoral disqualifications, and signed by himself, Glais-Bizoin, Fourichon, and Crémieux, who has since left for Paris, to explain the state of things. The Paris Government, on the other hand, is reported to have finally withdrawn all the powers of the Bordeaux Delegation. Amidst all this confusion, the elections (for 753 deputies) were to be held on the 8th, and the National Assembly to be opened on the 12th.

It is certainly of evil augury for the speedy conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace that the National Assembly is to hold its sittings at Bordeaux, a city with an excitable southern population, yet untouched and almost unthreatened by the war,and fired with the reckless patriotism of the Gambetta faction. Scarcely had the news of the surrender of Paris reached the capital of the Gironde when its municipality protested "against peace on any dishonorable terms," and implored the Delegation to remain at their post. A few days later a public meeting was held, in which a Committee of Public Safety was nominated for the future government of France, including Gambetta, Louis Blanc, and Rochefort. Whether these three, of whom the first thunders against "the insolence" of the German Chancellor, the second called the Prussian King "the Attila of the nineteenth century," and the third announces a new journal which "will advocate regicide," were thus chosen to carry on peace negotiations with Bismarck and William, or immediately to renew the war with them, is not stated. Another mass-meeting formally called upon Gambetta "to accept the Presidency of a Committee of Public Safety, and prosecute the war to the death." And if there be truth in the Cable report of a response made by the Prefect of the Department, in the name of Gambetta, to a later demonstration, that member of the Delegation will hardly be inclined to listen to the peaceful advice of the members of the Paris Government, who are to appear at Bordeaux to justify their conduct before the Assembly—a motley gathering, which it may not be impossible to terrorize into an attitude opposed both to the will and the interest of the people. However, it may be unjust to judge the intentions of Gambetta by his words. The populace of Lyons, with Bourbaki's defeat and Manteuffel's army before it, talks like that of Bordeaux, and clamors for the "Commune."

The cities of the North, however, loudly declare in favor of peace. That Paris, too, desires peace, in spite of all clamors to the contrary, cannot be doubted. In that capital, care for the opening of new supplies and preparations for the election engross all thoughts. All shades of parties seem to be active, and we hear of different electoral tickets, embracing "Reds" like Félix Pyat, Rochefort, and Delescluze; radicals like Victor Hugo, Garibaldi, Quinet, and Gambetta; moderate republicans like Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Picard, Pelletan, Emanuel Arago, Garnier-Pagès, and Jules Ferry; and monarchists like Thiers, Changarnier, and Keller. A report, which may or may not be founded on impartial observation, has it that "neither the Government of National Defence, nor the Red Republicans, nor the Imperialists have any chance of carrying the elections," and that "the public favor the moderate party"—which means the Orleanists. In the interest of the latter, the Duc d'Aumale has issued an address to the French electors, in which he reserves his opinion as to peace or war, speaks of the advantages of monarchy for France, draws a contrast between the France ruled by his father, Louis Philippe, and the France of to-day—a contrast which it required but too little skill to bring out—and declares his determination to be faithful to the Republic should the nation resolve to retain it. Trochu has declined to stand as a candidate, while Garibaldi is reported ready to represent Nice, his native land—which,with a consistency peculiarly his own, he will probably reclaim from France in case this country re-erects the throne. No opposition to the elections seems to be made by the Germans, even in the districts which they are determined to sever from France. The conditions of peace they mean to impose upon their prostrate neighbors are still kept secret, and the Emperor William not only speaks of the possibility of the war being renewed, but actually calls out fresh reserves—which is probably meant as an answer to the taunts from Bordeaux. Paris, which surrendered nineteen hundred pieces of artillery and about one hundred and eighty thousand regulars, marines, and Mobiles—besides the National Guard—has to pay for the armistice forty million dollars, and may soon have to pay more, possibly much more, for peace.

Foreigners have in the meantime but one duty, and that is, to do what they can to relieve the awful suffering caused by the war. A committee of the Chamber of Commerce has, we are glad to see, been formed in this city to collect and take charge of and forward contributions of all kinds, including supplies and seed for sowing the crops in spring, of which whole districts are now destitute. A similar movement has been begun in Boston. Of course, contributions in kind will take a good while to collect and forward; but in the meantime $10,000 have been placed at the disposal of Mr. Washburne by telegraph, and we trust other sums will rapidly follow. Money is what is most of all needed, and for the simple reason that money will bring speediest relief to the suffering. For the seed for their farms they can wait for some weeks; but food they must have now. We can only say that the reports of the agents sent out by the English for the relief of the peasantry in the rear of the hostile armies more than confirm the stories told by newspaper correspondents of their privations. They have in many places been fought over, then levied on by the Prussians, and levied on by their own armies, and informally robbed by the Francs-Tireurs. Nothing but prompt succor will prevent famine and pestilence next year. It must not be forgotten, too, that nobody's opinions as to the origin of the war ought to affect his action in the matter of relief. Congress has passed a resolution requesting the Government to furnish national ships for the conveyance of the supplies, which is an excellent idea; but the project was near being marred by an unseemly discussion as to whether we were more indebted to the French or Germans, the idea of some senators being apparently that acts of Christian charity should never be done except as a *quid pro quo*, and that whenever you are asked to do any helpless or suffering person a kindness, you should look in your diary and see whether he had ever done you a kindness, and then strike a balance, and see whether there was anything coming to him.

The admission of Mr. Joshua Hill as rightful Senator from Georgia has been the most marked event of the week in the Senate. The majority which ordered this simple act of justice was a large one, and Mr. Hill's colleague, Mr. Miller, will doubtless soon take his seat beside him. The Senate has passed the Consular and Diplomatic and the West Point Appropriation Bills, and a useful bill from the House to protect the food fishes on the coasts of the United States. On Wednesday week, the House, after a turbulent debate, virtually abolished the iron-clad oath for persons not constitutionally disabled from holding office. On Thursday, it very properly refused to extend the time for building the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railway, thereby saving the country a million of acres; but on Monday it gave a chance of success to the Southern Pacific Railway, by taking it from the Speaker's table. The Judiciary Committee has reported adversely to the McGarrahan claim, and one could wish that this might be the end of the swindle.

The Statement of the National Debt on the 1st of February shows a reduction of four millions on the net total of indebtedness. The bonded debt has been diminished nearly eleven millions, and the accrued interest reduced fourteen millions, making an apparent reduction of twenty-five millions, but as twenty-one millions of these were paid out of cash resources previously on hand, the real reduction out of surplus revenues is only four millions. The coin now in the Treasury, belonging to the Government, is sixty-seven millions, against which it owes twenty-one millions of accrued interest, leaving forty-six millions as the accumulation of coin upon which some persons base their anticipations of an early resumption of specie payments. The currency balance is nearly six millions lower than last month, which is a move in the right direction, reducing somewhat the extravagant amount of cash lying idle in the Treasury vaults, while we are paying six per cent. coin interest on the bonds. The Secretary's financial programme indicates a continued adherence to the wise policy of reducing the cash balances, since he proposes to sell only four millions of gold while buying six millions of bonds; so that, from this alone, his cash balance is likely to be diminished at least two millions. There is no good reason why it should not be reduced fifteen or sixteen millions more.

The very best thing the advocates of the San Domingo Annexation scheme could do to push it, would be to get England to entertain a secret hankering after it, or, failing England, Prussia or Spain. The report that Bismarck was determined to have it was worth any money as long as it lasted; but it reached the rascal's ears at last, and he has accordingly written over, declaring he has not the least desire for it or any other territory on this side the Atlantic. This is very awkward; but is there no consolation to be found in the fact that Bismarck is a very unscrupulous person, and does not mind what he says? In the meantime, we have some ships of war at Hayti, whose mission, it appears, is to warn the Haytians not to interfere, on pain of being bombarded—a not unnecessary precaution, as it was undoubtedly the interference of the Haytians which prevented the consummation of the last Spanish occupation. The Haytian opposition is, unfortunately, hardly sufficient to rouse popular feeling on the subject. On the whole, we think it may be said that the annexation plan, as far as it has yet gone, is one of the least creditable transactions in diplomatic history. The letter of Admiral Lee, in command of the United States ships off the island, recommending annexation at any cost, is one of the most objectionable passages in the story.

A jury has been found, in Ohio, to convict a husband of manslaughter for murdering a man whom he suspected of seducing his wife. He prepared for the crime with great deliberation, chose his pistol carefully, and practised with it the day before. The defence was, as usual, insanity; but it broke down. There were the usual scenes in court, but the fact that he was not acquitted in triumph as "a guardian of the family" shows that public sentiment is improving. He has gone to jail for ten years, with hard labor.

Somebody—"a valued friend"—wrote to the New York *Tribune*, from Washington, arguing against the absurd plan now proposed of reviving American shipping by levying duties on shipbuilding materials, and then handing the money over to ship-owners to enable them to sail the ships, which, without this aid, they could not do. He suggested that, instead of this, these duties should not be levied, and, the shipbuilders being thus enabled to build ships more cheaply, the ship-owners would not need subsidies. To this the *Tribune* replies, that it is opposed to this plan because it would not be "effectual" (whatever this may mean), and would "encourage smuggling," and would give "the lower class of demagogues an excellent lever for upsetting our whole tariff system, by crying out, 'Farmers, why should *you* not have your iron free, etc., as well as these millionaire ship-owners, etc.?'" There is no doubt it would; but then there is nearly as much mischief in mentioning this as in doing it. "The lower class of demagogues" can also demand subsidies, by parity of reasoning, for the farmers as well as free iron. For instance, most farmers now find it very hard work to make ends meet, particularly in New England. With a subsidy of say one hundred dollars an acre, every farm in the East would pay beautifully. So we shall have the Demagogues saying, "Farmers, is it not as important that your fields should bear crops as that the bloated ship-owners of New York should plough the ocean with their fleets?—and yet Old Greeley is willing to pay them large salaries out of the public treasury for following their own business, while to you he is not willing to give a cent. How long, Farmers—how long"—etc., etc.

Money is very easy, but not readily obtainable for new investments. Stocks are higher but not active; Government bonds firm. The risks of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Life Insurance Co., recently suspended, have been transferred to another company, approved by the Superintendent of the Department at Albany, so that the insured are better off than was at first anticipated. Real estate continues in a rather unsatisfactory condition, but without any positive decline, and in some instances even at an advance. Sales, however, are very restricted, few new buildings are contemplated, and the tendency of rents is apparently downward. The great coal strike continues, and is now alarming the railroads and the iron-furnace owners, several of which latter have suspended operations, nominally in consequence of the deficient supply of coal, but in reality, probably, because the business has not for some time past been over-profitable. The earnings of some of the roads, especially those which are not themselves owners of large coal properties, are materially reduced by the strike, and their whole business deranged. But so far, no one has been able to suggest any relief, and the first and only sign of a prospect of any change is the departure last week of a colony of Welsh miners from the Lehigh region to some of the newly-discovered coal-fields in the Western States. The production of coal for 1870 is more than two million tons, over twelve and one-half per cent. in excess of consumption. No amount of striking can permanently remedy such an evil. There have been some failures in the provision trade, especially among the butter speculators, but on the whole trade seems to be steadily gaining in regularity and stability.

The general business of the country continues fair but light, and some disappointment is expressed at the very quiet tone of all trade. But the latter is unquestionably due to the cessation of speculation of almost every description, which has been freshly illustrated by the complete indifference with which the surrender of Paris has been everywhere received. Breadstuffs and provisions, which were to advance enormously, have, instead, rather declined, while cotton has been weak and lower. The demand for bills for remittance to Europe has been slightly in excess of the supply, and a moderate amount of gold has had to be sent instead. The premium has, in consequence, advanced one and one-half to two per cent., and a feeling is growing up that large shipments are in prospect. The drain of coin from England to the Continent is thought by many to be only temporarily suspended, and to be subject to an early renewal, which might have the effect of compelling enlarged shipments from here, and an advance in the premium. But the condition of the foreign exchanges, though as yet far from healthy, is sounder now that at any time since the war at this season of the year.

THE WEST POINT TROUBLES.

The state of things at the West Point Academy, though on the surface it is only a question of military education, really throws fresh light on some of our most puzzling political problems. We do not mean to say that it offers any aid in solving them, but it certainly helps us to an understanding of their real nature; and no doubt it may be said that this *does* promise to render their solution all the easier. The school has had a brilliant and yet somewhat unfortunate history. It has proved a first-class instrument for the training of soldiers, but it also proved, in the days of slavery, a nursery of pro-slavery sentiment. This was by no means surprising, considering the extent to which this sentiment pervaded society, the church, the schools, and colleges, and associations of all kinds, all over the country, especially as the Academy always contained a large and by no means timid or retiring Southern element; and considering, too, that in the art of war obedience occupies the same exalted position among the virtues that it had of necessity to occupy in pro-slavery sociology. It is not possible, indeed, to make a man a good soldier without making him deeply sensible of its value and importance; and when we say that in all modern democratic societies, and more particularly in that of the United States, obedience has not only lost the character of a virtue, but is rapidly assuming that of a discreditable weakness, if not of a vice, we indicate in a very few words the great difficulty which the West Point school, or any school similarly organized, must always have in maintaining itself in a community like ours.

The school was getting rid of its unfortunate pro-slavery troubles, and was in a fair way of profiting by the splendid part its graduates had played in the war, and by the stern lesson of the importance of order and discipline which the war had given to a vast body of young men of all classes and conditions, when it encountered another difficulty which it has not yet surmounted, and which there is no knowing whether it will be able to surmount. The anti-slavery agitation had two effects on the popular or—if we may make the distinction—on the political mind of the country. It did a great deal—did what, perhaps, no other agency would have done—to clear people's conceptions as to the proper bases of the social organization. It gave the ideas of justice, equality, and human brotherhood a lodgment in the national conscience which they perhaps could not otherwise have secured without centuries of preaching and learning. But it also presented the world with the spectacle of a tremendous social and political revolution achieved within the lifetime of a single generation by the plainest and simplest presentation of a few homely moral truths. It was conducted without art, or method, or even tact. It won through sheer courage and persistence. It owed nothing to learning, skill, or discipline. It consequently fell in with and helped greatly to strengthen a tendency which has been growing rapidly ever since the application of steam to locomotion led to the growth of what may be called a great pioneer population at the West, and to an unprecedented influx of ignorant immigrants from Europe: the tendency to underrate learning, skill, and discipline, and to treat them as the instruments or toys of a worn-out civilization—the devices of privileged classes to justify their own monopoly of the work of government or direction—which has had a strong influence in lowering the character of the judiciary and the bar as well as of the legislatures.

The great success of the agitation, too, brought to the front and gave a powerful control over affairs to a class which we have taken the liberty of calling Sentimentalists for short, but who might more correctly be called "*à priori* politicians," and whose leading peculiarities we have more than once sketched. One of these is hostility to or profound distrust of *training* of all kinds. Some of them are really philanthropists who have been overpowered by the fumes of transcendentalism, but they have been reinforced by a larger body of mere ignoramuses, who delight in the *à priori* system not so much because they believe in an inner light as because it exacts no qualifications of anybody, and permits of no distinctions except those based on each man's account of the condition of his own heart. The influence of this party on legislation we have often described in the columns of the *Nation*. The badness of its effects on the character of politicians and on the administrative system it would be difficult to exaggerate. It is the great obstacle to a reform in the bar, in the judiciary, in the civil service, in the prisons, and to rational temperance legislation. It has begotten the Woman's Rights agitation—which is a different thing from woman's rights—and by its general hostility to tests, and to all systems of accountability, it may be held indirectly responsible for much of the prevailing political and commercial corruption.

In this class the West Point Academy finds, it need hardly be said, an uncompromising and jealous foe, eager for its destruction as a bad relic of a bad state of things. The entrance of the colored cadet into the school was, therefore, more than the assertion of the rights of an oppressed race; it was to be a test which was to reveal the rotten moral condition of the institution. It must be admitted that, considering the state of feeling about colored people among the white population of the country at large, from the bosom of which the white cadets come, it was a pretty severe test. The number of white persons in the United States who are willing to or who do in practice associate with colored persons on terms of perfect equality might, we venture to say, be contained in one room of moderate size, so that in asking the cadets to receive the new-comer with perfect cordiality, we were asking them for a display of self-control, not to say of moral heroism, of which, unfortunately, their fathers and mothers and uncles and aunts have not as yet shown themselves capable. It is not quite fair, it must be remembered, to cite against the West Point students the example of the comfort and equality enjoyed by colored students at Yale and Harvard and some others of the non-professional schools. In all of these a student's life is a very independent one. He eats, or it may be sleeps, where he pleases, and need never meet his classmates except at recitation. The relation in which students stand to each other may be, therefore, and in the majority of cases *is*, one of mere acquaintanceship. At West Point, on the contrary, the college takes complete possession of the student, and forces him to eat, sleep, and sit, and march in close contact, with all his fellows, and cuts him off, except under certain stringent restrictions, from all intercourse with the world outside, and this on an isolated plateau remote from any large town or city. A disagreeable mate becomes, under such circumstances, doubly disagreeable, and the prejudices and idiosyncrasies which forced companionship always brings out, are developed and strengthened. We are not now passing any judgment on the treatment experienced by Cadet Smith. We have no doubt his position has been very trying, and his treatment hard to bear. One only needs a little knowledge of human nature to know this; but it is unjust to throw the blame of it all on West Point or the West Point system. The root of his troubles is to be found in public opinion. When we see colored people generally rated in society as they ought to be, and as white people are, by their looks, and manners, and education, and character, we shall have a right to be uncompromising in our condemnation of the position of the white cadets towards Smith, but hardly any sooner. The easiest remedy to apply would be the break-up of the barrack system, and the relegation of the students to their own control, except at stated hours; but the difficulty in the way of this is, that the object of discipline, in the military sense, is, first, the formation of certain habits, and, secondly, the impressing on the mind the importance of small details—important in all pursuits, but nowhere so important as in war—and neither of these things seems possible without taking entire possession of the pupil.

The Congressional investigation which has just taken place into the outrage committed on three students of the first class by their fellows, has brought out into strong light the nature of the influence exercised on the Academy by "politics." "Politics" has, in fact, brought its discipline to the lowest possible ebb. In the first place, if we are correctly informed, the present superintendent not only was not entitled to his place in virtue of his acquirements—he graduated very low, almost the lowest in his class—but he owed it mainly to the early adhesion of a relative to the famous "policy" of Mr. Andrew Johnson, and the school has with his advent been removed from the management of the Engineers, in whose hands it has always hitherto been, and in whose hands, as the most highly trained body of officers in the profession, it ought always to remain. This is bad enough; but, in the second

place, the influence of individual Congressmen at Washington on the War Department has practically deprived the officers of the institution of the power of enforcing discipline. In a large number of cases of late —twenty-two, it is said, but we will not vouch for the exact number— sentences of court-martial have been set aside by the War Department on the demand of "men inside politics," and the culprits sent back to their duty. This abuse has been perpetrated, as might have been expected, notably in the interest of liars. Lying is a serious moral and social offence; it is a still more serious military offence. No liar can be tolerated in a body which has to rely so strongly for its comfort and credit on the honor and self-respect of its members as the army officers. It is destructive of character and discipline, and would, at the school, double the work of supervision. Officers and sentries have to take the word of cadets as to their observance of a good many rules, and probably nothing does more to keep up the moral tone of the institution and enable it, in spite of the prevalence of certain other vices, to produce the one body of public servants who have for a century served the Government unto death, without cheating it or stealing from it, than the pains taken to secure truth-telling. "Politicians," however, look on lying as a very trifling offence; most of them lie consumedly; it plays a prominent part among the tools of their trade. Sentimentalists, too, have no great horror of it. Indeed, if a man "is sound on the main question," whatever it may happen to be, they will excuse a great deal of lying; and some of their most honored and admired members are notoriously mendacious. Their very system, indeed—and particularly that feature of it which consists in ignoring facts—helps to form a habit of untruthfulness.

The readiness with which Congressmen and others rush to the War Department and obtain the remission of sentences passed for this offence is, therefore, easily understood. The cadets have, consequently, been reduced to despair with regard to its suppression by the constituted authorities, and, in their despair, some members of the first class carried three delinquents off to the mountains in the night, and warned them not to return. It was a gross outrage, but here, again, the sin and shame lie not so much with the young men who have committed the outrage, as with the community which permits its leading educational institution to remain in the control of the worthies whose nominees fill the civil service. If we are going to have reform, therefore, let it be thorough. These Congressional investigations are a sorry and disreputable farce. They cannot restore discipline. The committees are sent out by and report to a body which hates discipline. If we went to Yale, or Harvard, or any other leading college of the country, and asked their managers whether they thought they could conduct them to the promotion of sound learning and good morals and manners if subject to the same kind of supervision as that from which West Point suffers, they would answer unanimously and emphatically no; and we have no hesitation in predicting for West Point, as long as it forms part of the party "spoils," a steady and uninterrupted decline. Unless some means of delivering it from Congressional influence—a reform in the civil service would do it—can be devised, it were far better its work were undertaken by some of the existing universities which have absolute control of their own funds and rules.

THE MAJORITY IN FRANCE.

It is calculated that the peasantry, or at least the inhabitants of the rural districts either engaged in agriculture or in occupations closely connected with agriculture, form three-fourths of the population, and, therefore, of the voters of France. They will, consequently, probably exercise a larger influence not only on the composition but on the policy of the coming Constituent Assembly than any other class, and it is likely to be greater at this election than at any other which has preceded it, owing to the derangement of the administrative machinery through the war. When this machinery was in good working order, the peasantry voted, under the dictation of the Government for the time being—in 1848, for instance, under the direction of the republican commissaires, of whom Emile Ollivier was one, despatched from Paris for the purpose; and in 1852, and ever since, under the direction of the imperial prefects and maires. This explains the fact that the party in power in France has always an enormous majority in its favor whenever it submits any question to the people. M. Gambetta would now have an enormous majority in his favor if he had the machinery in good repair. Its partial paralysis over two-thirds of the country makes it probable that the peasantry will this time be more influenced in casting their ballots by their own hopes, fears, and prejudices, and by the advice of the curés, than they have ever been before. Their mental and moral condition is, therefore, just now a subject of considerable interest.

The hopes which the French liberals began to entertain in 1869, under the influence of three or four victories achieved in the rural districts over official candidates, of effecting a peaceful change in the character of the Government through the ballot-box, led to a good deal of discussion of the peasantry from the political point of view; and in the course of this discussion an interesting little volume was produced on the subject by M. Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, a member of the Institute and a distinguished Liberal member both of the Chamber of Deputies under the Orleanists and of the National Assembly before the *coup d'état*. He wrote with special reference to the elections then pending, and his observations have, of course, since then gained rather than lost in value. From them we shall try to give some idea of what the condition of rural life in France is.

As regards religion, no generalization would be accurate. There is the greatest difference in the strength of the religious sentiment in different parts of the country. In the neighborhood of the great towns it can hardly be said to exist; on the other hand, in the remoter districts, such as Bretagne, there remains to this day the old intensity of, and, we may add, the old unity of, belief. There are here no sects. The population is wholly Catholic and bigotedly Catholic. In other districts, where Protestants are to be found in large numbers, the effect of the division on the religious feeling of the community varies considerably. In old Poitou, for instance—the region around the beloved Rochelle of the Huguenots—where the fires of fanaticism on both sides once burnt so fiercely, the Protestants are now generally sceptical, and the Catholics indifferent. On the other hand, go into Alsace and Lorraine, where the Germanic element predominates in the population, and we find strong and deep religious feeling combined with complete toleration. Protestants and Catholics live in perfect harmony in the same villages. In the valleys of the Cevennes, on the contrary, the religious hates are still fierce and bitter, and are intensified by political differences. Through the greater part of rural France, however, Protestants are unknown outside the towns, and the Catholicism is neither very warm nor very cold. The peasant women are, almost universally, at least regular in their attention to church ordinances—those who are not really pious being kept to their duty by public opinion, or, more correctly, by the sharp tongues of their neighbors, who, if a woman failed to take the sacrament, for instance, would be sure to impute it to her inability to get absolution from the curé for some mortal sin.

The men are tolerably diligent church-goers, and for much the same reasons which influence the bulk of church-goers here. Some go from habit, others under the influence of sincere belief, and all in order to make a little break in the monotony of life. There are few peasants, however, who are not superstitious, even if not religious. The most indifferent and sceptical get their cattle blessed by the priest once a year, and are pretty sure to meet the devil now and then either in the shape of a wolf, or of a grey dog, or a black cow, or a white hen, in a wood, or a ruined castle, or other lonely place. The influence of the priest is great, though perhaps not as great as is commonly supposed. He is usually the only man of any education in the commune with whom the peasant comes in contact—that is, the only man competent to give advice or explanation on the few moral and social problems by which the peasant mind is troubled. The priest, too, it must be admitted, not only connives at but encourages superstitious observances and beliefs, his horror of rationalism leading him to regard the state of mind which generates them, if not as religious, as, at least, a great help to religion.

The peasant can hardly be said to have any education. In spite of the efforts of M. Guizot and M. Duruy, the public schools are few and

far between. In the districts which need them most, they can hardly be said to exist, and they are everywhere largely in the hands of the priests, and are, therefore, rather nurseries of Catholic doctrine than instruments of secular education. The want of all sense of the value and importance of instruction among the parents, and the absence of any display of interest in its diffusion on the part of the state and the clergy, make the attendance of the children even on such schools as exist very irregular, and the scraps of knowledge they pick up are, in the total absence of books and periodicals, rapidly forgotten. There does not exist in France anything like the cheap periodical literature of this country or of England, and every obstacle has been thrown by the Government in the way of the creation of one, so that neither books nor papers can be said to find their way out of the great towns. There are but few villages in which one would find anything but almanacs, song-books for the men, and perhaps a few hymn-books for the women. The consequence is that there is found to be no relation in many of the departments between the number of boys who attend school and the number of literate young men among the conscripts. A philanthropic gentleman, M. Jean Macé, recently attempted to set on foot an organized system of communal (town) libraries, but want of funds, want of a room for the books, and of volunteer librarians to take charge of them, and the difficulty of choosing books which the government and the church would both approve of, have thus far prevented his success. Indeed, it may be said that "the Man of Sedan" threw every possible obstacle in the way of anything which promised to increase the mental activity of the rural districts, well knowing it would be fatal to him and his régime.

If the men are ignorant, the women are still more ignorant. If the peasant boys get but little schooling, the peasant girls get none. The ideas current among the French peasantry as to woman's proper position in society would cause a woman's suffrage convention to dash their chignons on the floor and rend their velvet gowns. She is the mere servant of her husband. She scrubs, and cooks, and washes, and works by his side, if need be, in the fields. She waits at table when there are several males in the family, and only eats her meals after her own son has finished his. If there is wine brought up to treat a guest, no glass is ever set for her. She speaks of her husband as "the master," and obeys him loyally and implicitly. He, too, finds her company tolerably dull, and though he is on the whole kind to her, and peasant marriages are, everything considered, tolerably happy, he is apt to spend his evenings at the cabaret; and not for the sake of drink, for drunkenness is not a common vice among the peasantry, but for the sake of company.

It may be guessed from all this what the peasant's state of mind is as regards politics. He is perhaps the fiercest and most intense supporter of the institution of property known to modern society. He hates socialists and socialism as nobody else hates them. For the possession of land he has a perfect passion, and will plunge himself into any difficulties in order to secure it. A peasant with only $500 will, M. Lasteyrie says, often not only put the whole of it into land, leaving nothing for working capital, but buy $1,500 worth, borrowing the other $1,000, and laboring under a load of debt all his life, and living with the most extraordinary parsimony. Nothing can surpass his frugality and his industry.

Although the memories of the Revolution have died out, and none of the present generation knows anything of seigneurial oppression, of taille, or corvée, or gabelle, the passion for equality which the Revolution bred still survives, and is apparently strong as ever. The hatred of the well-to-do classes, too, that most alarming of all French social phenomena, is fully as strong among the peasantry as among the artisans of the towns. It is, in part, a legacy of the old régime—when those of the nobles who could live in the cities did so, steadily kept down all interest in country life, came to their chateaux as a sort of penance, and made no secret of the contempt and even horror with which they regarded the country people. The result was that not only did the feudal feeling of attachment between lord and retainer expire sooner in France than elsewhere, but it was succeeded, in the breast of the peasants, by a hatred of their lords for which it would be vain to seek for a counterpart in England or Germany or even Russia. This suspicion has not disappeared with the disappearance of the privileged noblesse. It has simply been extended over a wider area, and now reaches nearly every man who wears a black coat and has white hands, and finds vent occasionally in such outbursts of savagery as that which occurred recently near Tours, at the outbreak of the war, when a crowd of peasants assailed a gentleman of the neighborhood in the streets of a village, and, after torturing him horribly for an hour, burnt him alive, on suspicion of hostility to the Empire. Nothing perhaps has done more to attach the peasantry to the Empire than the feeling that, as long as they had it, they would not be governed by the black-coated people.

The peasant's conception of government is very simple, namely, that of an irresistible force, emanating from Paris, and protecting life and property. Of law, as a rule controlling the functionaries as well as the citizens, he has no conception at all. The state is known to him as "*l'autorité*," and it is personated in the prefect and the maire, who represent in their turn a mysterious power in Paris, which he obeys, and in which he trusts as in Providence. Revolutions have hitherto not in the least affected his allegiance to it. Provided a mandate comes to him along the regular channels, he obeys it implicitly and unquestioningly, whether the central government call itself a republic or an empire. He votes, not as a right or as a privilege, but as a duty imposed on him by the authorities for certain wise reasons, to him unknown and unknowable. The ballot he can rarely read, and he drops it in the box to oblige the maire or the brigadier of the gendarmerie. The legislature, during the Empire, he has always looked on as a collection of persons employed by the emperor in certain official duties, the nature of which he did not understand, and opposition candidates he considered turbulent, ill-conditioned people, who could hardly complain if they were locked up for setting themselves against the prefect. Hardly any peasant knows anything of the constitution, of its nature or effects, or of his rights under it. In fact, the idea of a constitution or an organic law is something almost incomprehensible to him. Nothing he has ever seen or heard of, or that his fathers have told him of, helps to explain its nature to him. On this point he is, however, not much worse off than his superiors in rank and education. There are very few Frenchmen indeed who, if placed in possession of the reins of government, do not find great difficulty in allowing themselves to be bound by the letter of the law. In fact, the drawing of constitutions has, in France, always been rather a means of expressing feelings and opinions, like preambles and resolutions at our public meetings, than of providing a paramount rule of conduct; and, in practice, everybody who finds that they interfere with his convenience treats them as a nullity when he can do so, or thinks he can do so, with impunity.

ENGLAND.—THE STATE OF PARTIES.

LONDON, January 20, 1871.

IT is three weeks to the opening of Parliament, and symptoms of the approaching contest are beginning to make themselves manifest. Mr. Forster and Mr. Stansfeld have been addressing their constituents, and have by no means found that complacent reception which is generally conceded to members of a powerful government. In both cases, amendments were passed at crowded meetings conveying some degree of censure upon these two gentlemen, who are generally considered to be amongst the ablest of our present officials. Though the significance of such symptoms may not in itself be very great, and though the demonstration against Mr. Gladstone, of which I spoke in my last letter, seems to be of doubtful authenticity, yet, putting these and other less definite indications together, I think that the prospect for the session is far from quieting. There is an uneasy movement in the political atmosphere; the confidence formerly felt in Mr. Gladstone's government has palpably declined; and though it may be difficult to point to any distinct and unequivocal omen of danger, we are, if I am not mistaken, in that state of vague yet serious disquiet which generally portends a storm. There is no loud cry of discontent, but there is much indefinite murmuring, and I have heard it said, though such sayings are based upon very uncertain conjecture, that if a general election were to take place to-morrow, the Government would be left in a hopeless minority but for the seats which still fulfil the functions of rotten boroughs. In a general way, the present

Government seems to be in a position something like that of the Whig ministry two years after the old Reform Bill. They came in with a large majority, due to the first impulse of the triumphant party; but they have failed to satisfy the expectations of their ardent supporters; there is a disappointment, more or less reasonable; and a kind of reaction is produced which threatens a new division of parties. Without dwelling upon the merits of the analogy, I will endeavor to point out what are, in my opinion, the most serious causes of the existing uneasiness.

In the first place, then, it is undeniable that some very good work was done in the last session of Parliament. In spite of all that can be said by way of drawback, it would be difficult to point to any previous occasion on which two such important pieces of legislation as the Irish Land Bill and the Education Bill have been passed in one session. Why, then, did they fail to give satisfaction? The answer must be found partly in the peculiar character of Mr. Gladstone. He is a man singularly open to influences from every quarter. No one shows more eloquence and greater powers of mind in advocating any measures which he has been led to adopt. But he is an impulsive man, in the sense of receiving rather than giving an impulse. He is wanting in independence and strength of character; he accepts a policy, but is not capable of originating one; and the consequence is that his measures are marked by a certain indecision and a desire to conciliate the support of all parties. Thus, in the Education Bill, he endeavored to steer a judicious middle course; and, instead of throwing himself unreservedly upon the support of the more thoroughgoing members of his party, tried in some cases to strike out a plan which should be satisfactory to everybody, and, in others, to shirk a decision and leave important questions to the action of the local bodies instead of Parliament. The result has been that the Liberal party generally have looked upon the measure with very qualified feelings. They feel that so large a majority ought to have produced a decided victory; instead of a victory, it has led to a drawn battle, in which each side may claim considerable advantages. Thus the zeal of the more ardent radicals has been decidedly damped; and though I think that they have been guided more by passion than by any calm appreciation of the results actually obtained, the result has been a very marked falling off in enthusiasm, and, indeed, in some cases, a distinct turn in the current. Mr. Gladstone is not held to be a traitor; but neither is he regarded as a trustworthy leader. Parties, according to somebody, are like snakes, where the head is propelled by the tail; but the head, though deriving his power from the tail, ought to impress the tail with a sense that the head is not in need of too much pushing: and the best feeling about Mr. Gladstone is the rather unsatisfactory belief that he will go right if he is sufficiently bullied. That is not a sentiment calculated to produce much enthusiasm.

But, beyond this, recent events on the Continent have contributed to shake the strength of the Government. Nobody is very well satisfied with our foreign policy. It is indeed difficult to say what Mr. Gladstone ought to have done which he has not done. But that is just the question which vehement partisans consider themselves dispensed from answering. They naturally say it is enough for us to find fault with your action; it is your business to discover the line of action which would have obviated our blame. Nobody in England was in favor of taking part in the war when it began; nobody, with a few exceptions, is in favor of taking part in it at the present moment. The Russian difficulty could hardly have been met by any policy substantially different from that which our Government adopted. All this may be true enough, and it may prove that the existing dissatisfaction is rather unreasonable. People seem to say, in substance, Our policy should have been spirited without being warlike; we should have obtained everything we required from Russia without ever firing or wishing to fire a gun; we should have pacified France and Germany by simple force of negotiation and fine words; and, in some way or other, we should have taken up a dignified position and exerted a great influence upon the counsels of Europe, without the material sacrifices which are the ordinary price to be paid for such a result. Mr. Gladstone might reply very fairly, You wished for impossibilities, and you must not blame us for failing to obtain them. We have managed to keep the peace, and that is a definite, tangible advantage; you have no business to be indignant if we have found it impossible with a peaceful conclusion to gain the credit of what is called a spirited foreign policy. I do not ask whether this justification would satisfy reasonable men; the question is of little importance, because few people are reasonable; and the fact is that, rightly or wrongly, the attitude of our Government in regard to foreign affairs has not been such as to strengthen their position at home. Perhaps the solution of the difficulty was impossible; the demands made by our native politicians were inconsistent and impracticable; and the real blame should be thrown not upon Mr. Gladstone, but upon the national temper, which he has reflected with only too much fidelity. However true this may be, the average of mankind is not the less angry with a piece of machinery that has gone wrong because it was their own handiwork. It is no use to tell a man that an ugly face is the reflection of his own countenance; he is not the less ready to blame the mirror.

The Government has been equally unfortunate in another way. Mr. Lowe's energetic financial reforms were doubtless intended to pacify the radicals, who are always crying out for a reduction of expenditure. But the same people who would have advocated them most eagerly are very much annoyed at the result. The diminution of our warlike armaments at the present moment has certainly been anything but felicitous; and the mode in which the economy has been effected has not been more propitious. The lowering of the income tax has a very indirect effect upon the working-classes; whereas the dismissal of a large number of artisans has touched them in the most sensitive part. They naturally say, You have kept up the incomes of the great ministers of state; and you claim credit for ruthlessly taking off a few wretched clerks in public offices and cutting down the numbers of workmen employed in the dockyards. The result of this precious piece of economy has been to leave us specially ill provided with the means of defence just at the very time when they are most required. A little incident which happened at Mr. Forster's meeting is perhaps worthy of notice in this relation. One of his constituents asked him whether he was prepared to cut down the "Queen's pay"—a term which shocks all official proprieties—to £100,000 a year. Mr. Forster, of course, gave a decorous negative to the enquiry; and the meeting does not seem to have insisted upon the question. It would, of course, be absurd to attach any importance to a noisy "interpellation" at a public meeting; but the question indicates a certain irritation, more or less widely spread, not against the monarchy, but against the supposed tendencies of our economical rulers. They are held to have begun at the wrong end.

Putting together what I have said, I think we may assume that Mr. Gladstone's government is just now incurring a very formidable amount of popular discontent. The clouds are gathering from various quarters. There has been a want of dignity and coherent policy on the part of the cabinet; and though it may be urged that they could not have been better under the circumstances, they have failed to make the desirable impression upon the country. A large majority is still bound to support Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons; but there is increased discontent among his radical allies, and growing confidence amongst his conservative opponents. It would be impossible to guess from what quarter difficulties may first arise; and I am content to say that we have the prospect of a stormy session. I will venture very shortly to hint at another change of sentiment which, though it has little popular significance, is displaying itself in more than one quarter. The great popular remedy for all grievances is to bring everything more immediately under the action of Parliament. If the army is out of order, it is because the House of Commons cannot make its will felt with sufficient readiness. The Duke of Cambridge acts as a kind of lightning-conductor to divert the wrath of parliamentary orators by the reverence which gathers round the royal family. Let him be removed, and we shall be able to clear away all abuses. The opposite side of the question is put in a very able article in this number of the *Quarterly Review*, attributed to Lord Salisbury. According to him, the great evil is the incessant interference of Parliament, and the incessant change of policy and government which has resulted from it. No definite plan can be followed out for a series of years, because every minister upsets that which his predecessor had accomplished. We have a series of fits of extravagance, each followed by a fit of excessive economy; but no thorough reorganization is ever carried out on an intelligible plan. Now, what is true of the army is true of other things. Parliament is absolutely crushed under the enormous weight of every kind of business thrown upon it, and is, in short, as Mr. Bright truly said, a most clumsy piece of legislative machinery. Our ministers are men who need have no qualification for their place except the power of speaking to a large audience; they are moved about from one office to another; and just as a man learns something about education he is sent off to manage the navy, and thence transferred, it may be, to the government of the colonies. Of course, he is really crammed by his subordinates, and does his business well or ill with a main eye to pleasing his masters in the House of Commons or his constituents in the country. The conclusion has been drawn by many people that one of our most established commonplaces is radically wrong. There was no fact on which our ordinary political wri-

ters vaunted the superiority of the English to the American constitution more confidently than the responsibility of ministers to Parliament. It was said to be a gross defect in your system that the President and his cabinet should be capable of holding on in spite of the displeasure of Congress, and an equal merit in ours that a change might be effected at a moment's notice. The question is a very large one, and there is much to be said on both sides. I will simply remark that our eyes seem to be opening to the fact that there is something to be said against our practice, and that some reform is urgently needed. That Parliament should be supreme is admitted; but when the legislature becomes also an administrative body, and a committee of six hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen insists upon interfering in every petty detail, and making ministers its humble servants, to follow every change in its sentiments, the advantage of its interference becomes questionable. I am, however, straying rather too far, and opening a very complicated political problem. I will therefore conclude by simply noticing the fact that such discussions are exciting some attention, though they are far enough removed, in all probability, from any practical application.

THE WAR DRAIN.

BERLIN, Jan. 18, 1871.

THE war is daily assuming darker and uglier features; its worst effects begin to be felt in every household all over the country. Besides those who are sick, we have lost in battle 3,398 officers and 76,409 rank and file, of whom 1,025 officers and 10,622 rank and file are killed. Not exactly that the cradle and the grave are robbed to contribute towards the reinforcement of our weakened battalions, but we are compelled to fall back upon our oldest reserves. Even the landwehr of 1854—*i. e.*, those who had served their time and became landwehrmen in 1854—are called in, men of forty years are levied for garrisoning the fortresses and watching the prisoners, old cavalrymen are drilled into infantrymen, and those reserves which for some reason or other were excused from serving at the time of their becoming liable, and consequently have hitherto been spared, are now ordered to come forward and shoulder the musket. The old Prussian provinces bear the heaviest share of this burden, as the new ones and the other German states have either no landwehr at all, or only one which exists since 1866. The drain of men is so great that Germany would be unable to carry on this war, with all her energy, were it not for Prussia. Thus all the reserves which Bavaria up to this time has been able to raise are only 8,000 men, while Würtemburg could not send more than 1,700. Nevertheless, these small states demand a preferred position and a number of reserved rights in the new German empire; it looks as if they had taken South Carolina for their model, as it was before the great rebellion. "Demand as much as you can, and do as little as possible," seems to be their motto.

There is hardly a profession in Prussia which does not suffer enormously under this state of affairs. In December and January, 200,000 men have been raised and partly been sent to the seat of war; 100,000 more, the young soldiers who on the first of last October entered into the service, are prepared to follow; and, if need be, a full million of men will constitute the German armies in France, and practically refute the enemy's theory that Germany is not strong enough to impose her will upon the French. It is undoubtedly no pleasure-trip for our soldiers just at this season of the year, to travel in cold and badly ventilated cars, to have little warm clothing or any comfort, and to leave almost helpless behind their wives and children. But to the credit of these brave men, I must say that they face this unalterable fate heroically. They reflect and represent the common feeling of this country. In spite of all sacrifices, there is not a single man who is not willing to imperil health and life so as to bring the war to a successful issue. "We must conquer France in order to have peace in future," is the all-prevailing sentiment of the people, although every one desires the end of the bloody war.

Whatever is required of it will most cheerfully be done, and, if the last man and the last horse were necessary for terminating this war with the unconditional surrender of the French, they would be furnished. In this respect, there is not the least difference of opinion between the government and the people, or among the political parties, in which, however, I do not include the corporal's guard of a clique of so-called democratic socialists. The greater the devotion of the people, the more unpardonable are the petty ways of the Government in which it seeks to annoy and disturb those whom it dislikes. The press of all parties, with perhaps two insignificant exceptions, deserves credit for having stopped its private quarrels and domestic animosities, and for having assisted the Government in all its war measures. To thank them for this conciliating and patriotic spirit, the minister of war not only stops the circulation of those papers which he supposes inimical to the Government, but even destroys them, for the sole purpose of vexing the proprietors. Thus, Mr Franz Duncker, the owner of the *Volkszeitung*, the liberal organ of the party of progress, at the request of the Crown Princess had sent gratis one thousand copies of his paper to the several hospitals and camps, but nevertheless Mr. Von Roon, without any reason for this arbitrary mode of action, orders their seizure and destruction. Mr. Duncker has sued the minister for damages; but I doubt whether he will recover judgment, as the Government will raise a "conflict of competence" (between its courts and its organs of administration), one of its favorite and always successful means of arresting the course of justice.

Painful as is the necessity of doing the war business most thoroughly, it shows on the other hand how little the spirit of the people is imbued with a Cæsarian or aggressive tendency. The great moral advantage of the war consists in demonstrating to the world at large that a people of which every able man is a soldier, can more easily be injured in all its vital interests than any other, and that the equivalent for its readiness to take up arms is only given in the prospect of enjoying the fruits of its warlike efforts in peace and tranquillity. It looks as if even France had at last discovered in what our superiority lies. Not that it fights better than under the Empire, but within the last two months the French army shows more enthusiasm, more "élan" and more devotion and self-sacrificing spirit, than the old troopers. The secret is that the young educated men have now taken up arms against us. It is to be hoped, in the interest of the French as well as of the civilized world in general, that this exception will in future become the rule; that these young men will improve the military spirit of the people, and form a transition to the general obligation of military service as with us. Human blood will thus become more valuable, the family feelings will be called in, in quite a new way, for the control of the governmental policy, the educated and richer classes will no longer look down from the galleries into the arena, applauding or hissing their gladiators. The decision of peace or war will no longer exclusively rest with journalists, lawyers, or priests, but also with the fathers who have their sons in rank and file, and the politicians of course will become more prudent. This desirable change will give us the best guarantee for a durable peace among the two nations. Whatever may be asserted to the contrary, I believe that, to judge from the feeling and principles of all classes of the German people, a nation with a military constitution like ours is the last to rush into a war, and that it is only powerful and formidable in a purely defensive war.

It is a bad time just now for predicting, after so many prophecies on the result of our operations have failed; but I state only the common impression that the fall of Paris is near at hand, as it is not presumed that it will hold out longer than the end of this month. Even if it offers a longer resistance, the city is doomed. Chanzy is out of harm's way for at least some months to come; Faidherbe will not succeed in breaking through Goeben's veteran ranks, and even if Bourbaki should meet with better luck against Manteuffel and Werder, the advantages won by him would not enable him to interrupt all our four lines of connection with Germany nor to relieve Paris. The question now suggests itself, How to make peace after the surrender of the capital? There are two answers, or, rather, two versions of one answer, to the query. The first, which has been published by some English papers, says that only the forts of the city are to be occupied, and that they, as well as a sufficient extent of territory, will be held until the French accept our terms of peace. What these terms are is not stated, but it is settled beyond any doubt that, besides a heavy bill of costs to be presented, Alsace and the German part of Lorraine, with its three important fortresses of Metz, Strasbourg, and Belfort, will never be given up again to France. The possession of these fortresses will just reverse the former state of things, because by their loss the French will be prevented from ever invading again our territory, while we have the key for locking our doors. My information runs thus, that King William will not accept the surrender of Paris unless the *de facto* powers which have ruled during the siege shall have signed a peace acknowledging the German conditions. If they refuse to do so, it is even proposed to reject all offers of surrender, and let the starving population wait until they have come to a different conclusion. This apparently cruel way is, in fact, the most effective and mildest, as it saves all further bloodshed. A sufficient, if not the greater, part of the contribution to be laid on France will be collected in Paris, be it in cash, in men-

of-war, or in "rentes," so that the population of the country will in their own interest acquiesce in the terms imposed upon them, as it will thus have to pay the smaller portion of the contribution. It is, however, possible that a sudden change in the condition of affairs may affect the present resolution of King William and Bismarck. Under other circumstances, they may try another solution of the problem. At all events, it will become necessary to occupy some of the easily defensible departments, in order to secure the compliance with the German conditions, and even if the greater part of our troops can return in spring or summer, some 100,000 to 200,000 will be left in France for a year or two for the enforcement of our claims.

The sale of the Remington rifles by your Government to the French has produced a very painful impression here. The 750,000 pieces which came across the ocean in this way have enabled the French to arm the troops of General Faidherbe and other generals. Apart from other considerations, there is a great difference in a sale effected by private parties and by a government, for the articles sold by the latter are entirely alike, and for this reason, if for no other, superior to a collection of half-a-dozen other patterns sold by different parties. The 350,000 Remingtons sold on October 18, at Washington, a great portion of which have already reached Germany by having been taken from French prisoners, are even of a superior make. I do not say too much in asserting that without English and American arms and ammunition the French would not have been able to continue their resistance. I am not of the opinion of Count Bernstorff, according to which a neutral government must prohibit its subjects from trade in arms with a belligerent. On the contrary, I believe that under the present law of nations the subject of a neutral can deal in contrabands as much as he likes, but at his own risk. The case stands still stronger against us in our relations with the United States. Under the treaty of May 1, 1828, which in its twelfth article revives article twelve of the treaty between the parties in 1785, as well as articles thirteen to twenty-four inclusive of that which was concluded in 1799 (see "U. S. Statutes at Large," vol. viii., pp. 90, 168, and 384), "the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neutral with the belligerent powers shall not be interrupted, . . . and to prevent all the difficulties and misunderstandings that usually arise respecting merchandise of contraband, such as arms, ammunition, and military stores of every kind, no such articles carried in the vessels or by the subjects or citizens of either party, to the enemies of the other, shall be deemed contraband, so as to induce confiscation or condemnation and a loss of property to individuals." Thus we cannot complain of any trespass upon our rights, but we think that, to say the least, it is an act of discourtesy on the part of your Government to sell those rifles just at the present moment. Uncle Sam is not so poor as to be in immediate want of the money, he could have waited a few months longer, and even if by waiting he had lost a few hundred thousand dollars, he would have done better to reciprocate the friendly feelings which Germany never has failed to extend to him. I remember that the King of Prussia, in the early days of May, 1861, was the first European prince who expressed his hearty sympathies with the then endangered Union. I know from a very careful perusal of the German press that, with a very few exceptions, it sided earnestly with the cause of freedom; and every American financial man knows that no country has bought more of your securities than Germany, which still holds some four hundred to five hundred millions of dollars of your bonds. You will object that our moneyed men acted in their own interest and not from sympathy. Probably and certainly so, but what other country of Europe was so well informed and so friendly disposed as to dare risk an investment of so large an amount? Perhaps England or France? Those Americans, however, and your own Government, who blame and wish to punish England for her policy towards the rebels and her omissions in the *Alabama* case, before pressing their claims too eagerly, will do well to consider the beam in their own eye instead of beholding the mote in their neighbor's eye.

FRIEDRICH KAPP.

Notes.

MR. THEODORE TILTON, lately editor of the *Independent*, gives notice of his intention to publish, on the 1st of March, a new weekly journal, to be called the *Golden Age*, "and to be devoted to the free and untrammelled discussion of all the living questions of church, state, literature, art, society, and reform." In the absence of any particulars, we are unable to say to what extent the paper will be religious and to what reformatory. The subscription price will be three dollars, and Mr. Tilton's address is Box 2848, N. Y. P. O.——Messrs. Hurd & Houghton have in preparation: "Stories from Old English Poetry," mainly from Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Spenser, by Mrs. Abby Sage Richardson; "Three Successful Girls," by Julia Crouch; "Castles in the Air, by "Barry Gray;" "The Débardeur," a posthumous novel by the late Fred. S. Cozzens; "Notes on the Gospels," by Dr. Chas. H. Hall; the two final volumes of the "Sermons of Dr. South;" the second volume of the "Surgical Memoirs of the U. S. Sanitary Commission," edited by Professor Hamilton, and the fifth of the "Final Reports;" and two valuable law books: "The American Life and Accident Insurance Cases," being all the reported cases decided on in the United States down to November, 1870, with notes referring to the leading English cases, by M. M. Bigelow, and "Leading Cases upon the Law of Fire Insurance," by Edmund H. Bennett and M. M. Bigelow.——Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, will issue, and will receive subscriptions for, a reprint of the "Lord Chancellor's Decisions" from 1849 to Michaelmas Term, 1865, for the first time in this country. "The reports will be reprinted verbatim, with notes appended to each case, referring to all the important English and American decisions which bear upon the points decided in it." There will be twenty-two volumes in all, deliverable monthly, at the subscription price of $5 each.——Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, solicit subscriptions for a "Life of Hon. John J. Crittenden," with selections from his correspondence and speeches, to be edited by his daughter, Mrs. Chapman Coleman. The work will make two large octavo volumes, of the best workmanship, accompanied by two portraits on steel, and will cost $5 a volume. It will have a kindred interest for the historian with the "Life of W. W. Seaton" just issued by Messrs. J. R. Osgood & Co.——A limited number of catalogues of the library of the late President Sparks are now obtainable of Messrs. Sever, Francis & Co., Boston and Cambridge. The sale of this important collection was announced in the *Nation* last summer, and a circular dated January 23 states that the family in Cambridge are prepared to receive offers for the library *as a whole*, at any time within five weeks from the date mentioned. The manuscripts, however, of which several are exceedingly valuable, may be included or not at the purchaser's option. One volume is expressly reserved—it contains twenty-six autographs of Washington, Franklin, and Lafayette which have an intrinsic interest apart from the celebrity of the writers. We should suppose that the Library of Congress, the Boston Public Library, and (poverty aside) the Library of Harvard College would, above all others, contend for this collection, whose richness in works pertaining to American history will be apparent to any one who examines the catalogue.——Messrs. Roberts Brothers announce that, in consequence of a blunder made by the stereotyper, pages 50 and 56 of the 16mo edition of William Morris's "Earthly Paradise" are transposed. Purchasers may obtain perfect copies by sending back the defective copies to the publishers.——Messrs Pott & Amery, 5 Cooper Union, solicit subscriptions to the "Collected Works of the Rev. Milo Mahan, D.D., late Rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore," edited by the Rev. John H. Hopkins, Jr. The work will be in three volumes, costing ten dollars; the first containing Dr. Mahan's "Church History," continued beyond the period which it reached in the edition already published, the second his work on Mystic Numbers, with a memoir of the author, and the third his miscellaneous writings.

—In May last, with Parts I.–XII. of Dr. Thomas's ("Lippincott's") "Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology" before us, we declared that work "the best, as well as the most comprehensive book of its description emanating from the pen of one writer—in any language—which has come under our notice;" and now that it is completed—in two large and handsome volumes—it gives us pleasure to state that there is nothing in its more recent parts which should make us alter or modify our opinion of its merits. On the contrary, to the praise of fulness, clearness, and correctness we must add that of surprising freshness, considering to what a degree the revision of the work, in numbers so rapidly following each other, must have absorbed the energies of the diligent author. Thus we read under *MacMahon* of the defeats of that marshal "at Wörth (August 6, 1870) and at the great battle of Sedan (about September 1);" under *Steinmetz*, that "he contributed to the great victory near Metz," and "was removed from command" soon after; and under *Trochu*, that "on the formation of the Republic, September 4, he became president of the Executive Committee, the highest office in the Provisional Government," and "commanded the forces which defended Paris against the Germans during the siege of that capital in the autumn of 1870." A very valuable introductory treatise on the pronunciation of the principal European and Asiatic languages has been added to complete

the "Preface," and a comprehensive "Vocabulary of Christian Names," in a number of languages, as a supplement.

—Of all the almanacs of the year the most curious is without doubt that product of the siege of Paris, "L'Almanach des Bastions," of which we do not pretend, however, to have seen a copy. Novel, so far as we know, in this country, is the almanac for 1871 published (at Minneapolis) by the University of Minnesota, and especially adapted to that State and institution. The pages devoted to the meteorology of Minnesota will find interested readers in other parts of the Union; the chronological tables, list of the State's libraries, and some other statistics have a more local character. Best of all almanacs with which we are acquainted is that published by Whitaker in London (New York: Pott & Amery), and which is sold for fifty cents. The amount of useful information compressed into this small volume of 325 pages is truly surprising, and its accuracy hardly less so, so far as we can judge. It would be difficult to state satisfactorily the contents of "Whitaker's Almanack," but an Englishman could desire little more than it gives him. He may turn to it for a summary of Parliamentary discussion, the statutes enacted, the Peerage and House of Commons, the census, state of the public debt, various rates of the income tax from 1842 to 1871, list of army officers by regiments, list of naval ships and their captains, university officers, masters and teachers of the principal schools and colleges, list of clubs, British administrations during the century, railway and life insurance statistics, hackney-coach regulations, Oxford and Cambridge races to date, banks and bankers, the chief societies and institutions, with the name of the president and secretary in each case, imports and exports, important occurrences of the year previous, the distinguished dead, remarkable discoveries and inventions, an outline of the British empire in all its parts, and of the constitution of every civilized and semi-civilized country on the globe. For much more, too, that we have not space to relate. The fulness of the *personnel*, if we may so term it, of this almanac is remarkable, and is what gives it an especial value to Americans (especially to American editors), though if they would study it for a better knowledge of Great Britain, they would find it a most useful and comprehensive instructor.

—The year 1870 has not been rich in historical publications. In this country especially it would be hard to name a single publication of the year which will take permanent rank in historical literature. The concluding volume of Dr. Draper's "History of the Civil War" has enough merits to be an exception, if these merits were not balanced by equally great defects; at any rate, it takes respectable rank. Several works, on the other hand, which one associates at first thought with this year, like Mr. Froude's closing volumes, Mr. Long's third volume, and Mr. Lea's "Studies in Church History," belong in reality to the closing months of the year before. Our brief survey, therefore, will not be confined to 1870. In the field of ancient history, the second volume of Lenormant and Chevalier's "History of the East" contains the history of the Persians, Phœnicians, and Arabians. It had been intended to include the Indians, but the plan was changed on account of the very doubtful character of the authorities in Indian history. This manual contains without doubt the best compendium of what is known of primitive Oriental history, and may be recommended as not only serviceable but indispensable to the student. The second volume of Ihne's "Römische Geschichte" has the same general character as the first. The author has made an eminently readable book, but will not keep his promise as to dimensions. This volume only finishes the Second Punic War, so that the entire work can hardly be shorter than Mommsen's. The author, who has himself lived in England, is engaged upon an English translation, for which we predict a good degree of popularity. Holm's "Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthume" is a thorough and valuable study of a very important and interesting branch of ancient history. The first volume brings the history down to the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, B.C. 415. In modern history, the most important contribution is probably the concluding volumes of Burton's "History of Scotland," which reach to the reign of William III. This is admitted to be by far the best history of Scotland in existence. Miss Jane Williams's "History of Wales" has neither the extent nor the importance and interest of Mr. Burton's work, but is worthy the regard of those who wish a more detailed account of the history of this interesting country than they can find in English writers. The second volume of Sir Edward Creasy's "History of England" covers the period from Edward II. to Richard III. inclusive, thus embracing the "hundred-year war" and the War of the Roses. The praise we gave to the first volume (see No. 208) is even better deserved by this. It is not a mere compilation, but abounds in admirable discussions of important points little understood. Baxmann's "Politik der Päbste," in two volumes (1868–9), is written from a Protestant point of view, but with great impartiality, and extends from the pontificate of Gregory I. to that of Gregory VII. The author was engaged upon a monograph upon Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.), to which this was, as it were, a preparation; his death has, however, frustrated this plan. We find hardly anything more in mediæval history except a new edition of Dahlmann's "Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte," revised and much enlarged by Professor Waite of Göttingen, who has been pronounced "the greatest living master in German history." This too belongs to 1869. Indeed, the most striking event for 1870, in connection with mediæval history, has been the death of Jaffé, editor of the *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*—an irreparable loss. We should, however, except the town histories, of which a large number have appeared. To this class, we suppose, should be assigned the late Toulmin Smith's valuable treatise on "English Gilds." Dr. Brentano's introduction to this, published as an independent work, has already been noticed by us. Probably the most important work in this field is Von Maurer's "Geschichte der Stadtverfassung in Deutschland," the third volume of which has recently appeared. This author rejects the guild theory of the origin of towns, and denies also the continuance of Roman municipal institutions (in German cities, we suppose), and considers the city institutions to have been in all cases developed from village institutions—a theory which, as a general, if not exclusive one, seems every way reasonable. In special town histories it will be enough to notice the publication of the mediæval chronicle of Strassburg, and the third volume of Ennen's "Geschichte der Stadt Köln." The latter covers the history of the fifteenth century, and a very little more—a most interesting period, when we consider that at its commencement belongs the triumph of the guilds, and at its end the beginning of the Reformation; and that Charles the Bold's transactions with Cologne fall within it. Baron Hübner's "Life of Sixtus V." has an especial bearing on the great pontiff's diplomacy.

—It may be a not accidental coincidence with the rapid development of Prussian power, that the recent literature upon Prussian history is especially rich. To say nothing of the documents published in the "Urkunden und Actenstücke," and in "Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum" (each of which has reached several volumes), and of Droysen's "Geschichte der Preussischen Politik," and Eberty's "Geschichte des Preussischen Staats" (of which volume 4 reaches to 1763), there are two special works of merit upon the period of the Great Elector. H. Peter has written a history of the war of 1672 against France, and Erdmannsdörffer a life of the great minister Von Waldeck, who inspired Frederic William's counsels for several years, and who first sketched the policy which Prussia has now taken up after an interval of two centuries—a union of Protestant Germany—it was then under the lead of Brandenburg. His plans were frustrated at the time by the war with Charles XI. of Sweden. In later periods of history we have a few valuable works. The completion of Von Sybel's "Geschichte der Revolutionszeit" places before us a work of the first historical importance. The fourth volume of Lanfrey's "Histoire de Napoléon I." reaches to the year 1809. Its special value—apart from its character as an able history—is in marking the reaction in France itself against the worship of the first Napoleon, of whom the author is a decided antagonist. The second volume of Taxile Delord's "Histoire du Second Empire" comes down to the year 1860. This is an equally significant expression of the French reaction against Napoleonism in its later and meaner form.

—Mr. A. R. Wallace reviews in *Nature* a pleasing volume of essays, written nearly a century ago, on the "Intelligence and Perfectibility of Animals from a Philosophic Point of View," and now published by Chapman & Hall, London. The author was Charles Georges Leroy, formerly Ranger of Versailles and Marly, and his aim was to prove that the mental faculties of animals are strictly comparable with those of man; that they remember, combine, and reflect; that they are capable of self-improvement; and even that they possess a true language fully adapted to their needs. We have used Mr. Wallace's words in this summary, who adds further that M. Leroy "was, in many of his conceptions, far in advance of the great philosophers of the last century among whom he lived." Some of his observations are cited and are very curious. Crows, for instance, he proves, can count as well as some savages. A man posted in a hut beneath a tree to shoot the old birds on their return to their nests, was, after the first time, always watched into the hut, and the tree avoided till dark or till he had left. Two men then went to the hut, and one passed on, but to no purpose, as the absent one was missed; nor could three men deceive; and it was not till five or six men went and left one of their number behind that the crows' reckoning failed them. M. Leroy also restricts instinct "to

those acts which are the direct consequences of organization, such as the grazing of the stag or the flesh-eating of the fox." Nest-building he declares is subject to improvement from experience—old birds building better than young ones, and those birds whose young remain long in their nests, and so have more opportunity of seeing how they are made, having the best-constructed nests. Migration, even, he ascribes to tradition, and says of the swallows, for example, that their preparations indicate clearly not a spontaneous impulse but the most careful deliberation and instruction; and the late-born who remain behind, because unequal to the flight, mature without "the supposed attraction to a certain region," and perish because of their ignorance due to their tardy birth.

—About a year ago, we compared, as we were able, the phonetic decay which the French language had undergone, in somewhat analogous circumstances, in the islands of Trinidad and Hayti, and in Louisiana, as the common speech of the negroes. The Creole grammar is an interesting study, and it may be extended much further than has just been intimated by any one whose field includes also the island of Mauritius. This favored spot has additional philological interest from the fact that the Indians and coolies corrupt the negro patois itself, which thus holds the same relation to their jargon that the pure French of the colonists does to the Creole. The latter agrees with the Creole of Trinidad and Louisiana in a general confusion of number and gender, and in simplifying the pronominal forms. *Mo*, to *vous*, and *li* pass for *je, tu, il, elle;* and *mien* is represented by *pour mo*. The writer in the *Athenæum* for December 31, 1870, from whom we are borrowing our information, cites the form *zot* (a "very common word") as a corruption of *les autres*. We cannot dispute with him, but the Trinidad *zôtes* (you), for *vous autres*, suggests another derivation. The coalescing of the definite article with the noun, by which the force of it is wholly lost (as, in Trinidad, *lapôte*, meaning simply *a* door), occurs also in Mauritius; *e.g., li çien*, a dog (*chien*). This substitution of *ç* for *ch* is peculiar to the latter country, where, on the other hand, the softening or dropping of *r* does not seem to be customary. At least, this is not indicated by the spelling of the examples give in the *Athenæum*. We have doubts, indeed, if the true method of reporting patois has yet been established. The temptation is much the same as that felt and yielded to by our humorists when they misspell words pronounced the same by everybody, merely in order to preserve to the eye their assumption of illiteracy. For instance, the negroes in Hayti, as in Trinidad, use the sign "noo" to indicate "we." For the first-named we have seen the form *nôu*, for the latter (more correctly) *nous*, set down, there being no difference in the pronunciation. In Mauritius, as in the West Indies, the word *était* degenerates into *té* (also *ti* in Mauritius), and in this form serves as an auxiliary for the past tenses:

"Si mo té va zozo (les oiseaux),"

—"if I were a bird" (the contracted plural noun forming a new singular);

"Et té blizé (obligé) posé tout moment,"

—"and was obliged to rest every moment." *Fin*, a remnant of *finir*, is another auxiliary for the past tenses, while with *après* an imperfect may be formed ("quand mo après faire ça," when I was doing that), and *talheure*, for *tout à l'heure*, supplies a future—*e.g.*, "talheure mo vini," I shall come presently. *Capav'*, the attenuated form of *capable*, takes the place of *pouvoir* in all possible relations. Curious in the Mauritius vocabulary is the selection of strong words to express simple ideas. Examples of this, which are frequent enough in the French itself—as *écouter* from *auscultare*, *chanter* from *cantare* with only the force of the primitive *canere*—are *guetter*, to look, instead of *regarder; ramasser*, to gather, instead of *cueillir; semb'* (*ensemble*), with, oftener than *avec;* and perhaps *chumbo* (*tiens bon*), catch hold. Some nautical expressions have likewise been weakened: "*laryuer*, to let go a rope on board ship, is Creole for letting go anything; and *amarrer* (to moor) is used for tying up anything." We conclude with what the writer vouches for as "a *bonâ fide* Volkslied," sung by children:

Mo passé la rivière Tanné:
Mo guetté là une grandmaman:
Mo causé li qui li faire là:
Li causé mo li pécé poisson.
Oi! oi! mes enfants.
Faut travaillé pour avoir son pain.

Beside it we may place the following words of a Louisiana *coonjai*, or minuet, in which *pancor* stands for *pas encore*, *ouar* for *voir* (*vu*), and the other words scarcely need explanation:

Mo déjà roulé tout la côte,
Pancor ouar pareil belle Layotte.
Mo roulé tout la côte,
Mo roulé tout la colonie;
Mo pancor ouar griffonne la
Qua mo gout comme la belle Layotte.

Trübner's Literary Record for Dec. 31, 1870, gives some interesting extracts from an essay on the philology of the Creole dialect, by Mr. J. J. Thomas, author of a Creole grammar, and adds a note on the extent of the Creole literature.

—The concluding number of last year's London *Athenæum* opens with a very extensive article on "Continental Literature in 1870," or, rather with a series of articles, contributed by various writers, on the latest literary productions of Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Russia, Spain, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Denmark, those of the Swedish, Polish, Portuguese, and Greek press being passed over. Some of the single reviews, like that on French literature, are remarkable both for comprehensiveness and sound critical judgment, while others have at least the merit of speaking correctly and knowingly of literatures generally ignored, such as the Russian and Magyar; and the series as a whole presents an interesting and naturally checkered picture of a vast field of mental activity, from comparatively youthful Russia, where now "the spirit of poetry, no doubt, still lives, but writers are becoming too nihilistic to express it," to old and yet childish France, where "we find a professor of the University of France going so far as to draw a map giving the new political divisions of Europe such as they will be *most probably* in 1871 (with the Rhenish provinces and Belgium awarded, of course, to the Emperor Napoleon)." The most pretentious, though decidedly not the most valuable or the most substantial, of the single articles is the opening one on German literature. It is not only marred by glittering but superficial statements, but also by an exceedingly defective revision. The name of Becker, the author of the well-known Rhine song, "Sie sollen ihn nicht haben," is changed into "Beck;" that of Goethe's Eckermann into "Erckmann;" Kotzebue into "Kotzebu;" Carl Frenzel into "Carl Trenzel;" the title of Spielhagen's "Hammer und Amboss" into "Slommer and Ambos," and that of Meissner's "Ziska" into "Zinka," to mention only the more glaring mistakes. The name of the Empress Maria Theresa is repeatedly given in this form, "M. Theresia," which is neither English nor good German.

BENCH AND BAR OF NEW YORK.

PERHAPS a fourth of the eight hundred pages to which this volume is swollen might have been amusingly filled with the gossiping biographies it gives of thirty-three lawyers in the State of New York whose names and labors have escaped oblivion since the century began. Only three of these are among the many noted men who chose their field and gained their fame in this city, although the book introduces by way of sketch or allusion more than a hundred others—so that its omissions are as conspicuous as its selections. Very little attempt is made to distinguish or characterize the objects of its eulogy; and still less to explain the influence which any of them exerted in settling legal principles or developing jurisprudence during the early history of the State. It is disappointing to follow a college quarrel through a couple of pages, or to read the feebly dramatic recital of a common assault diluted into a dozen, when Kent, Emmet, and Walworth are dismissed with a paragraph apiece, and no notice is taken of the gradual, laborious adjustment by great minds of an inherited feudal system of law to the needs of a free people in a new land.

The most spirited personal sketches are those which were furnished to the author of the book by others. Still, a good deal of labor has been devoted to collecting details of the lives of its subjects, and tracing with wearisome repetition the part taken by almost all of them in the political contests of their time. So far, the book may be of service for reference, but the rest of it would speedily have lined trunks or wrapped parcels in the days when waste printed paper met that fate. Its slovenly style, florid and flaccid as a reporter's, could not rescue it, even though borrowing an air of comic freshness by invoking Themistocles, Fiesole the painter, and the great Rubens.

These indifferent sketches have, however, one use. They strengthen by touches of detail from individual example our just respect for the legal profession of the early times in the State of New York. They confirm the French publicists' judgment of American lawyers as the leading and conservative order in the State; and they may avail to regulate ambition and recommend probity, by depicting many an honorable career, begun in poverty, struggling fairly up to influence, deviating into politics, returning eagerly to higher and more congenial pursuits, and crowned through protracted years with the reverence of the community.

* "The Bench and Bar of New York. By L. B. Proctor, Counsellor-at-law." New York: Diossy & Co. 1870. 8vo.

How has the bar of New York forfeited this respect, and the bench lost this reverence? For no moralist can withhold his rebuke, and no patriot conceal his alarm, at the state into which both are sinking through a steady decline during the last twenty-five years, not judging only from the worst. The legal profession yet retains much of dignity and honor; but if all this good is too weak or too timid to control the flagrant evil, it must, perforce, share the blame of it.

With the bench, the beginning of this decline may be traced, by no accidental coincidence, from the adoption of the Constitution of 1846. It has become trite to say that popular election raised many a party tool, whose professional worth was measured by the paltry salary, to a brief occupancy of office necessarily spent in intrigues for its renewal. The system that creates such officials to use them, of course permits plunder, compels bias, and extorts partiality; so that the "fear, favor, and affection" which law forbids to its mere instrument, a jury, have invaded the seat of its chief ministers as the natural result of short terms, low salaries, and popular choice. The seed of all this rotten fruit lay potentially in the judiciary article of that constitution, and its growth was exactly foretold by more than one of the eminent jurists, then ripe with better experience, whom our author sketches. But the learning and the honesty which still at times maintain the impaired dignity of the courts prove that it could not have reached its present rankness without favoring conditions in the community. Bacon was the more venal because the men of his day were so, and Jeffreys's savageness grew with the rancor of the time. What these general conditions are can be better shown in speaking of the bar, which is more open to their influence. It is encouraging to know that some of the congenital evils of a judicial system which we have tolerated for a quarter of a century have wrought their own cure. The new one invites the services of capable men by lengthening the term of office and removing the prohibition of an increase of salary during its continuance. And the year after next will bring an opportunity to restore the practice of appointment to judgeships, which was so much more rarely abused than the present one of election has been. The direct and satisfactory effect of even this partial return by the last constitutional change to the older and better ways is seen in the high character of the newly-chosen Court of Appeals.

Under such a system as that we have just abandoned, a timid or pliable judge soon disgraces his office, and a bad one makes it infamous. Mental weakness and moral recklessness are both played upon by those men, to be found at the bar as in every other pursuit of life, who follow success regardless of principle. Flagrant wrongs get themselves defended before corrupt tribunals with a boldness and craft that bewilder public opinion. But it is neither indifferent nor demoralized, and it waits only to be enlightened as to facts before it calls judges to account for impeachable acts, and condemns lawyers who risk their reputations by becoming accomplices in them.

This attraction between the bad elements of the bench and the bar would have been less direct had not the same levelling legislation that cheapened the judiciary also thrown the ranks of the profession freely open to any aspirant. The royal road that formerly led through seven years of study to the learning of the law was beaten down into the democratic short cut, by which crowds of incompetent and untrustworthy fledglings pressed in. Perfunctory examinations and facile certificates to character form a poor substitute for the long years of probation in discipline of mind and morals that once preceded admission to practice. The law schools of the city did their best to uphold the old standard, but outside of these it would be curious to trace some of the sources from which the bar of New York is at present recruited. To the cant about privilege, which broke down the ancient safeguards, is added the poor excuse that, after all, ability will make its way. But even if stupidity lags behind, what is to prevent unscrupulous cleverness from taking a lead, and teaching and spreading its corrupt practices? When so many of the least worthy pass from the community into the ranks of the profession—and some, at least, of these work their way through it up to the bench—it is not easy, out of such material and in face of such influences, to create an *esprit de corps* that may prevent it from sinking into a mere money-making trade.

We say to create it, for it has died out, and needs to be again created. These biographies show how real, in the older time, were a common vigilance among lawyers for the interests, and a common jealousy for the dignity, of their calling. At this day no other profession is so incoherent, no other has so little unity of spirit, or power of concerted action, or habit of communion beyond mere business intercourse. Until very lately, its only point of grouping, such as merchants find in their Chamber of Commerce and doctors in their chartered societies, was the Law Institute, and the whole life and action of that have shrunk into its Library Committee, which has hard work to convene a quorum. In every other leading nation, the bar forms a compact and independent body; in ours, democracy, with its relentless individualism, has disintegrated it into helpless units. The English Inns of Court, incrusted as they are by routine and lazy with wealth, do retain and apply that disciplinary power which alone can keep up the standard of the profession. Among us that right of correction is lodged with the judges, who have long neglected to lift the rod with which so many of themselves deserve flagellation. Every lawyer of ten years' standing remembers with a blush that flagrant instance of the futility of this sort of control, when a counsellor disbarred by the chiefs of his own fraternity at home fled hither for refuge, as to a professional Texas, and when the combined effort of some of the best men in the profession failed to dislodge him from the position granted by a facile court. That failure betrayed and encouraged a laxity of discipline among lawyers that has gone on since, until the profession seems to have lost all power of self-correction. Men guilty of penitentiary offences have, it is true, been thrown over the bar within the last few years, though it is whispered that even these men have reappeared in the open conduct of causes. The line of exclusion might range a little higher. It ought to be so drawn and so held by the honorable tone of the profession that the military rule expressed in the 83d of the Articles of War could be adapted to define it; and any member of the bar convicted of conduct unbecoming a lawyer and a gentleman be dismissed the profession. Why not? Is the code an officer subscribes too nice for a barrister to be ruled by? Or, if this seems utopian, the bar might at least organize for its own protection, erecting some standard of respectable conduct, and creating from its own body some tribunal to maintain it, by enforcing rules and inflicting censure. The impatience of one class of men spurs the Bar Association, and the impudence of others defies it, to assume this function. The existence of that organization is indeed a most hopeful sign; but it has less than a year of growth, it is hardly yet compacted, and can at any rate control only its members. Unless we mistake its purpose, however, and the character of the men composing it, the Bar Association will neither shrink from such a responsibility at all, nor accept it when the proper time comes without such deliberate and mature proceeding as may give its action the force of a sentence.

Lawyers easily become politicians. One of our triumvirs, and one of their honored lictors, were trained here at the bar for municipal misgovernment. But those subjects of our biographer's sketches who entered into the politics of their time brought with them something higher than pettifoggers' chicane. The names of Marcy, Wright, Spencer, and Butler revive memories of dignified debate and statesmanlike measures. It is true that in our day, too, eminent jurists have devoted their abilities, not merely to the discussion of the serious constitutional questions springing from the civil war, but to their settlement, also, by legislation. But it cannot be denied that, in general, the association of politics with the profession in recent times has been highly demoralizing to the latter, particularly to its younger members. Party-managers have never before controlled such resources of money and of place, nor dispensed them with so bold a contempt for appearances. Political leaders systematically avail themselves of astuteness sharpened by legal training, and enlist for the shaping and enforcing of their iniquitous legislation a perverted professional ambition, which they reward by the gift or hope of office. In this city, above all, the connection of politics with the legal profession, chiefly through the patronage of political judges, has been utterly contaminating to the bar.

The laws of a people, it has been said, are never better than their morals. And it is equally true that, however pure the theory and life of individuals among them may be, the great body of the legal profession will never be governed by a higher morality than that of the community they live in. There is no reason why they should form an exception to the rules that control average human nature. The noted men into whose lives this volume gives us an insight were not free from blemish; and their faults, which are rather tenderly touched upon, reflected the temptations peculiar to their time. Some of the best of them were over-eager for place—some of the worst were stained by intemperance or profligacy. But it is not recorded of any of them, still less of the bar which they led, that they were especially mercenary. Now, this is the shape which censure of the legal profession oftenest takes nowadays. And it is quite natural that the haste to grow rich, which everywhere in modern days stimulates general prosperity somewhat at the cost of individual character, should affect the bar as it does all other classes. It should affect them even more directly,

because it happens that those combined colossal schemes for rapid accumulation of wealth which exploit our material development, are precisely the ones that oftenest need the aid of lawyers and legislation to shape and protect them. In the care of a private client's interests or fortune, a lawyer is far less likely to be tempted to wrong or extortion than in dealing with the millions which the directors of a railroad or an insurance company—vicarious owners—lavishly dispose of. It is for the statesman to consider the public aspects of that novel and stupendous power of corporations. He may find means to bind the soulless Frankenstein that modern greed has raised into life. But viewing them as mere clients, the lawyer looks no further than their private advantage and their success in contests with rivals, and there is danger, where transactions are so immense, lest he may lose sight of moderation in fixing a compensation which the managers of his clients do not personally pay. It may happen that boards of directors forget themselves to be only trustees for stockholders, and manage vast funds for their personal objects; it might even occur, since money no less than power has a tendency to steal from the many to the few, that the two or three sharpest and least saintly directors might usurp control of the whole corporate property. Yet in all their transactions they are likely to proceed under color of law, and by advice of counsel. More than this, the enormous aggregated wealth these corporations own is so distributed and so represented by the flexible contrivance of shares, that the existence for half-a-day of a judge's injunction order may cause fluctuations on the exchange that enrich all who are in the secret of its granting. We do not say that any or all of these things have been done; only a court of justice can decide whether they have or not. What we point out is that the temptation for faithless trustees to do them is enormous, and the temptation for a lawyer to find justification or prevent enquiry for their being done by his clients is dangerously strong. Whether fairly or not, members of the bar are charged with the offence of thus corrupting the sources and thwarting the course of justice. Against the names which illustrate the times that this volume sketches such a charge would have been impossible. It would have been impossible, both because the lawyers of that day were more fortunate in their associates, perhaps more punctilious as to their reputations, than many of their successors are, and because the haste to grow rich was a less besetting sin of that generation than it is of ours—because, moreover, it is lamentably true that the sterner earlier morality of the community rebuked such deviations from honorable practice as our modern public accepts with a careless shrug, or even admires as shrewd, and excuses when successful. If the legal profession is ever to become again what it once was, the most respected and powerful order of society, it must set the example of a sharper discrimination between right and wrong than now prevails; and it will take higher ground for doing this whenever legislation retraces all its downward steps as regards the judiciary, and the bar gains control over the admission and discipline of its members.

LIFE AND WORKS OF BEETHOVEN.*

The attention of the public in this country has been of late directed with a renewed interest to Beethoven and his works. A few years since there was no life of the composer to be found at any of our bookstores. Only at the principal libraries could access be had to dilapidated copies of the old two-volume London edition of 1841, of which the present neat volume, issued by Ditson & Co., is a reprint. Nor did the pianoforte works of the master appear on our concert programmes. But Charles Halle and Arabella Goddard, in England, set the example, and of late it has been followed by Miss Mehlig and Miss Krebs in this country, and the treasure-book of the Beethoven sonatas has been again opened to the public. Then, too, the centennial anniversary of Beethoven's birth, with the universal recognition given to it by the musical world, has assisted in fixing present attention upon this composer. This new edition of his life may therefore be considered a most timely one.

It was indeed singular that no biography was to be found of the man who had so profoundly impressed himself upon his age, who had exercised so powerful an influence upon his art, and who certainly was entitled to be called one of the master spirits of the present century. The one here reprinted is by Schindler. It is confessedly an imperfect work, and it can only serve until some better one is provided. Schindler was an intimate friend of Beethoven's, but he was not the man whom the composer designated for his biographer. It was by an accident that he was called upon to fill that position. Neither his mental habits nor his literary ability fitted him for the task. His work is defective in arrangement, meagre in its details concerning some of the most interesting years of the composer's life, and somewhat clumsy in execution. Many of its statements, too, have been shown by later research to be erroneous. Fortunately, some of these defects have been made good in the present edition, by a supplement containing as much printed matter as the original life, and consisting of sketches of the great musician from the pens of various friends, and of a short work entitled the "Life and Characteristics of Beethoven," by Dr. Heinrich Doring, being a translation of the biographical sketch prefixed to the Wolfenbüttel edition of his sonatas, and already printed in *Dwight's Journal of Music*.

The necessity for an adequate life of the great musician impressed itself so deeply on the mind of one of our countrymen, Mr. Alexander W. Thayer, that, years ago, he went to Germany, and commenced a series of investigations so minute and laborious as to astonish even the German scholars, who are ordinarily accredited with the fullest possession of these qualities. But one volume of this work has as yet appeared, and that carries Beethoven only through the earlier years of his life. Strange to say, this volume has only appeared in German. Mr. Thayer looked, doubtless, for the largest recognition of his labors from the countrymen of the composer, and in that view had his book first translated into that tongue. The difficulty with it will probably be that it will prove too long and exhaustive for the general reader. It is not every act and word even of a great genius that is worthy of record, and Mr. Thayer seems to have expended too much strength on the elucidation of trifles. Meantime, Schindler's work must suffice us, and in the main it cannot be doubted that it gives an accurate picture of Beethoven, who was, for that matter, an excellent subject for biography. His life was a fierce battle, from the beginning to the end, full of stormy and troubled scenes and strange episodes. Schindler has neither idealized his hero nor sought to tone down the peculiarities of his strong nature, but to represent him as he was. It was thus that he begged to be presented to posterity, and not behind a painted mask. Forced to struggle with the cares of this world and to provide for his daily bread, he chafed constantly under these distractions, for he desired to live wholly in the ideal, whereas the actual confronted him roughly at every turn. He was moody and morose, unreasonable, suspicious of his best friends, jealous often, unsocial, reluctant to meet those who desired to approach him, strange and careless in all his personal habits, far from neat—in fact, not a man to be commended so far as the affairs of everyday life were concerned. But the soul of the man was noble, scorning deceit and hypocrisy of every kind, desirous of being just to all, and in sympathy with whatever was noble and lofty. He was also of pure and good life—in manners rough, but in morals uncorrupt. All this Schindler's book brings out clearly, and no one can read it without a feeling of the deepest interest, and also one of profound sympathy with the lonely and isolated composer.

To this volume, "Beethoven's Studies in Thorough-bass, Counterpoint, and Composition," published by Schuberth & Co., forms a valuable sequel. There will undoubtedly be those who will be inclined to go beyond the mere biography of the man, and to look into the methods by which he attained his greatness. His genius, of course, no book of studies can explain; but even genius must labor by rule, and this book contains the maxims upon which he worked, with examples from his own hand in illustration of these rules. Beethoven went always directly and bluntly at his work, and these studies are characteristically concise and clear, giving explicit information in regard to the rules of harmony, the treatment of chords, strict and free counterpoint, and containing also elaborate instructions and illustrations of fugue and canon forms. The translator has added nearly a hundred pages of anecdotes, letters, fac-similes of Beethoven's manuscript, and other interesting matter.

The History of Music. A Series of Lectures by Frederic L. Ritter. (Boston and New York: O. Ditson & Co.)—It is a little curious that two musicians, of remarkable knowledge of their profession, should simultaneously have taken up the same subject and treated it in a similar manner. Mr. John K. Paine, of Boston, a Harvard graduate and an admirable organist and composer, is now engaged in delivering a series of lectures on the history of music, of which this work of Mr. Ritter's is almost a counterpart. Whatever may be thought of the latter's abilities as a conductor—a direction in which he has of late years been brought somewhat prominently before the public, and in which his success was somewhat questionable—there never has been any doubt as to his real learning and

* "The Life of Beethoven." Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co. 1871.
"Beethoven's Studies in Thorough-bass, Counterpoint, and the Art of Composition." New York: J. Schuberth & Co. 1871.

deep research into the history of his art. The little volume recently published embodies some of the results of that research. Commencing with the earliest Christian music of the Catholic Church, Mr. Ritter follows the art in its progress from century to century down to the time of Haydn. The first lecture treats of the Gregorian chant, folk-songs, and the invention of harmony, from the Christian era to the close of the fourteenth century. The second is devoted to the old Flemish, German, English, Italian, and Spanish schools, to the time of the death of Palestrina; the third, to the oratorio and Protestant church music, to the time of Schumann's death; the fourth to the opera, from its invention in Italy to the death of Gluck; the fifth, to the development of instrumental music from the sixteenth century to Haydn. The later history of the art is left for a succeeding volume.

Whoever would possess himself, at the expense of a few hours' pleasant reading, of those essential historical facts in regard to the history of music, with which every person interested in that art should be familiar, may find them well and interestingly stated in this handy volume.

P. Terentii Afri Comoediae. Edited by T. L. Papillon, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, and late Fellow of Merton; Andria, Eunuchus. (London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1870.)—This book, one of the *Catena Classicorum*, edited by Arthur Holmes and Charles Bigg, is but a blind guide for the young. The basis taken for the text is the edition of Zeune, 1774. Considering what a stride has been made in the criticism of Plautus and Terence in the last twenty or even in the last five years, it is a little odd that the editor should go back a century, particularly when he had before him such texts as Fleckeisen, 1857, and Wagner, 1869. In fact, the very title of the book makes one suspicious of its quality; the editor writes *Terentii* Andria instead of *Terenti*, forgetful of the summary way in which Ritschl has disposed of such forms once for all: "in *ii* terminatos genitivos ut *ingenii* nihil quicquam præsidii habere tantum tironum caussa moneo, quamquam video etiam provectiores ætate tirones esse."

It is not surprising that the notes founded on this questionable text should be unsubstantial. The metrical explanations are reserved till the work is done. What they will be may be guessed from an occasional hint; for instance, the editor makes *argūmento* a word of three syllables. As a specimen of vague grammatical interpretation we may take Andria, 17: he reads here with Zeune—

Faciunt næ intellegendo ut nihil intellegant,

with this note: "næ] Bentley reads *nĕ* (interrogative); but *næ* is often written *ne; cf. vai, vή*." Here we may note: 1. That Donatus attests the *ne*, which *must* be interrogative. 2. That Bentley was aware that the affirmative *ne* must stand before a pronoun or pronominal adverb. 3. As to the droll statement that "*næ* is often written *ne*," the affirmative particle is *only* written *ne*, *næ* being a spurious form invented by Laurentius Valla, who died in 1457, never found in MSS. or any good printed book. In fine, if there is any one verse of Terence where the reading is beyond doubt, it is this very line of the Andria:

Faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant?

In respect to orthography, the text is naturally an improvement on Zeune. But we find such exploded forms as *quum* for *quom*, or *cum; negligentia, hiccine, hoccine, hocce, siccine, adolescens, adolescentula, illico, futilis, cænare, inīicere*, and *reīicere, nunc iam* (as two words), *renunciare, mæror, Iupiter.*

After Ophir; or, Wild Life in Africa. By Capt. Augustus Lindley. (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin; New York: Robert Turner.)—*Hunting Grounds of the Old World.* By the Old Shekarry. (New York: George Routledge & Sons.)—The undeniable close relation which exists between the robust physical nature of the English better classes and the practice of field-sports admits of a double interpretation, a dilemma of cause and effect, which it is worth the while of the moral philosopher to solve. We are disposed, from many personal experiences, to put the sport as cause, and join with hearty warmth any movement which will extend to the chase the consideration given to boating, to gymnastics generally, as a part of the education of a young man. We should be inclined to respect less the type of manhood of a young man whose humanitarianism to the beasts extended to a literal acceptation of the law, Thou shalt not kill. "He who needlessly sets foot upon a worm," is *per se* a brute, for needless cruelty is no part of a sportsman's nature, and the passion which animates his pursuit of savage beasts has nothing in common with a love of giving pain. That, as a general thing, Americans are deficient in love of these sports, there needs no better proof than the paucity and generally low quality of books on these subjects. Englishmen write all the good books thereon, as they do most of the shooting in all parts of the world. Our *boys*, however, take to it second-hand immensely, and a book like "After Ophir," while it delights the still unregenerate youthful heart with its peril and excitement of struggle with the kings of brutedom, is calculated to instruct as well. It is well written, and full of information as to the human as well as the brute races of Southern Africa. The author's portrait of a "long Yankee" will hardly, however, establish his reputation for accuracy in dialectic reporting. It is of a nondescript—a Yankee of straw, we fear. The illustrations are capital, and, if drawn by the author, prove him as clever with the pencil as with the pen.

"Hunting-Grounds of the Old World" is less noteworthy, both from inferiority of illustration and narrative interest. The name of the Old Shekarry is one known amongst East Indians for exuberant exaggeration, and the unartistic way in which he piles the ground with slain is too much for any but boys of that age which takes kindly to Munchausenisms. For the rest, it is of the same old field from which we have had hunting stories *ad infinitum*, and many better told than this.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Adams (Hon. C. F.), The Struggle for Neutrality in America. swd.	(Chas. Scribner & Co.) $0 50
Albany Law Journal, Vol. II.	(Weed, Parsons & Co.)
American Bookseller's Guide, Vol. II. 1870.	(Am. News Co.)
Anderson (R.), History of the Sandwich Islands Mission.	(Congr. Pub. House)
Appletons' Journal, Vol. IV.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Barker (Prof. G. F.), Text-book of Elementary Chemistry.	(C. C. Chatfield & Co.) 1 75
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Goodwin (Prof. W. W.), Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb, 4th ed.	(Sever, Francis & Co.) 1 75
Hergenröther (Dr.), Anti-Janus.	(Cath. Pub. Society)
Hoar (E. R.), Address at Harvard Memorial Hall, swd.	(Boston)
Lowell (Prof. J. R.), My Study Windows.	(J. R. Osgood & Co.) 2 00
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Report on Barracks and Hospitals, Circular No. 4. War Department.	(Washington)
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1871.

The Week.

VARIOUS gentlemen of the press, finding time hang heavily on their hands since the decline of the excitement about "the little church round the corner," have during the past week turned their attention to the steamer *Tennessee*, which carried out the San Domingo Commission. She sailed from New York on the 17th ult. for an island from which no news by regular channels could be expected before the 22d inst., and no extraordinary means of sending home word of her safe arrival had been provided or apparently thought necessary. So they proceeded to turn this long interval to account by working up a disaster. Some made certain sailors and officers refuse to sail in her before she left port on account of her well-known unseaworthiness; others took her good heavy engines out of her, and put in flimsy light ones, so as to raise her unduly out of the water; others then put on a spar-deck on her, which increased her accommodations, but made her top-heavy; and then another flattened her bottom, so as to make her sure to capsize. While she was in this miserable condition, other gifted writers arrived, and gave her only five days' coal for a voyage of ten days, thus leaving her to make her way as best she could under sail, all the while miserably "dragging her screw." But seeing she might possibly escape in this way, they worked her into a dismal region of eternal calm, known as the "Horse Latitudes," from which it appears, however, according to others, that she may be caught by the trade-winds, and carried to the coast of Africa, which, however, she may not reach for a twelvemonth; by that time the crew would probably have eaten the Commission and correspondents, except, perhaps, Dr. Howe and Mr. Wade, who, it is not disrespectful to presume, are too tough to be palatable. Things having reached this melancholy pass, the *World* mourned its correspondent on board the unlucky vessel, and under the style and title of "a gifted associate," in eloquent terms, and, not unnaturally, laid the blame of the whole tragedy on the odious Radical Administration.

The long delay in Mr. Schenck's departure, and the mysterious hints from the Washington correspondents that something was coming, have at last been explained by the announcement that it had been agreed by the two Governments to leave the settlement, not only of the Fisheries question, but of the *Alabama* claims, and all other outstanding differences between Great Britain and the United States, to a "High Commission," composed on both sides of very eminent men, including Mr. Schenck. It would have been difficult to have hit upon a better mode of settling existing disputes, and impossible to have selected a better body of men on both sides to do the work. The only two professed masters of international law among them are Judge Nelson and Professor Mountague Bernard, but all are very familiar with the questions to be discussed, and with the principles which should regulate them. It is now said that the Commission will not go into details, but simply lay down the rules on which the settlement is to be based; and as this cannot take very long—in fact, it is done already—we may probably look forward to seeing the work finished, if at all, by the end of March. Important as the appointment of the Commission is, and as its success will be, as regards the relations of England and America, they will be still more important as regards the provision of a substitute for war in the settlement of international controversies. To be sure, international disputes have been settled by commissions before now, but none of such gravity, and none by which popular feeling had been so strongly roused. Should the *Alabama* case be peacefully adjusted in this way, it will greatly weaken the chance of any resort to war in future, and proportionably foster the habits of mind which will eventually, let us hope, make the decision even of national quarrels by a court possible. In short, no greater triumph of civilization has occurred in our day, and, coming side by side with the savagery which has desolated France, it is all the more wonderful.

We may mention now, for the benefit of all savages and blatherskites, however, that a good way of frustrating the labors of the Commission, and keeping up the good old plan of knocking people on the head when we differ with them, will be to shake their heads over the Commission, to express the hope that the dispute *may* be settled in this way, but to see "many difficulties;" to trust that the Englishmen are not going to allow the national honor to be trifled with, and that Fish and Schenck are not going to be seduced by the blandishments of the aristocracy into "surrendering our just rights," and so on, and to insinuate that we need be in no hurry to settle; "if England can afford to wait, we can;" and then go to a peace-meeting, and howl against Bismarck and King William, standing armies, etc. Judging from the tone of the press, however, on this side of the water at least, the scheme will have the hearty support of the public here, and meets with the greatest satisfaction, though a correspondent of the *Tribune* writes a mysterious letter, warning the American Commissioners, as well as we can understand him, against doing anything to impede the peaceful withdrawal of England from this continent.

At the bottom of these dark hints is the idea that England is ready to go as soon as the Canadians will let her, and that, therefore, the true American policy is to make their connection with her so unpleasant that they will soon become as glad to dissolve it as she. Now, we have no doubt Great Britain will withdraw from this continent, in the natural course of things, before long, and that the Canadians will see before long that absorption by the United States is not only sure to overtake them, but the best thing that can overtake them; nevertheless, we think it is quite safe to point to this mode of hastening the desired result as one of the ways in which the war spirit is kept up and the peaceful settlement of controversies rendered difficult or impossible. It reminds one of the plan one hears of sometimes resorted to among individuals, of making a man buy or sell a bit of ground near his door by putting up a nuisance on it. The Fisheries question ought to be debated and settled as a wrong, on principles of international law, and not as a means of coercing the Canadians into doing something we cannot *of right* ask them to do. It is at points like this in a controversy that the peace societies ought to cry out. What they usually do, however, is to lie quiet till the throat-cutting actually begins, and then they raise their hands to heaven, and wail over the horrors of the battle-field.

Little enough has been done in Congress during the week. Naval matters have given more occupation than any other one subject, the House having before it the Naval Appropriation Bill, and the Senate the House bill to fix the rank of the staff, while an attempt to reinstate a naval constructor caused, in the House, the character of Admiral Porter and the staunchness of the *Tennessee* to be overhauled, with the usual amount of loose talking and misrepresentation. The House bill referred to does not seem to have been improved by the Senate Committee which has reported it, as they have restored the vague phraseology of "assimilated with," and otherwise failed, it seems to us, to meet the situation. The Senate passed on Monday the joint resolution to enable Mr. Miller, of Georgia, to qualify. By a vote of 106 to 103, the House avoided taking up the question of the repeal of the income tax, which will, therefore, hardly be disturbed this session.

When we read from time to time in the papers that Mr. Bancroft was associating with German scholars, and making speeches to Germans in the German language, and otherwise entering fully, freely, and with perfect familiarity with its ways and ideas, into German society, we felt he was trespassing a little too far on our patience, and we have been expecting for some time that he would come to grief. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find that the proposition, which we be-

lieve emanated from him originally, and which the President has embodied in a message to Congress, to send to the new German Empire a mission of equal rank with that of Paris and London, will, if carried out, as is probable, involve Mr. Bancroft's retirement by involving the suppression of the present Prussian mission. The new place, it seems, is wanted for Judge Orth, of Indiana, and he ought to have it, because he will bring to its duties a thoroughly fresh and unbiassed mind, owing to a thorough want of diplomatic experience and a fair ignorance of the German tongue. He will thus enter on his duties without any entangling alliances or prejudices, from which Mr. Bancroft can hardly be free.

The question of prohibitory legislation is once more making its annual appearance in Massachusetts. Last year was what might be called an off-year, owing to the preoccupation of the public mind by the Hartford and Erie trouble; but it was the turn of the license party, so they got the Prohibitory Bill of the previous year amended by authorizing the sale of beer, except on Sundays—though the defective wording of the statute, it appears, makes it also lawful on Sundays. This year it is the turn of the prohibitionists, and they are clamoring for the repeal of the beer clause, on the ground that it is used to cover the sale of all kinds of liquors. In the meantime, a new party of "moral suasion" is said to be looming up, with the view of resorting to the old methods by which the temperance movement began, and which have done ten times as much to diminish drinking as all the prohibitory laws put together. But "moral suasion" will never be successful till temperance advocates learn to be truthful and accurate. Truthfulness and accuracy, we know, to some minds are hateful, but they are the conditions of success wherever men are to be convinced. As long as the Rev. George Trask, for instance, persists in making such statements as he is reported to have recently made in this city—that young men addicted to smoking "rarely were successful and never eminent in their vocation in life," he must expect to be received by smokers with jeers and hooting, and even accused of something worse than silliness. And what can be the mental condition of an orator who holds up N. P. Banks as an example of what abstinence from cigars may do for a man, to a generation which knows Bismarck to be a smoker?

Financial circles are displaying a cheerfulness and confidence very different from the gloom recently prevailing. It is, however, difficult to see upon what the change is based. The dearth of employment for money in commerce keeps money cheap, and has induced large investments in Government securities, leading to a sharp advance in prices both here and abroad. But our five per cent. bonds are not yet selling at par in gold, though Mr. Boutwell is reported to be sanguine of success in selling his four and four-and-a-half per cents at that figure. The advance in Governments has favorably affected other securities, and lent a buoyant tone to all financial markets. Gold continues unchanged. The foreign exchanges remain at the point where specie shipments may be resumed at any day, but the gold premium seems immovable.

The provisioning of Paris has led to large purchases of breadstuffs and meat in this country, both for export and speculation, leading to some activity in trade, but no material change in prices. The cotton receipts for the week are the largest we remember, an unusual circumstance at this late period of the season, and indicating a crop equal to the highest anticipations. These heavy arrivals, and the growing uneasiness felt in England concerning the trade with the East, have depressed the price to the lowest point yet touched, although the English mills—owing to interruption in Continental production—are largely and profitably employed, and have just granted to their workmen an increase of wages, the first of the kind for a long time. All other trade is quiet, but not inactive. The cessation of the coal strike is announced for the 15th inst., but it is said work will be only partially resumed, so as to prevent a decline in the price of coal; a partial resumption will, however, undoubtedly prove a failure. The slight improvement in real estate appears to be totally lost, and sales have come almost to a stand-still.

The usual statistics of commercial credit for the whole of the United States have just been published for 1870. They show an increase of fully 25 per cent. in the number of failures, and an increase of nearly 20 per cent. in the amount of liabilities, compared with last year's. Neither the number of failures nor the amount of liabilities is alarming, compared with such years as 1857 and 1861, but they materially exceed the average of other years, and are, besides, noteworthy as showing a steady increase for several years past. The largest proportionate increase in any State of importance is found in California, nearly 300 per cent., no doubt mainly due to the bursting of the overblown real-estate bubble. Throughout the Southern and Southwestern States the increase is especially heavy, nearly 100 per cent.; only Kentucky and Virginia showing a decrease. In New England, both Massachusetts and New Hampshire show an improved state of credit, and New York State, including the city, likewise presents a healthy decrease. The West shows, on the whole, a moderate increase in failures. But the two States which give the character to the whole tables are Ohio and Pennsylvania, in which the increase has been very large, these two alone being responsible for fully one-half of the total increase throughout the whole of the United States.. These are the two States which are generally believed to have most largely benefited by the protective tariff, and to have added most largely to their new industries and their varied sources of wealth. Has this anything to do with it?

The people of Indiana have at last, we are glad to see, waked up to a sense of the mischief and immorality worked by their divorce legislation. Ever since the opening of the present session of the Legislature, petitions for a change, very numerously signed, have been pouring in from all parts of the State; and in response to these a bill was introduced into the Senate, and at the date of our last advices had passed that body by a vote of 37 to 3. It is expected that it will be equally successful in the House. The first section deals with the most disgraceful feature of the present law, by providing that where the cause of divorce has arisen in another State, the petitioner shall have to prove *bona-fide* residence of *three* years, instead of one, in the State and in the county in which the petition is filed; and, moreover—and this is perhaps of more importance than all—that the divorce shall not be granted unless the act or acts complained of were a good cause of divorce in the State in which they were committed. In addition to this, the bill forbids the granting of a divorce, where the place of the defendant's residence is known, without personal service of the summons. The causes of divorce, too, are distinctly specified, and nothing is left, as under the old law, to the discretion of the judge. They are six in number; but no divorce can be granted except for adultery, or conviction for an infamous crime, until the parties shall have been married at least three years. We believe there is a growing feeling all over the country in favor of giving the marriage relation stronger legal support than it has had of late years. A community which cares little for the strength of the family tie, which makes no effort to secure homes and parental care for its children, and treats the sexual relation as simply an affair of individual taste or "affinity," has no future on this earth. Purer and manlier races will thrash it in war, and surpass it in the arts of peace, and finally banish it out of sight, with its platforms, and preambles, and "soulful sermons," and all its gilded nastiness.

The French National Assembly, convened at Bordeaux, held a preparatory sitting on Monday, the 12th. Of the seven hundred and fifty-three members who were to be elected on the 8th, about three hundred were present. The political complexion of these deputies is not stated in the despatch. We hear, however, that the elections in the provinces have resulted largely in favor of the conservatives—that is, of monarchists of all shades—and that a rough estimate in reference to fifty-six out of the eighty-nine departments of France gives three hundred

and seventy elections to the Bonapartists and Orleanists, and eighty to the Republicans—no mention being made of legitimists, that is to say, Bourbonists. The proportion between Bonapartists and Orleanists seems to be vastly in favor of the latter, as no particular Imperialist triumphs are announced from any quarter, while we hear of the election of Thiers in eighteen departments, of General Trochu in seven—his success above his Republican colleagues shows that he was voted for by Orleanists on account of his former proclivities—of General Changarnier in four, of Dufaure in three, of Rémusat in two, and of Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire and the Duc d'Aumale in at least single departments. None of the monarchical parties appears to have broadly unfurled its own flag; their candidates presenting themselves as "Conservatives," "Moderates," or "Liberal Union" men, and here and there triumphing by coalition votes combined against the Republicans. Whether the Orleanists have succeeded in carrying a majority, or something approaching it, of all the elections, or whether their ranks are likely to be increased in the Assembly by accessions of monarchists of a different color—from hatred of the Republic—or of moderate Republicans—from fear of an Imperial restoration or anarchy—is still to be seen. It is probable that most of those designated as "Imperialists" are so called simply because they have served the Empire, or given in their adhesion to it during its existence.

In so far as the influence of the priests goes, it has doubtless all been thrown for the Bonapartists, under whose sway the church has had better times in France than she has had since 1789, and from whom alone is an effort for the restoration of the temporal power at Rome to be expected. The sober, more intelligent, and well-to-do masses, not influenced by the priests, are probably mostly Orleanists. There is no period of French history to which this class can look back with so much comfort as the eighteen years of Louis Philippe's reign. It was the one taste of peace and freedom France has had in this century. With the Republic everybody except the socialists of the cities is pretty thoroughly disgusted, and M. Gambetta's performances have done nothing to revive confidence in it. He, like Louis Napoleon, came to grief through subordinating the military campaign to the necessities of his party. He fought the Prussians for the Republic rather than for France. If the Orleanists win the game at last, it is at least certain that France will commit her destinies to the hands of a family of pure, upright, and accomplished gentlemen, who in their time have seen, done, and suffered much, and are Frenchmen to the core.

Most of the Republican triumphs have taken place in the large cities, the *ouvriers* of which are their main support. According to more or less definite accounts, they have carried a majority of the elections in Paris, Bordeaux, Havre, Brest, Lille, Dijon, Strasbourg, Lyons, Toulon, Marseilles, and Perpignan, while Nantes, Rouen, Versailles, Poitiers, and Montauban have gone against them. Their victory in Paris is, of course, the most important, and, enhanced as it is by similar results in the towns of the second rank, once more reveals the pronounced character of the political dualism which so often, especially in times of a violent crisis, fatally divides the French people into a radical urban and a conservative rural population. In Paris, the ultra-radicals and the next shade of Republicans are reported to have rolled up the highest majorities, electing, among others—as far as could be ascertained at last accounts—Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Edgar Quinet, Garibaldi, Rochefort, Gambetta, Schoelcher, Delescluze, Félix Pyat, and probably also Ledru-Rollin, Blanqui, and Flourens. Gambetta is also elected in Strasbourg, and at one more place. Jules Favre, Picard, and Leflô are also members of the Assembly; but Garibaldi declines to take his seat, though elected both in Paris and Nice. General Faidherbe is honored by an election in the Department of Somme, which witnessed his defeats. Paris sends to the Assembly the Admirals Saisset and Pothuau. Altogether, it is clear that there will be no lack of talent of any kind—especially oratorical—in that extraordinary gathering, in spite of the absence of all the great lights of the Second Empire—lights which the day of Sedan has probably dimmed for ever. But it is not talent, and least of all oratorical talent, which is to save and regenerate France, but good sense, patriotic self-abnegation, and harmony; and heaven knows whether these will be forthcoming in a sufficient degree.

The doings of the two branches of the Government of National Defence during the fortnight following the armistice, and embracing the elections, have been far from evincing a spirit of harmony. Gambetta called out the military class of 1871; the Paris Government annulled the decree. Gambetta decreed sweeping electoral disqualifications; Favre and his friends annulled them; but on the eve of the elections, Emanuel Arago, having arrived at Bordeaux from Paris to act as Minister of the Interior, restored a part of them—if we are rightly informed by the Cable. Whether the threatened or actual restrictions exercised any influence upon the elections, by here and there excluding a pronounced Imperialist candidature or otherwise, we are not told. Nor do we know whether Napoleon's latest manifesto, dated "Wilhelmshöhe, Feb. 8"—the day of election, which makes us doubt the correctness of the date—was distributed in France in time to influence the voters one way or the other. The impudent tone of this document is enough to astonish any adherent of the Empire not entirely demented. According to it, the Man of Sedan is an innocent victim, "betrayed by fortune" and "crushed by injustice;" the Empire a still legitimate "authority, emanating from universal suffrage;" and France bound "to call to account the usurpers"—the overthrowers of the Imperial throne—"for bloodshed, and ruin, and squandered resources," erecting, or rather re-erecting, a government "able to heal the wounds, to bring hope to the firesides, to reopen the profaned churches for prayers, and to restore industry, concord, and peace." Of liberty there is not a word, not the slightest allusion to it; and it is evident that the captive of Wilhelmshöhe, while wrapt in "a profound silence, which is misfortune's mourning," proposes to reign over France, if recalled to her throne, as an undisguised tyrant. The usurpers he speaks of have, in the meanwhile, before the Bordeaux Assembly, "resigned the powers confided to them as Government of National Defence," remaining in office provisionally "until the constitution of a new Government."

At the German headquarters in Versailles the impression prevailed that the French National Assembly would frame a new Provisional Government, with the Comte de Paris, Louis Philippe's grandson, as President, and provide for a *plébiscite* to decide between the Orléans throne and the Republic. The Germans—both in Versailles and in Berlin—also believed that peace would shortly be concluded, and thus were not at all averse to a prolongation of the armistice—the less so as the stipulations of the latter did not prevent them from making progress in the reduction of Belfort, or from levying heavy contributions on Rouen, Dieppe, and other towns of the North. That the conquerors were wise enough totally to abstain from interference with the elections is proved by the result of the latter in Paris, Strasbourg, and other cities swayed by their arms. According to a report claiming particular authority, their peace conditions, too, are much less harsh than was formerly anticipated, especially as regards the pecuniary part of them. The delivery of arms by the Paris garrison is said to have been carried out to nearly the full extent stipulated. The revictualling of that city, in which the English Government and people have taken a creditable share, progresses with equal promptness.

The Roman question has progressed so far that the Italian Chambers have voted regal honors and a body-guard to the Pope, and a fund to support him; but the right of enlistment is of course denied him, and the libraries and galleries of the Vatican have been, in spite of ministerial opposition, declared public property. On some other points of settlement the ministry seem likely to be defeated, and it is by no means clear that the Government's will that the Pope should not be subjected to any temporal authority, will be fully respected. How to reconcile the demands for "regal honors" to two sovereigns within the same walls, is a problem that will come up after the removal of the capital to Rome. Meantime, the lieutenancy of that city, heretofore held by General Lamarmora, has been abolished, and the Minister of Public Works, Gadda, goes as Royal Commissioner to prepare the necessary accommodations for the transfer of the Government.

THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE NEW APPORTIONMENT.

ONCE in each period of ten years Congress must fix upon the number of delegates which shall compose the House of Representatives, and apportion them among the several States according to their respective populations. The time for the performance of this duty for the next decade has now arrived. The provisions of the Constitution are few and simple: "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers." "The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of Congress, and within every subsequent term of ten years." "The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative." There is here no express command that the House shall be rearranged immediately after the completion of a census, but such is the evident spirit and meaning of the clauses taken together, or else the members would not "be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers." While Congress undoubtedly has the power to postpone the measures of reorganization for a reasonable time, a delay continued unnecessarily would be an infraction of the organic law. The results of the late census in respect to population are now known, and it is possible to apply them to the Forty-second Congress, which commences on the 4th of March, 1871. This is possible, we say, but there would be inconveniences attending the proceeding almost insurmountable. Elections have been held in all the States except five. If the whole number of representatives in the new House should equal that of the present, nine of these States would lose one or more representatives. Even if the number should be increased within limits which seem to be at all possible, two or three States must each lose a member from their delegations. If the change were to be in every instance an increase, no inconvenience would be produced. The present delegation already appointed from a State remaining unaffected, the added member or members for the Forty-second Congress could be chosen at large, as is now done in Illinois. The effects of dropping out a member would be much more confusing; the election of last fall would be made inoperative. A new arrangement of districts throughout the State, and a second general election, would become necessary, all of which must be provided for by the local legislature. For these reasons, it is probable that the apportionment will be postponed until the next session, and will be made to take effect with the Forty-third Congress; although the members from Western States, which would generally gain in the new allotment, seem anxious to push the matter to a conclusion before the final adjournment. It has been suggested that, if the apportionment does not go into operation until the expiration of the Forty-second Congress, the next Presidential election may be affected, because the electors from each State must equal the number of its representatives and senators. This, however, is a mistake, so far as the popular vote is concerned. The whole scheme for organizing the House would be completed before the year 1872, so that the Presidential electors, as well as the members from all the States, would be ascertained, and the election would be held upon the new basis. There is still one contingency in which the election of President may perhaps be affected; namely, if it should be thrown into the House of Representatives during the last session of the Forty-second Congress. But even then, the possibility of an altered result would be exceedingly remote, since each State has but a single vote, which is, of course, controlled by the majority of its delegation, and it is not probable that this majority would be changed solely by any gain or loss of members under the allotment based upon the census of 1870.

We purpose now to exhibit at a glance the effects which the new apportionment will work in the House itself, and especially those which it will produce in the representation from different geographical divisions of the country, and, consequently, upon the relative amount of legislative power held by them. The House is now composed of 243 members. If the same number should be again adopted, eleven States will lose one or more representatives. It is hard for any community to surrender political power; it is harder still for individuals to lessen their own opportunity for office-holding. If, for instance, the delegation from Maine must, in a certain contingency, be reduced from five to four, it is natural that the present five should use all their endeavors to prevent such a catastrophe. This can only be done by adding to the whole number of representatives. Although no definite action has yet been taken, it may be considered as reasonably certain that this number in the new House will be fixed at or about 275. Any greater increase would render the body unwieldy and its legislative work difficult. We shall, therefore, base our calculations upon this assumption. In determining the delegation to which each State is entitled, the unit of representation must first be obtained. Four of the States, Delaware, Florida, Nevada, and Oregon, contain each a population considerably less than this unit, and are still entitled each to one member. Both the amount of their inhabitants and the number of their representatives must, therefore, be rejected from the totals in order to arrive at an accurate result, because their members do not depend upon the apportionment to be made, but are arbitrarily fixed by the Constitution. Making this deduction, the resulting unit of representation is over 138,000 (138,441). Dividing the total population of each State by this unit, and allowing a member for every remainder which exceeds one-half of the divisor, and the proper allotment will be reached. There will doubtless be some slight discrepancies between our results and those which will finally be adopted by Congress. A committee in which all the work must be done has ample facilities for manipulating the remainders, and thus transferring a gain or a loss from one State to another to subserve party and political purposes, and we must expect some "gerrymandering" with figures as well as with districts. The method indicated, however, is mathematically accurate, and by its means we arrive at the following conclusions:

The whole number of representatives will be 275. Fifteen States—Alabama, California, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia—will each gain one member. Kansas, Texas, and Wisconsin will each gain two members. Iowa, Michigan, and Missouri will each gain three, and Illinois four, members. A member is due in sixteen of these States to a remainder greater than one-half of the unit of representation; in seven of them this surplus exceeds 100,000. On the other hand, New Hampshire and Vermont will each lose a member. The relative changes made by this apportionment are somewhat concealed by the general increase resulting from the addition of thirty-two representatives to the House. As the relations of the several States to each other must be the same, whatever unit of representation is used, the correct proportions will appear more clearly from a computation based upon the assumption that the whole House remains unaltered. Adopting this basis, the unit or divisor will be a little more than 156,000, and we shall have the following results: The total number of representatives would be 243. Eight States—California, Georgia, Kansas, Minnesota, New Jersey, South Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin—would each gain one member. Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Missouri would each gain two members. On the other hand, eight States—Connecticut, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Vermont—would each lose one member. Pennsylvania would lose two, while New York and Ohio would each lose three.

By combining and tabulating these figures, we can indicate with accuracy the geographical tendency of population and of political power. The New England States, having now twenty-seven representatives, would lose six in a House composed of 243, and one in a House composed of 275 members. The four Middle States now send sixty-one delegates; they would lose four if the House should be kept at its present size, and gain three if it should be enlarged as proposed. Fourteen Southern States, now represented by seventy-five members, would gain either one or two under the corresponding circumstances. Thirteen Western States, including those on the Pacific coast, at present send eighty members; they would gain nine in the one case and twenty in the other. Passing from these actual to the relative gains and losses, and remembering that the relations of the various parts to each other remain the same whatever basis is adopted, we find that the New England States are at present entitled to 11 per cent. of the total representation, and under any new apportionment will be reduced to 9 per cent. The Middle States now hold 25 per cent., and will fall off to 23 per cent. The Southern States at present send 31 per cent. of

the members, and their proportion will remain unchanged. In the Western States there will be an increase from 33 per cent. to 37 per cent. A different geographical division will further illustrate the subject. Twenty seaboard States, embracing New England, the Middle States, and those Southern States bordering on the Atlantic and on the Gulf, under the existing apportionment send 140 members. They will lose eight in a House composed of 243, and gain ten in a House of 275. Fourteen States of the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys are represented by ninety-eight members; they will gain seven in the former House, and twenty-one in the latter. The three Pacific States now send five, and will gain one; the relative changes in these three divisions will be, on the seaboard, a reduction from 58 per cent. to 54 per cent.; in the Mississippi Valley an increase from 40 per cent. to 43 per cent.; and on the Pacific slope an increase from 2 per cent. to 3 per cent.

It therefore appears that the aggregate losses, amounting to 4 per cent. of the entire representation, are confined to the New England and Middle States, and that the loss in New England is relatively the greater. The relative representation of the Southern States will be unchanged. This result is not due to any proportional increase of population, for the percentage of such increase during the past ten years has been small; but to the fact that in the apportionment based upon the census of 1860 only three-fifths of the slaves were represented. The aggregate gains will be found alone in the Mississippi basin and on the Pacific slope, being three per cent. of the whole representation in the former and one per cent. in the latter. Among these States the largest additions occur in Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Missouri. Ohio will suffer a positive diminution of political power. It will be seen from these statements that, though the tendency of population has been steadily westward, the progress has not been so rapid as many ardent Western men have anticipated. The political sceptre has not yet been transferred from the seaboard to the regions drained by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri. But if the change should go on for the next ten years at the past rate of movement, another census and apportionment would leave the States in the Mississippi Valley masters of the political situation.

If we enquire what effect the new apportionment will produce upon the relative strength of parties in the House, we find that in States which at the last elections were Republican there will be a gain of twenty-two and a loss of two members, and that in States which were at the same time Democratic, there will be a gain of twelve, indicating an excess of eight in Republican gains. This result, however, is utterly unreliable. It assumes that all the additional members to which a particular State is entitled would be in political accord with the dominant party therein. In order to approximate an accurate conclusion, we should ascertain the relative increase or diminution of population in the different parts of the same State. The States in which a change of representation is made must be arranged into new districts, and the members redistributed, before the actual political gains and losses can be determined with precision.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.

THERE is one feature of the Constitution of the United States which fell into considerable disrepute with many observers, and especially foreign ones, during the rebellion and during the reign of Andrew Johnson, but which has been rapidly rising again into favor with political philosophers during the last five years—we mean the independence of the executive. Many a time, during even Lincoln's administration, and oftener still during Johnson's, people sighed for the British practice of turning out the ministry by a hostile vote of the legislature, so as to keep the executive in complete and constant sympathy with the changes in public feeling or opinion. Indeed, at the close of Johnson's term, a good many people were fully satisfied that a President who could hold his own after a majority in Congress had begun to disapprove of him was a public nuisance; and probably nothing that he *said* won more popularity for Grant than his announcement that, when he took office, he would have no "policy" of his own—that is, would be in fact, though not in form, what the British Premier is, the exponent and champion of that view of public affairs which, for the time being, commanded most votes.

The British system has thus far had more imitators among the nations which have tried constitutional government than the American has had; indeed, the American may be said to have had none. Holland, Belgium, France, and Italy, the four monarchies which since 1815 have made a fair trial of constitutional government, have all adopted the form known as parliamentary government, that is, the government in which the executive is appointed or dismissed at pleasure by the majority of the legislature; but Belgium is the only one in which it has achieved a decided success. In all the others, though it cannot be said to have absolutely failed—the government of Louis Philippe was overthrown by the king's pusillanimity combined with excessive centralization—it has never produced quiet, orderly progress, and has never sufficed to deliver people either from the fear of revolution or from a series of dead-locks whose effects on politicians have been hardly less demoralizing than revolution. Austria is now trying it, and with a fair measure of success, but she is lucky enough to have in the Hungarians a set of men who possess remarkable and hereditary skill as parliamentarians. It has been set up, too, in Roumania, but has there worked so ill that Prince Charles threatens to abdicate through sheer disgust with its embarrassments. Professor Von Sybel, in his late article on the political future of Germany in the *Fortnightly Review*, says there is no immediate prospect of its adoption in Prussia, for the simple reason that the materials for it do not exist. In England, which invented it, and whose boast and glory it has been ever since 1688, there is growing discontent with it—a growing inclination to look on the American plan as its superior, or, at all events, as containing the germ of something better.

The objections to it are two in number, and they gain in force as the constituencies become more democratized. The first applies more particularly to France, Italy, and, according to Professor Von Sybel, to Germany. It is this: it is necessary to the successful working of the parliamentary system not only that there be two parties, ranged against each other in the legislature, one the administration and the other the opposition, but also that the opposition be united on a certain line of policy, and be ready, if it gets a chance, to go into power, and administer the government itself on that platform. Unless the opposition is ready to take the place of the ministry as soon as the ministry loses the favor of the majority, there is no parliamentary government. Now, in France and Italy such an opposition can hardly be said to exist, or ever have existed. The opposition in these countries, and this is true also of Roumania, agrees in only one thing—hostility to the party in power; but this hostility is due to all sorts of motives: with some it springs from disapproval of certain measures; with others from a habitual, and we may say hereditary, distrust of men in office; with others from a fundamental disapproval of the whole constitution, and a desire to upset it. These elements all act together in attacking and criticising the ministry; but it never enters into their heads to unite on a programme of their own, and ask to have the government committed to their hands in order that they may carry it out. Professor Von Sybel says that the last thing that occurs to a Prussian liberal deputy is to seek office in order to have things his own way. He considers his business to be criticism simply, and never dreams of its imposing on him the responsibility of framing a positive policy. The result is that when, under the parliamentary system as it has been tried in France and Italy, a ministry becomes so unpopular as to be unable to obtain legislation in support of its ideas, the whole machinery of state comes to a dead-lock. If the king, according to the English custom, sends to the chiefs of the opposition and asks them to make a cabinet and take the reins, he finds he might as well try to make a rope of sand. Some of them desire one thing and others another, and many the total destruction of the monarchy, or the reorganization of society on some new basis. A frequent consequence is that the ministry remains in office, but without power. It can only act with the consent of the legislature, and that it cannot get. In Prussia, at present, the ministry get over the difficulty by obtaining parliamentary authority for their acts if possible, but, if not, doing without it.

The second objection is one which is, thus far, only applicable to

England. Here the opposition is disciplined, acts under a leader, and has a platform of its own, and attacks the ministry with the avowed object of taking its place. But, as the constituency grows more democratic, public opinion grows more variable and acts more fitfully. The position of the ministry becomes more precarious, and its term of office has a tendency to become shorter. On the other hand, the work of government becomes every day more complicated. Society is slowly undergoing reorganization from top to bottom. Where the ground is so cumbered by tradition and custom, plans of reform have to be framed with great care, and need long periods for their execution. But such plans cannot be carried out properly if they pass every year or two into new hands. If there is no permanence in the executive, there can be no sequence in its acts. People are beginning to say, therefore, that, in order to enable it to do its work with any heart or hope or zeal or fidelity, it must be delivered for a fixed period from all anxiety about its existence, and from the necessity of fighting for its life every night in the House of Commons; that the premier must, in short, be anchored in his place for a term of years, as our President is.

Various criticisms on all this, suggested by American experience, might be produced, if we had time, here. The idea which underlies the English difficulty, and which is slowly obtaining recognition, is, however, a sound and wholesome one—and that is, that the world cannot be governed by the public opinion of any one week or month, particularly when it emanates from the vast bodies which now compose a modern state; that "the people," though omnipotent, is human, and has its gusts of passion and moments of weakness, against which it has to guard itself, by imposing on itself the necessity for reflection. The novelty which made the political machine so much of a toy in the early part of the democratic movement, and made the mere turning of the crank, without reference to results, so delightful, is rapidly giving way to a sober appreciation of the fact that self-government, besides being a mere evidence of freedom, is an instrument in the improvement of men's condition in society, and its efficiency is becoming an object of even greater interest than its looks.

The failure of parliamentary government in France and Italy and Roumania is simply the result of want of training in party politics, and will probably pass away with time and practice. Italian politicians, with a few splendid exceptions, were, until 1859, conspirators, and conspirators are always dreamers; and it is not unnatural that, on finding themselves legislators, their first efforts should be directed to the embodiment of the idols of their fancy in the shape and substance of votes and speeches, if not of acts. Besides, where a nation is suddenly put together, as the Italian nation has been, there are so many possibilities dancing before men's eyes, that it is no wonder it takes years for them to settle down on the existing constitution as a finality. In France the evil lies deeper, and is born of peculiarities of character as well as of historical antecedents. Parliamentary or even constitutional government will probably hardly work there successfully till somebody who is heartily friendly to it, and determined to have it fully tried, holds the central authority long enough and with a sufficiently strong hand to enable the constitutional system to lay hold of the French people as a habit—as one of the ultimate facts of their political life. Whoever, in doing this, enables a generation of Frenchmen to grow up in familiarity with the machinery of goverment, and with that affection for it which familiarity always inspires, will be entitled to the credit of having regenerated France.

CIVIL COURTS AND ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNES.

It is desirable to have well settled the test of what is and what is not a case for the intervention of a civil court in an ecclesiastical proceeding. The decision in the case of the Rev. Mr. Cheney, of Chicago, disposed of the petition before it in a way to which all must, as far as the result is concerned, assent; but instead of helping to settle the principle, the court has added a doubt to the subject.

The Rev. Mr. Cheney had been cited before a court of the diocese of Illinois, to answer two charges of having refused compliance with certain requirements of the canons of his church. He appeared and took exception to the organization of the court, the presentment, and the citation. These exceptions were overruled. He then filed his bill in equity, in the civil courts, asking for an injunction against the proceedings of the ecclesiastical tribune. This bill set forth that his rights of property and right to exercise a function of public concern and private advantage were involved in the proceeding, inasmuch as the ecclesiastical court might sentence him to deposal or suspension from the ministry, and thus he would be deprived of his salary as rector of the parish over which he was settled, and of the means of earning his livelihood by officiating elsewhere as a clergyman of the Episcopal Church. This was the ground for the right of intervention of a civil court. As reasons for an exercise of the right in his case, he alleged three classes of objections to the ecclesiastical proceedings:

I. That the ecclesiastical court was not constituted and organized in accordance with the canons of the Episcopal Church.

II. That the presentment did not set forth his offence with sufficient particularity of dates.

III. That he had not received sufficient notice.

All the objections seem to come under one of these heads.

The Supreme Court were unanimous in the opinion that the objections were not well founded. They held that the court was organized and constituted in accordance with the canons of the Episcopal Church; and that the presentment and notice were sufficient, whether judged of by the laws of the Episcopal Church or by analogy with the usages of civil courts, in criminal and penal proceedings. This decision disposed of the objections of the petitioner, and was enough to dispose of the case, if the court had been willing to say that they dismissed the petition on that ground, without attempting to say whether, if the objections had been sustained, it was a case for intervention. But the majority of the court, in the opinion delivered by Thornton, J., enter upon a discussion of the general principle, which drew out a dissenting opinion from Chief-Justice Lawrence and Judge Sheldon.

The majority of the court held that the case was not one for the intervention of a civil court had the objections been sustained. The minority held that it was such a case. The majority held that the decision of the ecclesiastical court as to its own jurisdiction, under the canons and laws of the church, was conclusive on the civil courts; while the minority held that it was not. Thus the case was disposed of on grounds of no general importance or interest, and a question of great general importance thrown into increased doubt.

After carefully examining the opinion of the majority, we find it difficult even to state the line of argument on which it apparently rests. It seems to us to lack order and clearness; and, so far as it is intelligible, the reasoning seems very loose. It adopts the unquestionable rule that there must be a right of property or some other purely civil right involved to justify intervention, and argues that there is no such right involved in the case before it. It is true, Mr. Cheney has a salary dependent on his being able to exercise his functions as a clergyman of the Episcopal Church; and by a deprivation of these functions he also is disabled from earning a living as a clergyman of that church anywhere. The only answer that we can see the court gives to this is, that his right to the salary is not a "vested" right, but contingent on his ability to exercise his functions; and that his right to pursue his avocation as a clergyman elsewhere, for pecuniary profit, is also not an absolute and vested right, but one dependent on the action of the church to which he has voluntarily submitted himself by joining it. To the best we have been able to ascertain, these are the only answers given to the claim that the case presented questions of civil rights.

The court then takes the ground, which is indisputable, that even if the case presented is one involving civil rights, a civil court will not revise a decision of an ecclesiastical court on the merits of a case before it, or on a question of ecclesiastical doctrine or discipline, but must confine itself to determining whether the tribunal assuming to act on the party's civil rights is really what it assumes to be, viz., an ecclesiastical court, organized under the laws of the church; and whether it has jurisdiction over the person and the subject-matter, by the laws of the church. If it is not such a court, and has not such jurisdiction, it will be enjoined; but otherwise, decision within the scope of its authority is conclusive. On this general proposition, the court was unanimous, and there is, we suppose, no doubt in the professional mind. The very pinch of the question comes just where the court divided. *If the case is one in which the jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical court depends solely on the interpretation of the laws of the church, is the interpretation that the ecclesiastical court gives to those laws conclusive on the civil courts?*

The question was fairly raised, if the court chose to discuss it, because the petitioner contended that the court was not organized in the way the canons required. He contended that the eight clergymen nominated by the bishop ought all to have been present when the court convened, whereas only five of the eight were present, and that the presentment was fatally irregular, because of the terms of the commission issued by the bishop to the presenters. These objections went to the very existence of the court, as a tribunal capable of acting on his case at all.

We make these extracts from the opinion of the majority bearing on this point, that the reader may have every opportunity of understanding the opinion:

"Without asserting the power of this court in cases of this character, yet, on account of the earnest, and able, and elaborate arguments of counsel, we will notice the objection, that the spiritual court had no authority to adjudicate upon the alleged offence." . . . . .

"The civil courts will interfere with churches, or religious associations, when rights of property or civil rights are involved. But they *will not revise the decisions of such associations upon ecclesiastical matters, merely to ascertain their jurisdiction.*" . . . . .

"Why should we review that and not every other decision which involves the interpretation of the canons? It is conceded that, when jurisdiction attaches, the judgment of the church court is conclusive as to purely ecclesiastical offences. It should be equally conclusive upon doubtful and technical questions, involving a criticism of the canons, *even though they might comprise jurisdictional facts.* It requires no more intellect, information, or honesty to decide what is an ecclesiastical offence than to determine the authority of the court according to the canons. The distinction is without a difference."

Does the court really mean to say that the distinction between construing a canon for the purpose of determining a question of jurisdiction, and construing it for the purpose of deciding a question of guilt or innocence of a spiritual offence, is without a difference? Also, does the court mean to say that if the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribunal depends upon "doubtful and technical questions" of canon law, its decision is conclusive, while, if the questions are not doubtful or technical, it is not?

From the confusion into which it seems to us the majority of the court has drawn the subject, it is a relief to turn to the clear statement by the minority:

"We concur in the decision of the case at bar announced in the foregoing opinion, and we also concur in the opinion itself, except as to one principle therein. We understand the opinion as implying that, in the administration of ecclesiastical discipline, and where there is no other right of property involved than the loss of the clerical office or salary as an incident to such discipline, a spiritual court is the exclusive judge of its own jurisdiction, under the laws or canons of the religious association to which it belongs, and its decision of that question is binding upon secular courts. This is a principle of so grave a character that, believing it to be erroneous, we are constrained to express our dissent upon the record.

"We concede that, when a spiritual court has once been organized in conformity with the rules of the denomination of which it forms a part, and when it has jurisdiction of the parties and the subject-matter, its subsequent action in the administration of spiritual discipline will not be revised by the secular courts.

"The simple reason is, that the association is purely voluntary, and when a person joins it he consents that, for all spiritual offences, he will be tried by a tribunal organized in conformity with the laws of the society. But he has not consented that he will be tried by one not so organized; and when a clergyman is in danger of being degraded from his office, and losing his salary and means of livelihood, by the action of a spiritual court unlawfully constituted, we are very clearly of opinion he may come to the secular courts for protection. It would be the duty of such courts to examine the question of jurisdiction, without regard to the decision of the spiritual court itself; and if they find such tribunal has been organized in defiance of the laws of the association, and is exercising a merely usurped and arbitrary power, they should furnish such protection as the laws of the land will give. We consider this position clearly sustainable upon principles and authority."

AFFAIRS AT THE CAPITAL.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13, 1871.

THE session of Congress and the fashionable season are both at their height, and members and senators find themselves subject to a divided duty. There are some peculiar features in Washington society. The commercial element, which is very unfavorable to the genial character of social intercourse, is entirely absent, and there are persons from all parts of the Union, of all pursuits and professions, who have while here a good deal of leisure time on their hands. The Presidential receptions are a type of all others. They are perfectly free to every one, and yet there seems to be no offensive intrusion. The opportunity thus given of seeing all the notables is extremely attractive to strangers, and must tend constantly to increase the disposition to make this city a place of permanent residence.

Of the political features, one of the most striking is the position of the representatives of the public press, not the newspapers themselves, but the individuals who conduct the telegraphic correspondence. If a person writes a letter to one of the papers in the great cities, this letter is subject to revision by the editor, and may be altered or rejected entirely. But the telegraphic matter is sent off at midnight to appear in the morning paper. It is paid for by the word, and cannot therefore be wasted. It occupies the most prominent place, and is read by everybody. The result is that there is not a member of either House of Congress who does not stand in positive awe of the twenty or thirty young men in the reporters' gallery. It is amusing to see the respect with which men having a lively sense of their own importance, return the salutations or receive the advances of others much their inferiors in age and station. As to the men who fill this important position, they seem to be generally of fair character and capacity, aiming to furnish news without the coloring of personal impressions, but they cannot of course be wholly impersonal; and it excites singular reflections to see the channel of information to the country represented, in the case of one of our largest commercial journals, by a boyish youth, with the appearance of a retail dry-goods clerk, and conversation indicating an education and habit of mind by no means Puritanic. It is not without significance that there is in this body a very general feeling of hostility to the administration. The press is almost the only weapon of the executive against the encroachments of Congress, and it is unfortunate, though perhaps not unnatural, that President Grant should have surrounded himself mainly with military men, and thus cut himself off from the medium of communication with the country.

At present the San Domingo business forms the largest cloud on the horizon, threatening both the administration and the Republican party. The absence of news from the *Tennessee* is causing some excitement, but apparently less because there is any real ground for anxiety than from speculation as to the political effect which her loss would have. In the debate upon the appointment of the Commission, it was evident that the scheme of annexation commanded very little sympathy from anybody, and would be supported only by those whose vision, unaffected by the distant future, extends only as far as the election of 1872. The temper of the House was shown by the amendment carried "that the appointment of the Commission should not be understood as committing Congress to annexation." The real struggle will begin when the report of the Commission appears. It is devoutly to be wished that the President would retire gracefully from so unpopular a scheme, but it is to be feared that the man who fought the battles of the Wilderness will not yield so easily, and, moreover, that the advisers who have his ear are not independent enough to place the question in the true light. What can be the motive of the President is a question often asked, but not answered. The Republican opponents, while they admit the personal honesty of the President, do not extend the same charity to the men by whom he is surrounded. The Republican senators in opposition are anxiously counting up their means of resistance. Annexation must be proposed, if at all, either in the form of a treaty or a joint resolution. In the first case, 25 votes will be sufficient, two-thirds being required for confirmation, and with the aid of the Democrats (misery makes strange bedfellows) they count upon having these, with two or three votes to spare. In the case of a joint resolution, there are questions of constitutionality as to the method, which are relied upon for restraining some votes in the House. At all events, it is a satisfaction that the question cannot come before the present Congress, as there are some 40 members who are to retire with its close, and might be open to influence from the hope of Executive appointments.

The appointment of the Joint Commission on the *Alabama* and other questions with Great Britain seems to give general satisfaction, notwithstanding that the range of subjects to be treated is somewhat too wide to give good hope of the result. It is an earnest of good intentions on the part of Great Britain that the Commission should meet in Washington, and our commissioners will be justified in yielding the utmost limit of concession that the feeling of the country will allow. Our experience of war is too recent to prevent a feeling of relief at the dispersion of even a slight war-cloud; and, notwithstanding the soreness at the conduct of England during our war, and the truckling of politicians to the Irish vote, it can hardly be doubted that the sympathy of the sober masses will be heartily with Great Britain in the European struggle which threatens to break out at no distant day.

The remainder of the session will probably be occupied with actual business in the way of appropriations and the like, leaving it for the next Congress (which meets on the 6th of March, and is expected to continue in

session for some time) to show whether there is any disposition to meet the great questions of internal reform. The bulk of outside bills are in what is called the calendar of the Speaker's table, and the consideration of this has been postponed because it contains some railroad grants which the House is afraid to meet, and this has caused the immediate business of the House to be rather further advanced than might otherwise have been the case.

It is noticeable that there has not been this session a single speech upon the requirements of the country for more bank currency. You are aware that at the last session provision was made for fifty millions more bank issues, but upon terms which would give little or no profit to the banks. The result has been that only a small part of the capital has been taken up, showing conclusively that what was wanted was not more currency for the country, but more chances of profit for banks. A central bureau of redemption is one of the topics now under consideration, but, simple and obvious as the utility of such an institution may appear, it has no chance against the adverse interest of the banks. The chairman of the committee confesses that they have an extreme dislike and distrust of any measures interfering with bank privileges. There is no doubt that the chief obstacle to specie payments lies in the interest of these corporations, and, whenever a serious attempt is made, it will be found that their political power is too strong for any machinery which can as yet be brought to bear upon them.

THE SIEGE OF METZ.

[THE siege of Metz, with the battles which preceded it, it is now clear, decided the contest between France and Germany; in other words was the most momentous event of modern European history. No clear and satisfactory account of it has, however, yet appeared, and we are, therefore, about to present our readers with three or four papers on it for which we think we may fairly claim a high degree of authority.]

I.

BAZAINE'S ATTEMPT TO RETREAT.

BERLIN, Jan. 17, 1871.

So rapidly do the events of modern warfare succeed each other, and so closely are they connected, that its science requires their history to be written with equal celerity. It is owing to this fact that I am enabled to-day to write a tolerably accurate narrative of the siege of Metz from a mass of as yet unpublished German official reports and documents which have been placed at my disposal.*

The army of which Marshal Bazaine assumed the chief command on the 12th of August was the *élite* of the French forces, consisting of seventeen divisions of infantry, each division having thirteen battalions, each battalion eight hundred men. Besides, it had five hundred pieces of field artillery, a hundred and fifty mitrailleuses, and several cavalry divisions. In all, the army was composed of more than two hundred and twenty thousand men, among them the French Imperial Guard. The Emperor accompanied it in person, while under Bazaine commanded three marshals and three corps generals, who were assisted in counsel by General Changarnier, a man of very considerable military ability, who had grown gray in the African service, and a patriot in the strictest sense of the word. Besides this army, Metz was occupied by a garrison of over twenty thousand men, partly of the Garde Mobile, but mostly regular troops—a body amply sufficient for the defence of the fortress. It had as post-commander General Coffinières, whose name, subsequent to the capitulation, has been stigmatized with opprobrium. In the French camp, however, there was no unity of counsel. The defeat of the French General Frossard at Spicheren on the 6th of August had rendered the French position so critical that the Emperor determined to withdraw to the Camp of Châlons without delay, and, uniting with the fragments of the army of MacMahon and the corps of Failly and Douay, to fight a decisive battle in Champagne. The plan was communicated to Paris, and at first received the approbation of the Council of Ministers, but two days afterwards a letter of M. Ollivier informed the Emperor that, after mature deliberation, the Council was of opinion that it had been too hasty in approving the retreat of the army to Châlons, that to abandon Lorraine would produce a deplorable effect upon public spirit in France, and he requested the Emperor to renounce his project. The Emperor for a time ceded to this counsel.

However, the French people were greatly affected by the news of the reverses which their arms had suffered, and the Emperor, seeing himself held responsible for these disasters, thought to shelter himself in future from similar accusations by giving over the chief command of the Army of the Rhine to Marshal Bazaine.

Bazaine saw the importance of repassing the Moselle and concentrating at Châlons. Time, however, had been lost, the weather was unfavorable, and the prompt execution of the order to retreat was retarded by the immense amount of baggage with which the army was encumbered; and it was not until the evening of the 13th that the entire army was concentrated about Metz. To oppose the French the Germans had two armies, composed almost entirely of troops of North Germany. The First, under command of General Steinmetz, consisted of the First, Seventh, and Eighth Army Corps—about one hundred thousand strong. A few weeks after Metz had been invested, the third division of reserves, including a brigade of cavalry Landwehr commanded by Lieutenant-General Von Kummer, was added to this army. The Second, under command of Prince Frederic Charles of Prussia, consisted of the Second, Third, Fourth, Ninth, Tenth, Twelfth or Saxon, and the Garde Corps—about two hundred and forty thousand strong. These two armies were under the superior command of the King of Prussia. The plan of operations, however, was naturally dictated by General Moltke, his chief of staff. The question is yet involved in obscurity whether or not it was the intention of the Germans to force a fight on the 14th on the east side of Metz; and this question will probably be found to be intimately connected with the withdrawal from General Steinmetz of the command of the First Army. The means we at present have of coming to a conclusion lead very strongly to the conjecture that a battle was not anticipated at headquarters. The headquarters of the King were, on the 13th, transferred from St. Avold, on the direct road to Metz, to Herny, a point southeast of Metz, on the direct road to Pont-à-Mousson, where it remained the whole of the two following days, to await the movements of the troops that were to be in readiness to cross the Moselle in order to intercept the retreat of the French to Verdun. The King, with General Moltke and the rest of the staff, remained the whole of the 14th at Herny, and only repaired to the field of battle after the news of the battle had reached headquarters, whereas in every other engagement during the war that could be anticipated, the King was personally present if it was in his power.

The action of the French troops in all the engagements was paralyzed by their absolute ignorance of the position and strength of the Germans, who very well knew how to conceal their movements behind formidable detachments of cavalry, which deployed before them in every direction, so that the French, notwithstanding the most persevering researches, never really knew where the main body of the Germans was, or, consequently, where to produce the greatest effect; and the promptness and rapidity of the German marches contributed in no small degree to this uncertainty. Neither on the 14th nor on the 16th did the French imagine that they had to do with almost the entire available force of the Germans, and they allowed their precious time to be wasted in dilatory action. And here it may as well be said that the whole history of the siege of Metz is a history of the greatest alertness and most energetic action on the one hand, and the most culpable weakness, indecision, and indolence on the other. Already the arrival of parts of the army of Prince Frederic Charles at Gorze was announced, and German cavalry had penetrated to Briey, when, on the morning of the 14th, Bazaine began to withdraw the main body of his army across the Moselle.

The part of the French general in this emergency was clear—either to give no battle at all on the 14th, or give battle with the whole army. If he adhered to his purpose of retreating to Verdun, he should not accept a battle on the right bank of the river, but cross it as rapidly as possible. Metz was amply sufficient to protect him from the advance of the Germans in the rear, and a battle would retard his movements at least a day. If, on the other hand, it had been his purpose to make a stand at Metz, and contest the line of the Moselle, he should on that day have attacked the Germans with his whole army. In the beginning, he was certain to be successful, and certainly not earlier than on the 15th would the Germans have sufficient forces to withstand him, although only unimportant bodies

*I may as well add that I have been assisted in forming my impressions by my personal presence at all three of the principal engagements about Metz, and at the capitulation, and by intimate relations with quite a number of prominent Germans who, in one way or another, have exercised an influence over the fate of Metz. I have also very carefully examined "Der Krieg um Metz. Von einem preussischen General. Berlin: 1871. Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn. Königliche Buchhandlung," a curious pamphlet, which, whether really written by a Prussian general or by an apologist of Bazaine, or, as is most probable, by both, gives evidence of military talent and, when compared with the official reports, of a very intimate knowledge of the subject. I do not, however, pretend to say that I shall not, in the course of time, modify some of the opinions here expressed respecting the military operations about Metz, on obtaining access to more complete French reports than that of Bazaine, lately published at Brussels, who appears to have had no other purpose in writing it than to apologize for surrendering the fortress.—J. L. H.

had actually crossed the river. Both armies would, under such circumstances, have stood on the line from Metz to Saarbrück, and the French would have had the inside track. But Metz gave Bazaine the free choice of a battle with good prospects of success or of an undisturbed retreat. The part of the Germans was equally clear: in case they found the French in retreat, to march their main body across the river, leaving barely sufficient forces on the east side to retard the movements of the French as long as possible. Could this be accomplished without a bloody battle?

The Germans had been very carefully bringing forward their troops, and the First Army, the First Corps of which had just arrived, had advanced opposite Metz; while the Second Army, the Second Corps of which had not yet arrived, was in close union with it, but southwards above and below Pont-à-Mousson, extending along the river and ready to cross it. On the morning of the 14th, the Germans made a strong reconnoissance against the French, and finding them in retreat pressed them to within five miles of the walls of Metz. The First Army Corps followed the French, and at two o'clock attacked the Division Metman of the Third Corps. The French gave battle; the Fourth Corps, which had almost crossed the river, partly returned to repel this attack, taking up a position in front of Fort St. Julien. The engagement lasted until nightfall, the Germans having driven the French from the greater part of the field of battle, which was more sanguinary than any during the war of 1866.

From Metz there are three roads leading to Verdun. Two of these unite at Gravelotte at a distance of nine miles from the city: the southernmost leads direct to Verdun over Rezonville, Vionville, and Mars-la-Tour, and is the shortest of all; the next, a little longer, passes over Doncourt and Jarny to Étain, where it unites with the third and northernmost, and longest, which leads from Metz almost in a northerly direction along the Moselle to Woippy, thence defiles through the woods for a long distance over Saulny to St. Privat-la-Montagne, thence over Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes to Auboué into the valley of the Orne, thence again defiles to Briey, where the road divides, one part leading in a northwesterly direction over Longuion and Montmédy to Sedan, and the other leading due westwardly to Étain, uniting there with the middle route to Verdun. All these roads are wide and excellent. The movements of the French army on the left bank of the river continued during the next day, Bazaine having selected the two southernmost of these roads for his line of march. The Second and Sixth Corps were moved in échelon behind the cavalry division of General De Forton, who had cleared the road so far as Mars-la-Tour, while the division of General De Barail cleared the second road to Conflans-en-Jarnisy; the Imperial Guard was stationed in front of Gravelotte.

After having examined the field of battle on the morning of the 15th, and satisfied himself that the French had withdrawn their forces, the King returned to Herny and gave orders to cross the river. The First Corps remained before Metz, while the other corps of the First Army, the Seventh and Eighth, were moved to the river, and bridges were built for their passage near Corny. On that day the Third Corps crossed at Pont-à-Mousson and moved down the river to Novéant, where a narrow but serviceable pass leads over Gorze to the heights on the left bank of the river; the Ninth Corps followed the Third, and reached Vandières, three miles north of Pont-à-Mousson; the Tenth Corps marched from Pont-à-Mousson through Thiaucourt, towards the road to Verdun; the Garde crossed above Pont-à-Mousson; and the Saxons were still on the march to that town. The Second Corps was still at Forbach, and the Fourth never arrived in time to take part in any of the three great battles about Metz. On the part of the Germans, the purpose was to attempt by every means in their power to bring the French to a stand between the Moselle and the Meuse, and compel them to a decisive battle; and, although it was only late at night when the different corps of the Second Army reached the respective points above-mentioned, the march was recommenced at daybreak, in order to reach the plateau between the Moselle and the Orne in the direction of Verdun.

The French knowing that, on the morning of the previous day, the bulk of the German army was on the right bank of the river, twenty-five miles distant from their position, seemed to think they had time until the 17th to march the army, about two hundred thousand men, to Verdun, and that they could remain quiet during the 16th and allow their train, which was moving along the northernmost and longest road, to have a good start. This inactivity of the French and the energy of the Germans rendered a battle on the 16th inevitable. The concentration of the French Third and Fourth Corps on the plateau was not yet complete when, at nine o'clock in the morning, the attack was commenced by the German Third Corps, which, having marched for two hours from Gorze through narrow mountain roads, found the French stationed south of the road to Verdun along the heights from Tronville, to a point south of Rezonville. Upon the appearance of the Germans, Forton's cavalry division fell back upon the Second Corps. The battle was conducted on the German side by the Third Corps alone until half-past twelve o'clock; Tronville was carried as well as Mars-la-Tour, and thus the road to Verdun was reached. On this day time was computed in a much more valuable coin than money—an hour cost a division of cavalry. The attack on Vionville was abortive, and the Third Corps scarcely able to hold out any longer, when two cavalry divisions, coming from Thiaucourt, were brought into the fight, and went forward to the attack in the most reckless manner, broke through the French line, and rode over their batteries, and were finally almost annihilated; but in this way an hour was gained. Towards three o'clock the Tenth Corps came to the support of the left wing, over Puxieux and Mars-la-Tour, towards the woods north of Vionville, in the direction of Bruville, while the Ninth Corps came up on the right along the Bois de Vionville, and commenced the attack on Flavigny and Vionville; Vionville was taken, but the attack on Flavigny was repelled. At half-past four parts of the Seventh and Eighth Corps appeared still further to the right, having crossed the Moselle at Corny, climbed the sides of the mountain, and marched along devious paths through the Bois de Chevaux and Bois des Ognons, and gained possession of these woods; but they could not come out of them to the attack on Rezonville. The appearance of these new troops, however, encouraged the renewed attack upon Flavigny, which, finally, between seven and eight o'clock, fell into the hands of the Germans. Meantime, the attack of the Tenth Corps, forming the left wing, against Doncourt over Bruville, to obtain possession of the second road to Verdun by way of Conflans and Étain, was most decisively repelled, and that corps driven back to a point north of Mars la Tour; but this position it asserted up to the close of the battle. At the end of the day the French held the line Gravelotte, Rezonville, St. Marcel, Bruville; the Germans held the line opposite them, Bois des Ognons, Flavigny, Vionville, the woods north of that village, and the ground north of Mars-la-Tour. The soldiers of both the contending armies fought most courageously—at no time was there any such disorder as announces discouragement. The losses on both sides were equal, but equally great; few trophies were gained. The entire French army had been in position; the Germans had only three full corps and parts of two others—at the most, a hundred and twenty thousand men; yet with this inferior force they had not only been able to gain ground, but to obtain definitive possession of the Verdun road and cut off one of the principal avenues of retreat of the French. That they were able to do so can only be ascribed to the faults of the French commander. It appears as if Bazaine on that day made up in personal daring for his deficiency in military skill; for, with his entire suite, he was so entangled in the cavalry fight, at two o'clock, that he was saving his life at a time when it was absolutely essential for him to give his attention to the conduct of the battle.*

Correspondence.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FROM A LIFE INSURANCE OFFICER.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In an elaborate article entitled "The Condition of Life Insurance among Us," the *Nation* of the 26th inst. presents what it believes to be the dangers which threaten the safety of life insurance companies in this country. These dangers, as it believes, are two in number. The first it finds in the plan usually employed by the several companies for compensating its officers and agents, and the second (which it admits it hardly regards as a momentary danger) in the fact that their large investments in mortgages of city property have done and are doing much to swell the market value of such property, which value in this way often becomes speculative and unsubstantial.

It does not question the moral and social advantages of life insurance, nor the soundness of the great leading principles on which all companies are constructed. These are, indeed, now universally conceded. The method of compensation complained of is that of giving commissions upon the business procured or transacted, and it finds this method prevailing not only with reference to agents in the field, but to the home

* How sadly Bazaine was in ignorance of the purpose of the whole engagement, and of the numbers of the enemy, appears from his letter to the Emperor on the 17th of August, giving an account of the battle, in his "Rapport Sommaire," p. 6.

officers and employees of the several companies, from the president to the youngest clerk. It is evident that the larger the immediate receipts, the larger will be the present remuneration. The danger is, that to multiply present profits policies may be issued upon unsound lives, and that through this practice the mortality experience of such companies in years to come will exceed the mortality rates upon which their premiums are based. From this it appears beyond cavil that whatever officer is to pass finally upon an application for insurance, and whoever, in fact, is to make recommendation with reference to the action of that officer, should have his judgment as untrammelled and free as that of a juror or judge. To all such officers a percentage of receipts is as inappropriate as would be a *per-capita* compensation to a court in criminal proceedings—so many dollars for each conviction. But who are these officers who have to do with the issue of the policies? Different offices are differently organized, with their duties variously distributed, but ordinarily they are the president and his assistants, the secretary, the principal medical adviser or director, and the various medical examiners scattered throughout the country. These officers, then, should not experience a single farthing's immediate profit or loss by the approval or denial of a single application. If they have the interest we are discussing, they are imperilling, as we have seen, the future life of the company, and they are hourly tempted, too, to present extravagance and waste in the procurement of applications. The custom, so far as it exists, is emphatically and radically wrong. The interest as well as the purpose of the officers should be to make the company sound and reliable, and protect it from all injury, as well as to enlarge its usefulness. Every man in the principal office should be paid by salary only, and every medical examiner should be paid the same fee, and paid, too, only by the company, whether his recommendation be in the affirmative or negative. His appointment should be made by the company, and that only after it is abundantly satisfied of his personal integrity and professional experience and skill. Thus, while we recognize the principle involved in the first danger suggested by the *Nation*, we would avoid it not by a full change in the payment of commissions, but by applying the principle to all persons employed by the companies save agents or solicitors only. These last can surely be justly paid by commission, and we fail to discover how such payment can seriously prejudice the interests of the companies, while their payment by salary would inevitably persuade many of them remote from supervision to indolence, misrepresentation, and fraud. We believe that more money would be wasted in unearned salaries, were the present practice changed in this particular, than is now lost through the improper influence of agents of companies in which no other persons beside themselves are entitled to a percentage of receipts. We see no danger whatever in this direction to companies whose business is conducted in the manner we have defined and approved; but there is such inherent hazard and weakness in such as, through the payment to them of percentages on premiums, encourage their officers to lavish expenditures and the insurance of impaired lives, that we wonder not at the failure of the Great Western and the Farmers' and Mechanics', but only that others did not tumble earlier than they; and we would advise our readers, in selecting companies for insurance, to make careful enquiry upon the points we have been considering.

The second danger suggested by the *Nation* has already been stated, but cannot, as we believe, be regarded as one of a serious nature. We confess, in fact, that we do not really believe in its existence. In the large populous centres of the country, from their earliest settlement, real estate has been advancing in value, with uneven yet rapid strides. This fact is a familiar one, as is the anecdote related by Dr. Franklin, which well illustrates, in a humorous way, one view of the safety of real estate mortgages in the leading cities. We repeat the story in the best spirit, or rather allow the Doctor so to do in his own language, from his Autobiography. The facts occurred some forty-five years prior to their narration, and Franklin's remark upon his friend Mickle's advice was after abundant opportunity to judge of its soundness:

"There are croakers in every country always boding its ruin. Such a one there lived in Philadelphia—a person of note, an elderly man, with a wise look and a very grave manner of speaking. His name was Samuel Mickle. This gentleman, a stranger to me, stopped me one day at my door, and asked me if I was the young man who had lately opened a new printing-house. Being answered in the affirmative, he said he was sorry for me, because it was an expensive undertaking, and the expense would be lost, for Philadelphia was a sinking place, the people already half-bankrupt, or near being so—all the appearances to the contrary, such as new buildings and the rise of rents, being to his certain knowledge fallacious, for they were, in fact, among the things that would ruin us. Then he gave me such a detail of misfortunes now existing, or that were soon to exist, that he left me half-melancholy. Had I known him before I engaged in this business, probably I should never have done it. This person continued to live in this decaying place, and to declaim in the same strain, refusing for many years to buy a house there, because all was going to destruction; and at last I had the pleasure of seeing him give five times as much for one as he might have bought it for when he first began croaking."

We believe there is no safer investment than that secured by first mortgage upon first-class city property worth at least double its amount. But while we think the objection just considered is not well taken, we heartily commend the conclusion reached by the *Nation*, that the public should require every life insurance company "to possess large means of its own to give some guarantee to insurers, both as a financial security and as a means of insuring the interest and watchfulness of the stockholders and their representatives, the board of directors." This is the sum of the whole matter. The managers of a company must be pecuniarily interested in its integrity and soundness rather than in its volume of business, and must themselves be supervised by directors who likewise have large monetary interest in the solvency and safety of the institution. The directions and demands of the stockholders are more imperious and authoritative than the regrets of disappointed policy-holders, and we believe that among the signs of the times there is none clearer or more appropriate and encouraging than this, that life insurance companies must hereafter give larger pledges to the insured than they have done—pledges that all the contracts made by them shall be fulfilled, and that all the officers by them employed shall honestly, prudently, and economically manage the business, that all liabilities can easily be discharged.

Let public statutes, then, provide that no dividends shall ever be made to stockholders which shall impair to the value of a single dollar the capital invested by them, but that it shall always be kept intact for the indemnity of the policy-holders, and life insurance will be lifted out of the heated competition and conflicts of irresponsible and reckless managers, who, without personal investment or hazard of any sort whatever, ask policy-holders to insure themselves and pay to them large commissions for that privilege. The experience of the public with reference to fire companies is now being repeated with reference to life associations, and this experience demands that capital shall insure to policy-holders the integrity and fidelity of companies and their officers. PLURAL.

WEST POINT.

To the Editor of the Nation:

SIR: Whenever a discussion arises as to the unsatisfactory condition of the West Point Academy, it is plainly seen that the root of the evil is to be found in the laws which regulate the appointment of cadets. Allow me to suggest a very simple plan, which, while retaining Congressional patronage, would, I think, meet many of the objections to it.

Let us suppose, for example, that ten appointments are to be made from the State of New York in the class which is to enter the Academy next summer. Let a law be passed allowing each Senator and Representative from the State to nominate one candidate for a cadetship; and let a competent board, to be appointed by the President, or by the Governor, select from the thirty-one candidates so nominated the ten best qualified to enter the Academy. By this plan, to be applied of course to every State, each Senator and Representative in Congress would annually nominate a candidate, and would, in view of the examination, be careful to nominate a promising one.

Nine-tenths of the money now wasted in instructing cadets, who, at the end of the first year, are proved to be unfit for the school, would thus be saved; and the men trained at the Academy would be worthy of the education it offers.—Respectfully yours, B.

Feb. 11, 1871.

[Some Congressmen have, to their honor, opened these nominations to competitive examination; but even if this practice were general, it would not diminish the value of our correspondent's suggestion. On the other hand, even under B.'s system, what is to prevent the Congressman, when his nominee is convicted for lying, from bullying the War Department into remitting the sentence?—Ed. Nation.]

GOVERNMENT SALE OF ARMS.

To the Editor of the Nation:

SIR: Dr. Friedrich Kapp, in his letter of January 18, published in the *Nation* of February 9, repeats the charge against the United States Government of having sold contraband of war, especially fire-arms, to the

French. Would it not be well to say that this has been denied upon very good authority? It is true that cases of arms, with the sign of the Government factory on the cases, have been sold and shipped to France. Our Government sold the arms then, as it always does, to private parties, who, in turn, sold them to the French. It was no surreptitious transaction, nor was it a feigned one.

I mention this simply to correct an erroneous statement made in good faith by the distinguished writer. Were we to discuss the law of neutrality as it stands, and as it ought to stand, it is very probable that I should be found more strict than Dr. Kapp, as it would appear from his very letter. Here we have to do with the simple question, Has our Government sold arms to a belligerent, or has it made any extraordinary sales? The answer, I believe, is, It has not.

I cannot help seizing upon this opportunity to say that, immediately after peace shall have been concluded, the subject of neutrality ought to be taken in hand, whether officially or by agreement, among international jurists, but in either case authoritatively, and ought to be brought nearer to a state agreeing with the growing inter-connection of nations. The modern law of nations rests first of all on the principle of neighborliness; and, as our civilization advances, so does good neighborhood become more important, and so, in turn, does the subject of neutrality grow in comprehensive importance. F. L.

New York, February 11.

Notes.

In justice to the writer of the review of Parker's "Historic Americans," in No. 292 of the *Nation*, we note a typographical error which would regularly have found its place among the errata at the close of the volume. In the sixth line of the second paragraph in the left-hand column of page 77, it is stated that Arnold was in Virginia "from January to June, 1780." This should, of course, read 1781. This error, it may be remarked, is not in Mr. Parker's favor.—Chicago having spent over $8,000 in purchasing, importing, and arranging the theological library of the late Dr. Hengstenberg, of Berlin, has deposited it in the building of the University at Chicago, and aims to make it the "nucleus of a Universal or General Theological Library, to be managed and controlled without any sectarian prejudices against, or special advantages to, any religious body, persons, or denomination." Since the securing so valuable a collection was really a benefit conferred upon the whole country, the Association which has interested itself in this enterprise feels justified in asking subscriptions to its capital stock, by which it hopes to pay for the library and for additions to it. A circular which describes the character of the upwards of twelve thousand volumes gathered by Dr. Hengstenberg, and as yet uncatalogued, may be had of Mr. J. Young Scammon, President, or Mr. W. W. Everts, jr., Secretary, of the Free Theological Library of Chicago, to whom also subscriptions may be sent. ——A "Life of Gen. Robert E. Lee," by John Esten Cooke, will be published this month by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co.——Messrs. Pott & Amery publish immediately "Musings on the 'Christian Year' and 'Lyra Innocentium,'" by Miss C. M. Yonge, to which several friends of Keble have added some recollections of him; also, "A Concordance to the 'Christian Year,'" uniform with the preceding; and "Seven Lenten Sermons on Psalm LI." by the Rev. W. W. How, M.A.——We must refer readers to the forthcoming number of the *Book-Buyer* for full particulars of the simultaneous publication of the "Speaker's Commentary" by John Murray, in London, and, from stereotype plates, by Charles Scribner & Co., in this city. This work has been in preparation some eight years, employing upwards of thirty clergymen of the Church of England, with other co-laborers, and is designed to be a plain and popular commentary of the Scriptures, devoid of purely scholarly discussions, but correcting the manifest mistranslations of the authorized version of 1611. The American publishers hope to compress the Pentateuch into one volume, royal octavo, of 1,000 pages, which, in cloth, will be sold at the low price of $5. Nine other volumes, at the same price, will, it is hoped, embrace the entire Commentary. The typography will be adapted to the eyesight of elderly readers.——Mr. Frederic Louis Ritter calls our attention to a possible misapprehension of the remark, in our last issue, concerning the appearance of his "History of Music" at the same time with Mr. John K. Paine's lectures on the same subject in Boston. Mr. Ritter says the greater part of his work was prepared and delivered as lectures more than three years ago, in his regular course of instruction at Vassar College. We had no intention of implying any other than a merely accidental relation between his book and the Boston lectures.

—It is pleasant to witness the yearly growth of the Wisconsin Historical Society, whose seventeenth annual report is before us. We have more than once referred to its valuable library, which now contains 45,530 volumes, documents, and pamphlets, including the unusual and (west of the Alleghanies) unequalled number of 1,601 volumes of bound newspapers. Three of these last were printed in the seventeenth century, 153 in the eighteenth, and the remainder during the present century. The principle that unto him that hath shall be given, is the best guide for would-be donors to libraries as to universities, and *à fortiori* to would-be founders of either. If it is duly heeded in this instance, the Wisconsin Society is likely to establish the strongest claim on the liberality of the West, at least.

—A contribution to the comparative legislation of the United States will be found in "The Rights of Property of Married Women under the Laws of Kentucky," a paper read by H. Marshall Buford before the Lexington Bar Association, and now published by request in pamphlet form (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.) The attempts to remedy special cases of hardship and injustice growing out of the common law in regard to the *feme covert*, appear to have introduced much confusion into the statutes of Kentucky, and the author appends as a substitute for them an act by which he would regulate the property of married women. It is characteristic of the State's backwardness in reaping the benefits and accepting the fact of emancipation that the existing laws give a man a life-estate in the slaves of his wife.

—We observe that the *Evening Post* makes the statement that in and after the year 1872 the standard of admission to Harvard College is to be considerably raised. Now, although the classes at Cambridge are so large, it is nevertheless true that, as regards the thoroughness and the scope of the examinations for admission, Harvard may be said to be about one year ahead of other American colleges; and it is a question of a good deal of interest whether the standard of admission can with profit to the college be still further raised. There is no American college of high pretension and of tried and approved excellence and usefulness which is so rich, or rather so far from poverty, as to be able to dispense with the revenue derived from the fees which its undergraduates pay for tuition. All students, even the most careless and the dullest, everywhere take pride, of course, in believing themselves members of the college which makes the most stringent demands upon them, and whose matriculation papers and degrees are hardest to get; and no doubt the rule holds good up to a certain point, that severity of examination attracts candidates and swells the size of classes and, by consequence, the college revenues. To determine just where this point of highest attraction is to be found—just where severity will, for a time at least, work damage to the college treasury, must, we imagine, be a task of great difficulty. As long as the opinion is prevalent that at twenty-two or twenty-three years a young man should have finished his general studies and begun to work for his living, our college authorities will consider anxiously and long before venturing to take upon themselves, and to throw upon the preparatory schools, more work than is now laid upon school and college to perform. It must be frankly confessed, we take it, that the country is not as yet quite ready for a true university, and that the friends of higher education must still for a while take counsel of prudence and be content to make haste slowly.

—We have seen, we suppose, the same circulars and reports as those upon which is based the statement made by the *Post*, and since reading that statement have given them a renewed examination, in order to discover whether in the judgment of the Cambridge authorities the time has come for making further demands upon candidates; or, rather, in order to see whether they think it so near at hand as 1872. So far as we can learn, the *Post* is mistaken, and intending applicants for admission to Harvard may dismiss any apprehensions which the *Post* has caused them. In 1872, as we read the circular containing the "requisites for admission," candidates who have passed the ordinary examination and secured their admission may, if they so choose, request the college to examine them in the following subjects: The "Odes" of Horace; any three books of "Livy;" Cicero's "De Senectute;" the "Apology" and "Crito" of Plato; the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the "Iliad." "No candidate," says the circular, "will be *required* to present himself at these additional examinations;" but every one who hopes to obtain distinction in Greek and Latin and intends to graduate with special honors in the department of classical studies is "strongly advised" to pass them, and is promised that, if he do pass them, he shall be placed "in advanced sections in Latin and Greek immediately on entering college." As for the ordinary

examinations, it appears that they will be, except in two particulars, the same in the future—in the immediate future, at all events—that they have been in the recent past: there will be required a knowledge of the elements of physical geography, "which is indispensable for the intelligent study of history," and a knowledge of the *use* of logarithms, "familiarity with which is required at every step in the study of mathematics and physical science, while the necessary drill can be much better given in the schools than in college." These new requisites are to be requisites at the examination in June next and thenceforward. There is, indeed, another change made in the list of requirements; but it is a change which amounts neither to an increase in them nor a diminution: it is hereafter to be permitted to the student to choose whether he will come better prepared in mathematics than is now necessary and with less of Latin and Greek or whether he will pass the regular examination. In past years men have been turned away who, while they had not read all of Virgil, for example, or all of "Xenophon's Anabasis," were very well qualified to go on with advanced sections in mathematics, and better qualified than the vast majority of the graduates of our classical schools to pursue with advantage chemistry and the allied sciences. Some Western schools turn out such men. We have not space to explain the new scheme; but any one interested—and the subject is interesting to educators and to educated men generally—may easily procure the circular and the reports which are our authority for these statements we have made.

—Whoever procures them will find in them many things suggestive and important, and Harvard men will find them full of encouragement. The president's report, in particular, is as cheerful as a brisk breeze, and will give to all friends of the college strong grounds of hope—hope that will not be dashed, but on the contrary increased, by the concluding passages, in which President Eliot, after expressing gratitude towards some munificent benefactors for their gifts, asks with an air of perfect confidence for some three hundred and fifty thousand dollars more! This is to be expended in building a new hall of lecture-rooms and laboratories; a library building for the divinity school—which, by the way, the churches ought to pay for—a lecture-room and working-room at the Botanic Garden; and an addition to Gore Hall, where is deposited the college library, which—badly as it needs money to keep it even with the literature of the age—now overflows its limits. It would appear, too, that what Mr. Eliot asks for he is not unlikely to get. Since the making of his report two persons have come forward with gifts which secure the immediate erection of two dormitories, which both for convenience and for architectural effect will probably be superior to anything now owned by the university. That alone would not be much to say, though a taste for Massachusetts Hall and for Holden Chapel may be acquired—in fact, has been acquired by many persons—their ugliness being that of another day than the present. So of Harvard Hall, also, which has undergone some changes that improve its external aspect, which, the President remarks, "had not been pleasing." Nobody would have expostulated earnestly, we should say, if he had asserted that it bordered upon being an affliction to every eye. What with the erection of Thayer Hall, Holyoke House, and the two new dormitories, the proposed removal of Dane Hall, the alterations in Harvard Hall and College House, the cutting-off of the vistas of the college yard, and the giving to it—happy substitution—a look of quadrangular snugness, at the same time that the Appleton Chapel and Gore Hall are screened from observation—what with all these alterations and improvements, the older graduates will hardly recognize their ancient haunts.

—Other interesting changes, which we shall note desultorily, the report chronicles. "The Governing Boards have simply accommodated the statutes to the changed opinions and habits of the community at large," by ordaining that students who spend Sunday with their parents or with friends whom their parents choose may go to church or not as the parents or friends concur with the students in deciding; and, furthermore, have ordained that students who on Sundays as on other days are within the jurisdiction of the college are to be compelled to go to church but once instead of twice. The office of dean of the college faculty has been created, and the president of the university is relieved of much of the strictly clerical and administrative labor of the college proper. The various recesses have been abolished, and the winter vacation shortened to two weeks, so that there may be a summer vacation of three months. Thus time is given instructors and pupils for independent labor—which it is well for the community of letters and science that the former should have opportunity to attempt, and well for the latter themselves that they should be encouraged to attempt. After 1872, the university will give no ordinary degree, whether in Arts, Law, Divinity, Medicine, or Science, without an examination—a needed change, which will make the higher degrees mean something; something more than that a graduate has been willing to pay five dollars for the right to put "A.M." after his name instead of "A.B." Salaries, President Eliot says, have been raised, and evidently not too soon. A tutor still gives his work for a salary of but a thousand dollars a year, though probably there is no tutor at Cambridge who might not get considerably more money by teaching in a public or private school; and probably there is none who can live comfortably at Cambridge rates of living without spending a larger sum than his salary—a sum which has to be earned by work outside of his tutorial work, and by work which perhaps is not detrimental to the right performance of his tutorial duties, but is to some extent incompatible with the advancement in knowledge which is to fit him for collegiate promotion. It appears, however, that a change for the better in respect of this is acknowledged necessary. Of the system of University Lectures, newly established, the report remarks that they are a great addition to the teaching power of the university; and it goes on to insist that "if the university is hereafter to provide advanced instruction in History, Philosophy, Art, the Humanities, and Pure Science, funds must be provided from the income of which each instructor may be paid a moderate stipend." As yet, the zeal of the friends of higher education has kept the list of lecturers full; but, certainly, it is not to be expected that "so great an amount of labor will be performed by thirty or forty teachers, year after year, without any adequate compensation." To give to the thorough and ardent student information and help which he cannot find in books—to aid and supplement the labor and acquirement of true students, not to give to ignorance a smattering of knowledge—is the design of those who planned the system of University Lectures; and, of course, in a community such as any of our American communities—or, for that matter, such as any community anywhere—it is necessary to wait a while before pronouncing the system profitable and a success. It is earnestly to be hoped that it may be. And it is easy to hope too confidently, and to be too impatient. Perhaps a better employment for money than that of setting this system of lectures upon a sound financial basis it might be difficult to find, for few things are more certain than that there never was a falser opinion than that which one used to see expressed by the picture in the old "reading-books:" a tree was figured with its roots in view as well as its trunk and branches, and for roots, trunk, and branches there were names deemed appropriate; "academies" was the name labelled upon the trunk; the topmost twigs were marked "colleges," and for the roots from which these sprang the name was "common schools." That the relation of the university to the primary school is—not very obviously, perhaps, but most truly—as that of the mother to the child, and not as that of the child to the mother, is a truth for which a wider acceptance among us is to be wished.

—The death of Miss Alice Cary, which occurred on Sunday, not only leaves a regrettable vacancy in the ranks of American poetesses, but breaks up the living partnership of work and fame which she had so long enjoyed with her sister Phœbe. They came of original Massachusetts stock transplanted to Ohio, and began writing poetry for country newspapers at the early ages of eighteen and seventeen respectively. Their removal to New York, some twenty years since, brought them into better relations with the literary world, and enabled them to publish those numerous works, both in prose and verse, which have confirmed their reputation and won for them the affection of a wide circle of readers. The writings of the deceased—and we say it without insinuating any comparison with the survivor—abound in womanly sympathy for all humankind, which overflows for those who need it most, the poor, the outcast, the sick, the demented; and in innocence as well as kindness—a sort of incapacity to dwell on the dark side of things, or to view nature (which she painted better than she did character) as anything but a wholly lovely creation. Her poetry, without being of the first order in form or substance, was pure and graceful, and made those better and happier who felt its influence. The friendly intimacy between these sisters and Mr. Greeley—part of whose churchgoing it has been to take tea with them every Sunday evening—should not be forgotten, nor its probable effect in lightening his incessant labors, and preserving, as far as a politician and the editor of a daily paper can preserve, his sweetness of temper.

—Those whose charity commonly takes the form of a *quid pro quo* have a good opportunity of contributing to the French fund by purchasing one or more copies of Father Hyacinthe's London Address ("France et Allemagne: Discours prononcé à Londres, le 20 décembre, 1870"), which may be had for twenty-five cents of Messrs. Macmillan & Co. or the trade

generally. The words are those of a man who, if not possessed of an absolutely clear vision, is able to rise above the feelings of the hour, and to discuss in a beautifully calm and philosophical manner the relations between the two contending nations in Europe. The discourse is devoted to disproving the assertion that the present war is essentially one of races and religions—a position first and at the outset assumed by the French themselves, from Napoleon to Laboulaye, and never echoed by the Germans unless in defiance. Father Hyacinthe in reality, therefore, argues for peace with his own countrymen, barely addressing a few words of warning to the Germans lest they take into their veins the poison of military despotism. He does not think Alsace and Lorraine necessary to the greatness of France any more than the division of Germany—"je n'ai point ressenti," he says, "les angoisses patriotiques qui ont suivi Sadowa"—nevertheless he considers it a point of honor not voluntarily to abandon those provinces. Nowhere, he remarks, has he seen religious toleration as between Catholic and Protestant so perfect as in Germany, and of Döllinger he speaks in the highest terms for his resistance to Papal infallibility. In short, all his allusions to the German character are so generous, and to the French character so modest, that one's respect for the author cannot fail to be heightened on reading this little pamphlet. It concludes with rejoicing in the freedom of Rome, in the unity of Italy as in that of Germany, and in the probable regeneration of France under the form of a conservative republic or of a liberal monarchy—"deux mots qui expriment presque une même idée."

—The following are some of the more important English publications either recently or soon to be issued. A "Life of Ambrose Bonwicke," by his father, edited by John C. B. Mayor; "Life of Dr. Adoniram Judson," the famous missionary to Burmah, revised (we suppose from some one of the American biographies) and edited by Horatius Bonar; "Life and Adventures of Count Beugnot," minister of state under Napoleon I., from the French by Miss Yonge; "Life and Letters of William Bewick," the artist, by Thomas Landseer, in two volumes; "Memoir of Daniel Maclise, R.A.," by W. J. O'Driscoll, who gives some wood-cuts of unpublished sketches drawn by this overrated artist in letters to his friends; "Miscellaneous and Posthumous Works of the late Thomas Henry Buckle," edited, with a biographical notice, by Ellen Taylor. In travels a few titles: "Norway and the Vöring-Fos;" "Impressions of Greece," by Sir Thomas Wyse; "Turkish Harems and Circassian Homes," by Mrs. Harvey, with colored illustrations; "Recollections of Society in France and England," by Lady Clementina Davies; and "The Playground of Europe," by Leslie Stephen, late president of the Alpine Club, whose "playground" is the one in question. Among historical works the following: "Student's Manual of the History of India," from the earliest period to the present, by Meadows Taylor; "The Historical Geography of Europe," by Edward A. Freeman; "English and Scotch Historical Ballads," with introduction, notes, and glossary, edited for the use of schools by Arthur Milman, and likely to be instructive in more ways than one; "History of the Gothic Revival," especially in its relation to the taste for mediæval architecture in England during the last two centuries, by Charles L. Eastlake; and "The Keramic Gallery," by William Chaffers, comprising six hundred illustrations of rare, curious, and choice examples of pottery and porcelain, of all ages, from the British, South Kensington, and other museums and collections, together with historical notices and descriptions. Two of Mr. Murray's announcements deserve separate mention: "A Copious English Grammar, a methodical, analytical, and historical treatise on the orthography, prosody, inflections, and syntax of the English Tongue," from the German of Prof. Maetzner, of Berlin, whose qualifications to instruct even English scholars will not be disputed; and "A Mediæval Latin-English Dictionary," founded on Ducange's, by E. A. Dayman.

—While a certain amount of attention is being attracted towards China, the following extract from a modern native work (Peking, 1845), entitled "*Shing Wu Chi*," or "A History of the Wars of the Present Dynasty," to which our attention has been called by a correspondent, is of interest, and speaks volumes for the light in which recent action on the part of the great civilized powers is viewed by the literary classes of the empire. Referring to the "nations of the West," the writer (an official of high rank) says: "The books even of the British and other barbarians acknowledge Russia as the greatest of nations. Our own envoys in their journeys thither have had only interviews with the (Russian) territorial governors, *and have not been admitted to see the Emperor*." We are assured by residents in China that the trading classes expressed considerable surprise at the cordial receptions vouchsafed by the President and the crowned heads of Europe to Chinese who were of too low a grade to be permitted to seat themselves before provincial governors. It is a pity that pains are not taken to explain to the Chinese the reasons which induce civilized nations to dispense with an etiquette which in their own country is regarded as all-important. The hint above given might, if acted upon, be of service in our future intercourse with a people who construe the amenities of civilized life as an acknowledgment of inferiority to the all-powerful children of the "Brother of the Sun."

ABBOTT'S SHAKESPEARIAN GRAMMAR.*

THE language of Shakespeare is not a different language from the English of to-day. It is not even a different dialect of the same language. In all that part of grammar which relates to the forms of words—the part in which dialect shows itself—the two are alike, or very nearly so. Yet Shakespeare's English is distinguished from ours by numerous, not to say innumerable, differences. If any one doubts the fact, a glance through the pages of this book will be sure to work conviction. The book does not, indeed, profess to take account of *all* differences between Shakespearian and modern English. Differences in vocabulary are not included in its plan; it gives no list of Shakespearian words which are now obsolete, nor any list of words now used which were unknown to Shakespeare; and in most cases where words common to both periods have changed their meaning, it is silent as to the change. It is not a dictionary, but a grammar, or, more precisely, a syntax of the Shakespearian language. Changes of meaning are only noted as they pertain to what may be called syntactical words—such as pronouns, auxiliary verbs, prepositions, conjunctions—which only serve to express relations among nouns and verbs, the substantial elements of speech.

The *sounds* of a language are within the rightful province of the grammarian; but Mr. Abbott has not entered on the subject of English pronunciation in the sixteenth century. This, probably, is not because he regards it as differing little from the pronunciation of the nineteenth. It is more likely that he would refer those who desire information on this interesting but difficult subject to the great work of Mr. A. J. Ellis on the history of English pronunciation. If Mr. Ellis's conclusions are correct in all their extent, we should, perhaps, have to retract the statement that Shakespeare's English is not a different dialect from ours. In the simple phrase, "one touch of nature," he finds that every syllable has changed its sound during the past three hundred years. "One," he thinks, was sounded in Shakespeare's time very much as we sound "own;" *ou* in "touch" had the same sound as in "you," "youth;" "of" had the Yankee short sound of *o* in "bone," "coat;" while, as to "nature," he holds that, in all but accent, it was pronounced like the French "nature," having in its first syllable the sound of *a* in "far," and in its second the peculiar French *u*, so hard for modern English organs. Though Mr. Ellis's views on some points admit of question, it is certain that Shakespeare's pronunciation of his own text, were it possible for us to hear it, would seem to us excessively uncouth, or even ludicrous. But as no one would think of requiring that Shakespeare's text should be read now as the poet himself would have read it, this subject of Shakespearian pronunciation has no great practical importance, and we cannot blame Mr. Abbott for leaving it altogether unnoticed.

On the other hand, he has given much prominence to the proper rhythmic utterance of the Shakespearian verse. By the majority of readers this is almost wholly neglected. Many are endowed by nature with little or no feeling for rhythm; others are afraid to read rhythmically, lest it should seem like sing-song; others, again, look upon rhythm as inconsistent with dramatic propriety, since nobody uses it in actual conversation. It is not uncommon for teachers to direct their pupils to read verse just as if they found it written like prose, and believed it to be such. Many make a point of hurrying on, wherever they can, from one verse to the next, as if shooting rapids, without regard to the rhythmic pause—slight, perhaps, yet perceptible to a fine ear—which should mark the close of the rhythm. But it is evident that the author of this grammar is a lover of rhythm—one of those who hold that verse has its rights which readers are bound to respect. "My own experience," he says, "leads me to think that the prosody of Shakespeare has peculiar interest for boys, and that some training in it is absolutely necessary if they are to read Shakespeare *critically*." This experience, however, he would hardly have gained if his taste had not set him to teaching rhythm—if his ear had not been offended when good verse was murdered by unrhythmic reading. He has taken extraor-

* "A Shakespearian Grammar. An attempt to illustrate some of the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English. For the use of schools. By E. A. Abbott, M.A., Head-master of the City of London School, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Revised and enlarged edition." London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1870. 16mo, pp. xxiv., 511.

dinary pains with his treatment of this subject, introducing, as he says' "*every difficult verse of Shakespeare* where the text was not acknowledged as corrupt, or where the difficulty was more than slight." In his dicussion of the apparent irregularities, he brings out many interesting facts, particularly as regards the contraction of words, the suppression of syllables by a slurring pronunciation, which must have been carried much further in Shakespeare's time than it is by good speakers at the present day. Some of his explanations—especially some of those in which he assumes a dissyllabic pronunciation for words that ordinarily are monosyllables—we are hardly prepared to accept. And we think that the gross carelessness shown in the printing of the earliest texts would have justified him in removing a much larger number of the seeming anomalies by slight and easy changes of the text. However this may be, Mr. Abbott has made it clear that Shakespeare was not negligent in the construction of his verse, but followed definite principles of rhythm, showing himself in this respect as in all others a true artist.

To the statement that, in regard to grammatical inflection, Shakespeare's English does not differ from ours, there is at least one noticeable exception. In the plural of the present tense, forms ending in *s* (such as "knows," "makes," "runs") are frequent in Shakespeare, especially when the verb is put before its subject, or when it follows two singular nouns connected by *and*, or where it stands in a relative sentence. The number of these forms is much greater than would be supposed by readers of the common editions, in which the *s* has been silently and almost unconsciously withdrawn from most of them. The extent of their use through the sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth was shown by Mr. T. R. Lounsbury in an exhaustive article, read before the American Philological Association at their meeting last summer. Both Mr. Lounsbury and Mr. Abbott derive the form from the Anglo-Saxon plural in *dh*, through an early English plural in *s*, which was current in the north of England. There can be no doubt that this is the true origin. Yet it is remarkable that a similar appearance—the use of the third person singular, instead of the proper plural forms—is common in the Celtic languages, the Welsh and Gaelic, where no similar explanation can be given of it; where we can only say that the third person singular, as the form oftenest used, has shown a tendency to encroach upon and supplant other forms of the tense.

But the book is mainly taken up with syntax: it presents, classifies, and describes the particulars in which the syntax of Shakespeare differs, more or less widely, from present usage. No attempt is made to give a strictly logical arrangement. The facts are grouped under a few leading heads: *adjectives, adverbs, articles, conjunctions, prepositions* (*personal, relative, and interrogative*), *relatival constructions, verbs* (*forms, auxiliaries, inflections, moods*, etc.), and these heads are placed in alphabetical order. Supplementary chapters treat of *ellipses, irregularities, compound words, prefixes, and suffixes*. This looseness of arrangement is an advantage, as permitting the author to bring in many observations for which, in a stricter system, it might have been hard to find a place. At the same time, the captions of the paragraphs present the subject of each with great distinctness, and, with the copious and excellent indexes, make it easy to lo k up what is said on any particular point.

Among the most interesting matters contained in the volume is the discussion of "thou" and "you." The Shakespearian use of "thou" is found to be surprisingly similar to that of the corresponding pronoun "du" in German. It is one of the curiosities of language, that one and the same pronoun should express veneration for the deity, familiar affection for kindred or near friends, and depreciation or dislike for other persons. Coke, in the trial of Raleigh, addressed the prisoner as "thou viper," and then added, "for I thou thee, thou traitor;" and yet Coke, every time he prayed, "thou'd" the Almighty. With the greatly restricted range of "thou" in modern English, its power to express insult or contempt has passed out of our consciousness; and by pointing this out in Shakespeare, Mr. Abbott has given a new force to many passages. The Quaker use of "thou" and "thee" seems to us now a mere oddity; but, in the intercourse of society two hundred years ago, it was a violation of courtesy, carrying the appearance of disrespect and rudeness; it required much the same fearlessness that the Quaker showed when he wore his hat in the presence of crowned heads. Mr. Abbott notes the fact that where "sir" is used in Shakespeare, "you" goes with it; and so, even where it comes, as it often does, in expressions of contempt or anger, the same irony which then breathes in the usually respectful "sir" dictates also the accompanying "you."

In noticing such forms as "Mars his true moving," "the count his gallies," Mr. Abbott rightly considers the "his" as not a true pronoun, but a graphic variation, caused by mistake, for the possessive inflection *'s*. It is but a short time since an elaborate attempt was made by Serjeant Manning, in the "Transactions of the Philological Society," to prove the opposite—to show that the possessive inflection *'s* is only a variation or contraction of the pronoun "his." Mr. Abbott, it is clear, has found his arguments unsatisfactory; and such, we think, must be the conclusion of every sound philologist.

After describing the use of "it" as the *indefinite* object of a verb (in such expression as to "fight it out," to "smooth it with the king," to "foot it"), Mr. Abbott says that this "use of 'it' with verbs is now only found in slang phrases." It may be so in England, though we doubt the fact; in America the expression, "I propose to fight it out on this line," can never cease to be classical. This is not the only case where he denies the present use of idioms which we had not thought of as obsolete or incorrect. Thus, while he admits that it is proper to say "this coat of yours," as the person addressed has, or may have, more than one coat, he asserts that we cannot say (except colloquially) "this head of yours," it being impossible for him to have more than one head. We believe, however, that if one should write, "Mrs. C. has a tongue of her own; and that tongue of hers is a sharp one," the propriety of the expression could not fairly be questioned. In "this coat of yours" the final pronoun does not mean "your coats," but "all that is yours," "all that belongs to you;" there is no reason, therefore, for objecting to "this head of yours." Again, the form, "He is the best man that I have ever seen," appears to him incorrect, unless it is taken as an abbreviation of "He is the best man of the men that I have ever seen." But there is nothing amiss here in the syntax, nor any necessity for the insertion suggested: "man that I have ever seen" denotes one of a class, that class being "the men that have been seen by me;" and "the best man that I have ever seen" denotes, simply and naturally, the best one of that class. Compare "the greatest painter living," or "the greatest living painter," with "the greatest painter who is now living:" none of these forms requires the assumption of an ellipsis.

Nothing is more common than to hear men speak of a peculiar "freshness" of style as belonging to the writers of the Elizabethan age. The impression thus described is, no doubt, partly an illusion. The style appears to us as fresh partly because it is not familiar to our ears and minds. A thought which, in the language of our own day, has become hackneyed and feeble, assumes vividness and interest when we see it in the strange costume of the sixteenth century. Yet it must be admitted that there is also a real ground for the impression of which we speak. The Elizabethan writers used the English language with a freedom which we dare not exercise. They treated it as their slave, not their master. Not having to dread a minute verbal criticism, not having the fear of grammarians before their eyes, they were ready to adopt any expression which most intelligibly and strongly represented their meaning. As examples of Shakespearian constructions, vivid and expressive, which a strict grammatical logic could not approve, and which are no longer in use, we may instance: the double comparative and superlative, as, "to some *more fitter* place," "the *most unkindest* cut of all;" the ethical dative, as, "hear *me* this," "he plucked *me* ope his doublet;" the relative pronoun, as a general sign of relation, without construction of its own, as, "*who*, when he lived, *his* breath and beauty set gloss on the rose," "*who*, if *he* break, thou may'st with better face exact the penalty;" the subject of a dependent clause brought in by anticipation with the principal verb, as, "you hear *the learn'd Bellario* what he writes," "*the dead man's knell* is there scarce asked, for who" [*i.e.*, it is scarcely asked, for whom is the dead man's knell], etc. It must be owned that this freedom of construction is sometimes the cause of obscurity. The citation last made is an example of this, and others are easily added: thus, "let what is meet be said, it must be meet" [*i.e.*, as to what is meet, let it be said that it must be meet]; "'tis our hope, sir, after well enter'd soldiers, to return" [*i.e.*, after our being well entered as soldiers]; "this must be known; which being kept close might move more grief to hide than hate to utter love" [*i.e.*, to hide it might cause more grief than unwillingness to utter it would cause love]. It can hardly be denied that the influence of grammatical criticism, narrow, overstrained, and tasteless as it has very generally been, has tended, on the whole, to greater precision and perspicuity. Yet it must bear the charge of having mistaken the true nature and ends of language, and of having unnecessarily and unreasonably abridged our resources of expression. Both the interests of literature and the spirit of the time call for a freer treatment of the language, for a return in some degree to the independence of the Elizabethan writers.

It is hardly necessary to declare more explicitly our high opinion of this "Shakespearian Grammar." It should be in the hands of all students of Shakespeare, and that is a designation which ought to include all cultivated readers of the English language.

THE MAGAZINES FOR FEBRUARY.

THE *Galaxy* and the *Atlantic* vie with each other this month for the praise of being called the best of the February magazines, and it might be hard to say which of the two is the better. Both contain articles which are very well worth the attention of persons who care nothing for most of our periodical literature. Mr. Thurlow Weed, giving to the *Galaxy* a chapter out of his forthcoming autobiography, relates the history of a few days that he spent with Mr. Lincoln just after the presidential nomination and election in 1860 had made it necessary for the Republican candidate and the President-elect to bethink himself about the conduct of the campaign and the choice of his Cabinet. Mr. Weed, as everybody knows, had worked hard for his friend Seward; and for various reasons, about which Mr. Horace Greeley and Mr. George William Curtis probably know more than anybody else, he had failed to secure the nomination of his favorite, and had seen him beaten by a rough Westerner of no great reputation outside the limits of his own State. Mr. Weed confesses that he was very much annoyed at this result of his labors, and confesses, too, that he was very despondent when he thought of the future of the party and the country; and whoever has a clear recollection of the condition of the country ten years ago will admit that a cool-headed Republican, seeing Douglas, Breckinridge, Bell, Everett, and a united South, threatening secession and war, arrayed against a divided North and an obscure Illinois lawyer, to whom was necessary the support both of the odious abolitionists and of the men who hated Garrison, might not unreasonably have thought there were good grounds for dejection and fear. While in this state of mind, Mr. Weed was waited upon by two friends of Mr. Lincoln, who wished to commend the new nominee to the favorable consideration of prominent Eastern politicians. Mr. Weed informed them that the result of the convention's action had been so disappointing to him that he had no heart to talk about the canvass, and that he must relieve himself by travel and change of scene, after which he hoped to be able to come home refreshed, and perhaps do something for the success of the party in the approaching contest. That he might be better enabled to do good service, Mr. Lincoln's friends arranged that Mr. Weed and Mr. Lincoln should meet at Springfield and thoroughly discuss the political outlook. The meeting took place soon afterwards, and Mr. Weed says that he was much struck by Mr. Lincoln's practical sense and by his familiarity with the virtues and infirmities of politicians. Apparently the practical politician saw clearly that he had come upon a practical politician who was also a statesman, and at once gave him cordial respect and hearty liking. Again meeting Mr. Lincoln after the election, Mr. Weed's good opinion of the new President's mind and character appears to have been confirmed, and his relation of the conversations that passed between them, when the selection of cabinet officers was the subject of consideration and argument, is highly interesting and, unless authoritatively contradicted, will be held to be creditable to both the interlocutors. That there will be authoritative contradiction we are at present much inclined to disbelieve, for Mr. Weed's whole manner inspires confidence in his truthfulness and accuracy. He seems to be very frank, and his clear, straightforward talk impresses one as the words of a good-hearted and truthful man. His enemies—and certainly he used to have enemies—might, true enough, point to the fact that, when he was out in Illinois consulting with Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Lincoln was in daily receipt of telegrams from many gentlemen in the East, who earnestly warned him against the insidiousness and plausibility of the New Yorker; but of the goodness of these missives as evidence against him, there will be doubt among people who know much about the correspondence of the men so far inside politics as to send telegrams to Presidents-elect. Whatever the value of Mr. Weed's contributions to history, it is worth while to call the attention of the readers and writers of newspapers to the style in which they are couched. It has none of the graces; but to mistake the writer's meaning is an impossibility. What he wishes to say he says; and, furthermore—to go above matters of mere composition and to get into the region where "the style is the man"—Mr. Weed may well be praised for the courage with which he gives free expression to his estimate of various well-known politicians, about whom most men not their partisan enemies talk smooth things and tell little that is true or intended to be accurately descriptive.

Other good articles in the *Galaxy* are that in which Mr. Donn Piatt gives some reminiscences of his life at the French Court in the early days of Napoleon and Eugénie, and that in which Mr. Jeremiah Black locks horns with Senator Wilson. Mr. Stanton's character is really the subject-matter of the dispute between Mr. Black and Mr. Wilson; and while the ex-Secretary shows plenty of ill-temper, and is compelled to plead guilty to the charge of having made several inaccurate statements, and while his manners are in many respects none of the best, we think that upon the whole he shows to advantage in comparison with his antagonist: and it would seem that his production has considerable historical value. He is in such heat, however, and the spirit of the advocate is so native to him, that one would not care to pin one's faith to any of his assertions. Mr. Stanton, meanwhile, what with the one and the other of his eulogists, fares ill. Perhaps it is best to believe that during the earliest part of our late troubles he was a politician, with many of a politician's small tricks; that when afterwards he rose to the level of statesmanship, he nevertheless retained some of the characteristic traits of a Democratic office-holder; and, moreover, that he was a man of such robust confidence in himself that he often exposed himself to misconstruction by doing for old secessionist friends of his things which no Union Secretary of War could do who was a mere Secretary and nothing more. He would put a rebel friend upon his honor, and let him pass through the lines to Richmond, and he would keep on friendly terms with Mr. Black while giving Mr. Sumner secret information as to the counsels of Buchanan's Cabinet; but neither his duplicity nor his rather carelessly audacious gratification of his personal predilection for rebels prevented his being a public servant to whom the people owe a vast deal.

Mr. Piatt, in his "Souvenir of Imperial Sovereigns," tells in his racy way some pleasant stories of the once famous John Y. Mason, formerly our Minister to France; of Napoleon III.; of General E. V. Sumner, a bluff soldier; and of Eugénie, to whose imperial ears General Sumner was, one day, much inclined to give a sound boxing. Of Napoleon, Mr. Piatt seems to have formed, on sight of him, an opinion which, as most people will think, subsequent events have proved just. In his Western fashion Mr. Piatt pronounced the ex-Emperor a fool, and was bold enough to predict that it was not in him to make his new government last five years, and that, when it fell, the fall would be the result of the so-called sphinx's feebleness and incompetence. Another of the February *Galaxy's* articles which deserves mention as agreeable reading is Mr. Durand's sketch of the life of Madame Le Brun, the French artist, of whom he tells some pleasant anecdotes.

The best thing in the *Atlantic* is Mr. Fields's "Recollections of Hawthorne," which constitute an important addition to American literary *ana*. We do not know whether admirers of Hawthorne should welcome them or not. To our mind, they present their subject in an unfavorable light, and will do anything rather than conciliate the liking of the reader. A morbid, unhappy, and in no way overpleasant sort of a person is the figure which, as it seems to us, they present to us. Reading the essay, one begins to consider again the question how far it is justifiable to let the world at large into the heart of a great man's mystery. We learn something, truly, when we learn that our shining idol has feet of clay; but, perhaps, too, we lose something of the capacity which he developed in us for reverencing the divine as manifested in him, and perhaps the loss is greater than the gain. The question is a difficult one from whatever side we look at it. Meantime, Mr. Fields's article is interesting.

"The Friend of my Youth" is some account of an odd adventurer and rascal, whom Mr. T. B. Aldrich calls "The Friend of my Youth," and concerning whom he makes a sketch that is agreeably humorous. Mr. John Fiske begins a series of five papers with the general title of "Origins of Folk Lore," in which he will give, in a desultory way, and without any pretence of originality of matter, a short history of the rise and growth of the commonest popular myths. The author's wide reading, his careful industry, and his command of the most approved methods of philosophizing on these and similar subjects, will make the essays in question both useful and entertaining. There is nothing else, we believe, in this month's *Atlantic* that requires particular notice, unless it be Mr. W. D. O'Connor's lines, entitled "To Fanny," which we think we have never seen equalled in worthless and offensive absurdity by any contribution to any magazine.

In *Old and New* there is a singular article—unaccountable, so far as we can see, as regards motive, and remarkable, also, for the manner of the author's treatment of his subject—written by Mr. J. A. Bolles, and entitled "Porter-Humphreys-Hardin." These names are the assumed names of a commonplace swindler, now in the Massachusetts State Prison, whose per-

formances are treated of as if somehow or other Mr. Bolles had taken a deep personal interest in running the rascal to earth. The effect is very curious.

In the editorial part of the magazine there are some suggestive remarks about the decline in American political writing and the alleged indisposition on the part of the college-bred American to busy himself with politics and government. The subject is too wide a one for us to undertake its discussion here. It may be remarked, however, that the political writing of the founders was comparatively easy work. They dealt with admitted propositions and axioms, and the question was only of the application of these to the uses of a people already trained in working the machinery of government, and who were called upon to say little more than whether or not they would make certain changes of gearing. The American political writer of to-day has laid upon him, in addition to the labor of explicating a constitution, the infinitely more arduous task of exploring the wide field of social science, and utilizing his observations and inductions by applying newly discovered and little known laws to the legislation of a community immensely larger and with interests immensely more varied than it ever entered into the imagination of the "Federalist" writers to conceive. Our success may not be so marked as that of the founders; but we have heavier work than theirs, and we do not wholly fail.

The chief article in the *Catholic World* is the first article, which is a review of Baron Hübner's book on Sixtus V. There is not very much ground left by the definition of the new dogma for one who wishes to write the history of the Popes, and still wishes to be a good Catholic, and perhaps it may be true that in this article Sixtus V. is overpraised. But he was a good civil ruler, certainly, and deserves the praise he gets for the suppression of the brigands in the Roman States. He did not spare the monks, either, in his attacks on fraud and robbery, and the story of some of the penalties that he inflicted sounds like a page out of our earlier New England history. Moses was his lawgiver. The robbers whom he brought to justice took their revenge in the famous pasquinade which was affixed to the statues of Saints Peter and Paul, which stand at the entrance to the bridge of St. Angelo at Rome.

"Why," says St. Paul to St. Peter, "have you your travelling wallet on your back?"

"Because," replies St. Peter, "I must get away from this place, or I shall be arrested for cutting off the ear of that fellow Malchus."

The other articles are a review of Dr. Newman's "Grammar of Assent," or, rather, a half-review of it; two slight performances, one on New York Lodging-houses, and one on the "Missions in Acadia;" another "Winter Evening" with that astonishing family in that remarkable New England town which has become or is becoming Roman Catholic; a continuation of the account of the really wonderful miracles of "Our Lady of Lourdes;" some praise of the well-known "Milesian race" in its early days; some praise, not too much modified either, of the Early New Englander; and, finally, the usual very bad book-notices which end the number.

In *Harper's* a friend of Woman with a capital may find some pretty writing in her, or his, or its, favor by Mr. Curtis, who makes us feel ashamed of our illiberality, and pity Addison also for being behind our age; a learned discussion of Columbus's claims to be regarded as the first discoverer of the New World; and a very full list of illustrated and other articles of the staple quality of the *Harper's Monthly* articles. This last number is as admirably fit as all of its predecessors for perusal in Texas and Montreal, and Key West and Eastport, and by every conceivable type of average American of either sex and of whatever age.

Scribner's Monthly, too, under its new management, begins to show a noticeable power of adaptation to the average taste and needs of our reading public. Dr. Holland's previous success in pleasing the general public might reasonably have been taken as a guarantee that he would make a magazine which should have a very wide acceptance, and such expectations would seem to have been already perfectly fulfilled. The new number opens with an interesting article, not too well written, but intelligent, giving an account of the founding of the New York Mercantile Library, and of the way in which that excellent institution is now carried on. The second article is a short historical paper—and when the clerks who visit the Mercantile Library undertake to read it we wish them joy of it—which attempts to tell the story of the French acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine, and the subverting of the innumerable bishoprics, free municipalities, duchies, and lordships which, from the time of Henry IV. to the time of Louis XVI., were fought for and intrigued for until at last France made prize of them. Third in the table of contents —counting out a "Tartar Love Song" with Mr. R. H. Stoddard's name appended—is a pretty little love-story by Mr. Edward Eggleston; and for the rest there is a scientific essay about balloons; another entitled "Weather Telegrams and Storm Forecasts," by Professor T. B. Maury; an impudent and sensible article, of the kind called lively, by "Gail Hamilton," in which "conferences" (of churches in Massachusetts) and women's rights women are laughed at; some chapters of Mr. George MacDonald's new story; a good deal of editorial matter of the general nature of the "social article," but without the sense and philosophic discussion which sometimes make the social article good, and without the point which oftener constitutes its claim to the reader's respect; and, finally, an instalment of a story by Andersen. It is neither a story for children nor is it one of Andersen's novels, and it is, therefore, neither bad, as Andersen's grown-up stories are apt to be, nor thoroughly good, as almost always are his children's stories, in which he is almost always both childlike and wise—a story-teller for children and a poet for men.

MAUDSLEY'S BODY AND MIND.*

THE aim of these lectures is to point out the correlation of the physical and chemical forces with vital force—including in this the energy manifested as thought and volition—"to bring a science of life into close and indissoluble relations with other sciences, and thus to establish in cognition, or to reflect in consciousness, the unity which exists in nature." In the execution of this purpose, Dr. Maudsley is disturbed by the vision of an adversary, a metaphysician, who, for the purpose of mere speculation, insists on separating mind from body, and treating each as if it were an abstract entity, and even dares to feel ashamed of the body, and to declare it vile and despicable. He keeps up a running fire upon this antagonist which somewhat interferes with the satisfaction of the reader, who would gladly hear what Dr. Maudsley has to say without being troubled to consider futile objections. Indeed, we cannot help thinking it ammunition wasted, for we have reason to believe that "the metaphysician" has taken himself off to parts unknown, in company most likely with the philosopher who used to evoke camels and other objects from the depths of his own consciousness, and the gentleman who denied that brutes reason. They are gone, we hope, for good; and it is useless to keep up their memory. Metaphysicians nowadays (witness Dr. Stirling, a Hegelian too—though, it is true, a Doctor of Physic as well) admit, and even insist, that mind and body are one—subjective idea and objective idea—or, as Dr. Maudsley says, "*laws* or ideas in nature." This *oneness* does not, of course, mean that they are one *thing;* but neither would that be Dr. Maudsley's meaning. All things in nature are indeed, he considers, wrought from one stuff, and no doubt reducible, could we see nature as a whole, to one force. What disappears and reappears is form—matter neither is born nor perishes, but is only *transformed*. The proper conclusion evidently is that what is essential in all phenomena, what makes each thing such as it is, is form, and that the contrasted image of matter, as that which is and remains the same in all things, is only the abstract conception of potential being, receptivity, readiness to take form, *i. e.*, to exist, when the right conditions arrive. The universe, as Dr. Maudsley conceives it, is a continuous process of *formation*, in which the principle of form, of definite co-ordination, appears in ever-increasing sharpness of contrast to the vague indifference of elementary conditions. Nature is a hierarchy of forces and of tissues, beginning with the undefined dualism of mere tension in attraction and repulsion, and rising at last, through more and more sharply-pronounced differentiation *and* integration, to definite co-ordination in conscious volition. "Elementary matter thus passes upwards into chemical and organic compounds, and then downwards from organic to chemical, and from chemical compounds to its elementary condition." What is common to the whole of this process is the *tension*, the negativity or reflexion back upon itself, of elementary force. This constantly reappears in higher and higher shapes, more and more concentrated and specialized; both the antagonism and its reconciliation more and more complete. "Attraction is recognized in gravitation, cohesion, magnetism, affinity, love; while repulsion is found in the centrifugal force, in heat, in electricity, in antipathy and hate." As we go upwards in the scale, the amount of tension, the latent energy, becomes greater, but the outward display less; on the other hand, translating a higher mode into a lower, we *increase* the display. "One drop of water contains, and may be made to evolve, as much electricity as, under different modes of display, would suf-

* "Body and Mind: An Enquiry into their Connection and Mutual Influence, etc. Being the Gulstonian Lectures for 1870. By Henry Maudsley, M.D., etc." New York: Macmillan & Co., and D. Appleton & Co. 1870.

fice to produce a lightning flash. The decomposition of matter is the resolution of force, and in such resolution one equivalent of chemical force will correspond to several equivalents of inferior force." The drop of water is endowed with a certain amount of self-restraint, power to hold fast a particular set of relations to its surroundings. In the phenomena of life, this inwardness, this negation of mere extension, becomes still more apparent, and establishes itself, in the organism, in pointed antagonism to the levelling tendencies of the physical and chemical forces. The organic cell is the result of these forces, but of these forces as taken possession of and turned against themselves. It accordingly resists their action, or, rather, *appropriates* it. "The fundamental law of life is the same for its conscious and unconscious manifestations; it is individuation by appropriation."

Evidently Dr. Maudsley has no quarrel with metaphysicians, for his doctrine is plainly that ancient one, that "soul is form, and doth the body make," which no metaphysician, we trust, will deny. This ancient truth he reinforces and illustrates in a very interesting way from the phenomena of disease, bodily and mental. In the living body, in its normal state, the various organs, very happily says Dr. Maudsley, "agree in a consent of functions;" the mark of which is the common sensibility. It is not an aggregate, but a *whole*, whose duty, so to speak, or essence as an individual of specific character, is to live in certain relations with its surroundings. "When it is not so living, it is really degenerating, losing its nature or kind, passing more or less quickly toward death." The degeneration is accompanied, very naturally, by an increased demonstration of force, which, however, is in reality not power but weakness. When, from disease, a particular constituent of the body is prevented from rising to the dignity of its specific constitution and energy, there will be a production of an element of a lower kind, and therefore an increase in volume and motion. "It is as if the substance of a polype were produced amongst the higher physiological elements of the human body, and went on increasing there without regard to relations with surrounding elements of tissue." So the stormy rage and demonstrative activity which characterize inflammation really show degeneration of vitality. The muscular rigors, heat, pain—in short, violent and aimless molecular activities, testify to a retrograde metamorphosis, and the increased action of inflammation is in fact diminished vital action; just as the violence of emotion is vastly inferior to the self-contained activity of definite productive aim. "Perhaps it might once for all be stated, as a law of vital action, that the dignity of the force is in an inverse ratio to its volumetrical display."

The highest form of being, then, will be that which makes least show, viz., mind, ideas, as such; whilst, on the other hand, translated into the appropriate forms, it makes the most, or is the most real of all things. As vital force is "by far the highest force in dignity, a small quantity of it will correspond in value to a much greater quantity of an inferior force; . . . vital force surpasses chemical force apparently in as great a degree as chemical force surpasses physical force. How great, then, must be its mechanical equivalent! Who can measure the power of a great idea? Armies fight in vain against it, and nations yield to its sway." There is, however, some danger of misconception here. The great idea *as idea* cannot be *measured*, in the sense meant, not because it is the greatest, but because it is the least of all things, *i. e.*, that which has the least volumetrical display. Its material greatness comes after it has undergone retrograde metamorphosis into force of a lower kind. Dr. Maudsley reaches here a point of view from which he might not improbably, on reflection, characterize as ambiguous and misleading many statements scattered through the book—such, for example, as that emotion means special sensibility of the vesicular neurine; that memory and volition are physiological functions of the nervous centres, etc. Such statements are unsatisfactory and even slightly exasperating, just because in one sense they are correct enough, but not in the sense in which they are likely to be received. In one sense, thought is a function of matter, just as in one sense the winding-up of a watch is the function of the watch-key. But thought is a function which matter performs by losing its distinctive character, by becoming endowed with life and individuality. Life, as Dr. Maudsley says, is surrounded by forces that are always tending to destroy it; not to destroy it as matter, but to break up the special combination which it opposes to the indifference of elemental nature. The question is, What is the power that *resists* the natural operation of the elemental forces—resists them, to be sure, by using them against themselves, but still resists them? We are at present, Dr. Maudsley admits, unable to discover any cause of life except life itself. External circumstances are needful conditions, "but the inward fact is the important condition—it is the determining condition." But it is some comfort, he thinks, that this scientific difficulty "only reflects a corresponding difficulty in nature," as shown by the fact that "considerable time elapsed in nature before vital force followed on the physical and chemical forces." But we may say of this "difficulty" what Hume said in a similar case, that it is either irresistible, or has no manner of force. Nature can have no difficulty in doing what is according to nature, and no ability to do anything else.

We cannot pursue the discussion of this point further, indeed, we have left ourselves no room to speak of what is perhaps the most interesting topic in the volume, viz., mental disease in its relation to bodily disorders; insanity as arrested development or retrograde metamorphosis of intelligence, the ravelling-out of reflection into instinct and animalism, the brute's brain within the human, the insane neurosis showing itself in the lack of purpose and human sympathy, the regress to primitive modes of function, chance impulses, and isolated motives, instead of rational, co-ordinated motives. But the book is short, and may be safely left to make a way for itself.

The Story of a Working Man's Life: with sketches of travel in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, as related by himself. By Francis Mason, D.D. With an introduction by William R. Williams, D.D. (New York: Oakley, Mason & Co. 1870.)—The title of this interesting narrative would probably not suggest to most readers the sense in which it is used by the writer, nor his motive in choosing it. The author began life as the son of an English shoemaker, and, after passing to this country, rose from the ranks of a merely manual laborer to that of a teacher of religion, without ceasing, nevertheless, to be a most industrious worker with hands and brain. Both parts of his checkered career, therefore, entitle him to call himself, as he is pleased to do, a working man; but so far as his book has a distinct aim, it would seem to be to offer to the mechanic or laboring class an example of the progress of which it is capable, if it will cultivate its natural faculties, improve its opportunities of learning, and desist from bad habits. Dr. Mason, to be sure, inherited his religious office quite as naturally as his trade, his father having been both a shoemaker and a preacher of no little power, while his grandfather was the founder of the first Baptist society in York. On the other hand, though his father "did not believe in teaching religion to very young children," but believed rather in teaching them history, Dr. Mason says:

"From the time I was four or five years of age till I passed my eighteenth year, there was rarely a Sunday passed in which I was not taken to meeting twice. I must have heard within that time more than 1,500 sermons, 3,000 prayers, 4,500 hymns, and a distressing number of exhortations; and yet not a single one of the whole ever made the slightest impression on my heart. They were all to me as if I had never heard them; but to sit under the delivery of the sermons was the greatest agony I have ever been called to endure in the threescore years and ten of my existence. Fever and ague were nothing to it." "For many years," he adds, "I was constrained to attend Sabbath-schools, but they were as unprofitable to me as the preaching of the sanctuary. I committed to memory, during those years, an untold amount of Scripture texts; but they were like water poured into a sieve. They all ran away and left nothing behind. My moral nature was untouched."

It was not till after this "Yorkshireman by chance," having crossed the ocean and journeyed through the United States, finally reached Boston, and became "a New Englander by election," that his religious capacity was revealed to him, and that he prepared for the mission to Farther India, in which he has so greatly distinguished himself.

The extract we have quoted is a fair sample of the frank and confidential language of the autobiography, which is equally remarkable for good sense and simplicity, and abounds in entertaining anecdotes. Resisting a strong temptation to reproduce several of these, we select the following:

"While Monroe and Jackson represented widely separated classes in society, Harrison was equally a representative man of another class—the farming community. In 1819, Harrison had nothing in his manners to distinguish him from a common farmer. I recollect selling him a pair of shoes for his daughter, in my uncle's shop in Cincinnati, and he brought a stick the length of her foot, just as country people usually do, and she was fitted with shoes by that. He was a thoroughgoing politician. He had been recently elected, I think, to the Ohio Senate, and he entered into a long defence of himself and his policy, against electioneering charges that had been brought against him, though we had no personal acquaintance. Politicians sow by all waters, and they reap."

Here is a chapter on woman's rights:

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perty; and if she acquires property after marriage, that also is her own. This is manifestly just, the English laws to the contrary notwithstanding. . . . Since woman can enjoy her own earnings in Burmah, it is found she has a great aptitude for business; and at least half the trading done in Burmah is done by women. When a woman is the wife of one of the governing class, she usually does about as much of the governing as her husband, if not more, and often sits with him on the bench of justice—so called. The wife of the seek-kai, the highest officer in Tavoy, sat constantly in court with her husband; she allowed the suitors to crowd around her; and when she put her hands behind her, if any one slipped a roll of rupees into them, she immediately began to advocate the cause of that party; and it was noted that she gained every cause she supported. Of course the husband knew nothing about it, and could not be charged with taking bribes."

We have left ourselves no room in which to speak of Dr. Mason's brilliant contributions to philology and natural science. At the age of seventy-two he is still far from being inactive, and far, we trust, from passing away.

Dorothy Fox. By the author of "How it all Happened," etc. With numerous illustrations. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.)—This is an entertaining and pleasantly written story which we commend to such readers as are tired of the mental struggles and the moral and metaphysical difficulties which are served up in the pages of most modern novels. It contains two very pleasant love episodes, in which nobody's agonies are unduly protracted, and in which all the principal characters are agreeable people. It has no special moral that we know of, except that it is better to marry for love than for money, and this it enforces pleasantly and without any effort to harrow the reader's feelings. The book comes, in short, really under the head of light reading of an unobjectionable sort, a peculiarity which it does not share with most of our current fiction.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1871.

The Week.

THE news of the arrival of the *Tennessee* at San Domingo, after an uneventful voyage, has come in due course by the regular channels. It is safe to say that nothing in the history of sensational journalism can match, in impudence and success, the attempt to spread the belief that she had been lost. Usually, when newspaper men get up "a cruel hoax," they aver that they are in possession of certain intelligence; but in this case their capital consisted of the absence of all intelligence. They simply pointed to the fact that there was no news from a quarter from which there was no reason to expect any news, and on the strength of this by no means remarkable state of things they managed to fill half the American public with a horrible fear that a well-found, well-manned ship-of-war had gone to the bottom with all on board. They filled the whole country with anxiety for a fortnight, and we believe, towards the close, managed even to shake the nerves of the Navy Department itself, and produced the curious spectacle of crowds gathering eagerly on the wharf to receive from the mail steamer the information that a national ship had got into port safely, after an average passage and with fair weather. Nay, so effective was the imposition that we have ourselves, within a day or two, received a grave rebuke for trifling with the feelings of the relatives of the Commissioners, by ridiculing the stories of their untimely end, and suggesting the possibility of their being eaten by the crew after having been carried out of the "Horse Latitudes" by the trade-winds to the coast of Africa, as some of the authors of the hoax suggested was not unlikely.

After what has happened, it is difficult to see what is to prevent the production of a similar "scare" before long about another steamer. A vessel leaves this port for Liverpool, for instance, with some well-known person on board. When she is five days out, another vessel arrives from Queenstown, bringing no news of her. Then a brig comes in, and says she has seen a steamer which looked like her, but which the owners acknowledge cannot have been she, the rig being different then a bark arrives, having seen nothing of her; and finally, another steamer which has left Queenstown two days before she could possibly have reached that port, brings no news of her. Suppose that all this while a parcel of wretched wags are filling the papers with stories of her unseaworthiness, of the flatness of her bottom, the weakness of her engines, or with anecdotes about the *President*, the *Pacific*, the *City of Boston*, icebergs, and water-spouts, and with obituary notices of the people on board, and suppose that when at last the regular mail arrived, which left Queenstown when the ship had been eleven days out, and reported her safe arrival, the whole city was filled with rejoicing, and the bulletin-boards surrounded by large crowds, would it not be at once a ludicrous and melancholy spectacle? Would it not throw light on some curious points in mediæval history? And yet it would almost exactly resemble the *Tennessee* hoax.

There are signs that the work of the High Commission is not going to be so easy as at first seemed likely. It seems not improbable that an attempt will be made in the Senate to make the settlement of the *Alabama* case depend on the willingness of Great Britain to abandon all her possessions on this side of the ocean, including her West Indian Islands. The germ of this idea made its appearance in the columns of the *Tribune* about two years ago, in the shape of a hint that nothing short of the cession of Canada would suffice to satisfy the American public for the wrongs it had suffered. The source of this suggestion could hardly have been doubtful, as it was a natural enough deduction from Mr. Sumner's statement of the measure of damages in his famous speech. Under the rule he laid down, the surrender of Canada indeed would have only been a moderate atonement. Since then the conception has grown and expanded, until it involves the total retirement of England from the Western continent and the adjacent isles; and Mr. Sumner is apparently as anxious to connect his name with the execution of this great scheme as the President is to connect his with the settlement of the affair in the ordinary way by the payment of pecuniary damages. Of course, the production of the plan by the American Commissioners is not at all likely, as they are all rational politicians and men of business; but it is not at all unlikely to find supporters enough in the Senate to secure the rejection of any treaty the Commissioners may agree on.

The scheme is somewhat modified since it first made its appearance, by the introduction of a proposition to purchase from Great Britain such territory as it is deemed proper she should abandon, instead of exacting it from her as a simple penalty; but this is hardly likely to render it any more acceptable in England. It is the surrounding circumstances rather than the terms of the proposal which give it its character; and no infusion into it of a mercantile element is likely to deprive it of its minatoriness in English eyes, coming, as it does, as part and parcel of a demand for redress of a grievous wrong. It will sound very much like an address of this sort from a private gentleman to a neighbor with whom he had quarrelled: "You are a great rascal, and have done much injury, and you know it. I have half a mind to give you a good licking; but I hate fighting, and will let you off if you will pay for the damage done me by those dogs of yours killing my sheep, and will sell me that bay mare I see you driving about. She is a very pretty animal, a great deal too good for you, and will match my mare exactly. So now, just say what you want for her, and let us have done with it. As long as you keep her, there will be constant quarrels between us, for it makes me mad to see you sitting behind her with your complacent smirk."

The peaceable cession of English territory in this hemisphere to the United States would be a glorious thing, but it would have to be negotiated in quiet times, and when both parties were on good terms and in a good humor. If any settlement made by the Commission were now rejected in the Senate, for the purpose of furthering any such demands, there is no doubt that it would be taken in England as a sign that America wanted to fight, and it would find public opinion there in a highly inflammable condition. It would put the complaints too, which have been so frequently and strenuously made on this side of the water, of the wounds inflicted on American *feelings* by the conduct of Great Britain during the war, over and above the actual damage done to the shipping, in a somewhat ludicrous light. It does not do to say to a man that he has hurt your feelings as well as torn your coat; that the injury is, after all, only a small matter; that it is the indignity which most troubles you; but that, nevertheless, if he will make it worth your while, you will let bygones be bygones. In fact, if the "code of honor" be applied to an international difference, it must regulate the nature of the satisfaction as well as measure the extent of the injury, and that code knows nothing of pecuniary atonements. Under it, you may either fight, or take an apology, or cut the offender's acquaintance; but you cannot forego an apology and renew your friendship with him for a "valuable consideration."

As regards the composition of the Commission, it has been suggested that it would have been proper to have put Mr. Adams and Mr. George Bemis on it on the American side. Of the fitness of these gentlemen, as far as knowledge goes, there can be no question; but Mr. Bemis is disqualified for the same reason that Mr. Vernon Harcourt is disqualified, and that is, that he has discussed the question polemically, or, in other words, has, to all intents and purposes, played the part of counsel in the case. The same objection may be made, though with less force, to Mr. Adams, who, besides, was committed by his instructions to one or two points which the present administration has aban-

doned. It is, of course, desirable not only that the Commission should be judicial-minded, but that the public of the two countries should consider it so; and no pains should be avoided which are likely to secure this result. The man who ought to have been put on the American side, and has not been, is President Woolsey, of Yale College. We doubt if there is anybody on it on either side who unites as many qualifications for the place—that is, who adds so much moral weight to so much of the needful kind of learning.

The Forty-first Congress reaches its end next week, and business in it seems to have closed already. The last session, though in appearance a barren one, has been really very creditable, owing to the fact that nearly everything has been let alone. The tariff was not tinkered, so that the value of property has been left to the ordinary influences of supply and demand. Specie payments have not been restored, and as all the great financial measures of last session have turned out failures, the present winter has not been illustrated by any new ones. The grand plan for diffusing "capital" through the country in equal measure, by the establishment of new national banks, without regard to the actual distribution of real wealth, has, owing to the working of a well-known law of trade—confound it—left things pretty much as they were. Mr. Boutwell has got his new bonds ready, but has not as yet succeeded in disposing of them, though the shadowy forms of several new "German bankers" are once more said to be stretching out their hands for them. The income tax has not been repealed, in deference to Mr. Boutwell's remonstrances, and we are bound to say that, if he is to be held responsible, as he ought to be, for the management of the finances, his remonstrances on such a subject ought to be listened to, and it is a good sign that Congress does listen to them. There are about thirty times as many financiers in that body already as a republic of this size can find work for. All the great subsidy schemes have been defeated, including the plan of paying people high salaries out of the Treasury for engaging in the shipping business.

The McGarrahan claim has received aid and comfort from the passage of a resolution reported by the minority of the Judiciary Committee of the House, directing the patent, which is alleged to have been issued to McGarrahan in 1863, but which Mr. Cox maintains was not signed by the proper officer, to be restored to the books of the Land Office "without any mutilation or erasure whatever" (the theory of an "erasure' is part of McGarrahan's case), and that the President be required and authorized to do whatever seems to him equitable in the matter, without regard to any proceedings taken after March 14, 1863, the date of the patent. This performance is really an appeal from the Supreme Court to the Legislature, as General Garfield pointed out in the debate, and the House in it assumes the right to set aside the decisions of the Court, on the ground that the appeal in which the decision was given was improperly taken, the time within which it could be taken having elapsed; in other words, it resolves that the Supreme Court is not competent to pass on the question of its own jurisdiction. The danger and scandal of all this it is hardly necessary to point out. This extraordinary vote passed by 95 to 82.

The complication in the coal-mining regions is assuming a very serious aspect. After a two months' suspension of work, agreed upon between the mine-owners and the working miners, the latter are willing and anxious to resume work. But the former, determined to destroy the organization by means of which, they assert, the working-men have been enabled to exact unreasonable terms from their employers, now refuse, under various pretexts, to recommence operations. They will not treat with the association representing the miners, and have induced the railroad companies—or rather themselves under another name—to nearly treble the freight on coal to New York, evidently with the intention of putting an entire stop to the trade. What the result will be it is not easy to foretell. But it seems clear that the conflict, which thoughtful men have for some time past been looking forward to with dread, between irresponsible and unscrupulous corporations and equally irresponsible and unscrupulous labor-unions, isnolonger very far distant.

Business continues dull and light. The South complains of poverty, the large cotton crop, produced at high wages and high prices for manures and provisions, yielding but little profit to the producers. The West, although relieved from the anxiety caused by last spring's low prices for produce, is still cautious, and has been further restrained from coming into the markets as a buyer by the high railroad freights. Merchants generally are preparing for a small trade, and are seeking to make it more profitable by reducing the extravagant expenses for rent, travelling agents, and advertising, which have of late years outgrown all reason. The railroads were beginning to feel the falling-off in traffic, and have reduced their rates of freight. The foreign trade in exports continues moderately active, but its exact proportions are not known, owing to one of those charming imbroglios in the Custom-house, where the removal of a clerk, probably to make way for one more sound on San Domingo but less versed in business, has thrown the whole Statistical Bureau into confusion—a circumstance, of course, only faintly alluded to by the daily press in their respective departments, which would otherwise be deprived of the usual "facilities." Cotton continues to arrive in large quantities, although not equal to those of last week, and the export continues active, although some uneasiness is experienced both here and abroad as to the probable effect of continued uncertainty in France. Breadstuffs and provisions are dull, under disappointment at the slight result of the surrender of Paris.

Money, owing to the general dulness of trade, continues extremely abundant, and at lower rates of interest than have ever before permanently prevailed in this country. But even the low rates of interest furnish no temptation to embark in new enterprises, and all securities not thoroughly well established in public confidence are neglected. Investment is running more and more into old railroad mortgages and Government bonds. The latter continue firm, and encourage Mr. Boutwell to believe confidently in the success of his funding measures, although, with the probability of more active money in Europe, and with the certainty of heavy loans pressing on the market there, many shrewd business men pretend to doubt the Secretary's judgment in the matter. In spite of our heavy cotton shipments, the state of the foreign exchanges continues adverse to us, and we are again exporting moderate amounts of coin and bullion, the movement commencing much earlier in the season than usual. But the utter absence of all speculation, and the recent anomalous course of all markets, seems to prevent all important changes in the premium on gold.

The last published returns of the British Board of Trade for the eleven months of the years 1869 and 1870, ending November 30 of each year, enable us to correct what seems a very general misapprehension concerning the influence of the Franco-Prussian war on our exports of breadstuffs, at least so far as England is concerned. These returns show that, in spite of materially lower prices during part of the year, we sent to England during the period named only 400,000 cwt. more wheat in 1870 than in 1869, an increase of less than 4 per cent., although, during the same time, the receipts from France, Prussia, Turkey, and the Danubian Principalities had fallen off 4,700,000 cwt., or ten times the increased amount furnished by us—the principal part of the deficiency being supplied by Russia, and the balance by England herself. Our exports of flour to England show, however, an important increase, over 600,000 cwt., or nearly 50 per cent., the amount being almost identical with the corresponding decrease in the English receipts from France, the total receipts from all countries being about the same during the two years. Our own statistics, though only completed up to the end of September, confirm this view very strikingly, our *total* export of wheat during that period of 1870 being a trifle less in amount, and nearly 25 per cent. less in value, than that for the same time in 1869, while the exports of flour, although showing an increase in quantity of ten per cent., produced actually 7 or 8 per cent. less in value. Precisely the same is the case with provisions and meats of every kind. Few persons not familiar with the facts would be disposed to anticipate this result, the general belief being that our exports of breadstuffs and provisions have largely increased in consequence of the war.

The *Evening Post* was very rash in asserting that the *Nation* was "entirely wrong" in saying (Feb. 9) "that in a large number of cases—

twenty-two, it is said, but we will not vouch for the exact number—sentences of court-martial at West Point have been set aside by the War Department on the demand of 'men inside politics,' and the culprits sent back to their duty. This abuse has been perpetrated, as might have been expected, notably in the interest of liars." The *Post* was also rash in saying that only fifteen such cases had occurred, and that only two were those of liars. The official report shows that in twenty-two cases of dismissal by court-martial between 1861 and 1870, the sentence has been either wholly remitted by the Secretary, or suspended or commuted. Two of these cases were direct lying, and two were deception by sharp practices—in other words, practical lying. In short, almost twenty-five per cent. of the sentences were inflicted for falsehood—a very fair proportion—and were all set aside, which leaves perfectly justifiable the general conclusion that a liar *quâ* liar cannot be turned out of the Academy. Between 1865 and 1870, seven cadets were suspended by sentence of court-martial; of these, six had the sentence commuted or remitted by the Secretary, and one got a mitigation from the President. We may add that the fact, which has been revealed in evidence, that Cadet Grant occasionally tried to get his fellows out of scrapes by appeals to the President, shows that the President, though he did not attend to the young man's very improper petitions, let slip an opportunity of giving him a stinging and very valuable rebuke.

Our mention of Mr. Motley's manner of parting his hair as one of the alleged reasons for the President's dislike and distrust of him has given rise to a good deal of discussion. The *Springfield Republican* took a severe view of the matter, and rebuked us, more in sorrow than in anger, for giving currency to such wretched gossip, as if a tolerably well authenticated reason for the dismissal of an ambassador from an important post could ever be a paltry or trivial matter. Other papers have taken up the subject, we are glad to say, in a much broader as well as more charitable spirit; and, so far as we have followed the discussion, it has fully supported us in the belief that, on the question of the proper place to part the hair in the case of men, public opinion is divided by a line which may be roughly said to start from the eastern extremity of Lake Erie, and run due south—much the same line, in short, which, according to Mr. B. F. Butler, divided opinion upon the question of paying the bonds in greenbacks. The West, in short, is in favor of a side-parting as the only one worthy of a manly man and good Republican; while at the East, if the side-parting also has its advocates, and the middle-parting its enemies, it is generally admitted that the matter is one of individual taste. One Southern paper has very properly pointed out that some of the greatest men of modern times, Milton, Prince Rupert, Hampden, and Bolingbroke, parted their hair in the middle. It might have gone further, and alleged that the middle-parting is the natural one. The side-parting is artificial. This view is strengthened by Mr. Darwin's remark that such of the monkeys as have long hair on their heads—and he maintains that they all have a certain relation to man—the *Macacus radiatus*, for instance—part it in the middle. Those who maintain that it is of absolutely no consequence where an American minister parts his hair must, if honest, have forgotten the amount of discussion which some of our ablest statesmen have bestowed on his breeches and coats. The arrangement of the hair is part of the attire, and if the middle-parting really indicate a want of thorough sympathy with American institutions, or a low view of man's destiny, we certainly ought not to be represented by any person who uses it. Our own opinion we reserve till we can base it on wider and more careful observation.

The French National Assembly opened its regular deliberations on Wednesday, February 15, with the verification of the elections of its members. The electoral reports from Alsace and Lorraine were received with demonstrations of sympathy. On the following day, the Assembly, by an almost unanimous vote—only nineteen out of five hundred and thirty-eight members dissenting—elected for its president M. Grévy, a staunch Liberal and moderate Republican, combatant of 1830, and Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly of 1848, whose election and re-election in the Department of Jura, as member of the Corps Législatif, within the last years of the Bonapartist rule, were considered heavy blows at the Second Empire. His present choice thus appears in the light of an almost unanimous demonstration against the Empire, in which the desire of the Orleanists to conciliate the Republicans played a part. On the 17th, Grévy assumed the presidency, and four vice-presidents were chosen; among them Benoist d'Azy and Vitet, conservative Vice-Presidents of the Legislative Assembly of 1851, in which capacity they presided over the last sitting of that body on the day of the *coup d'état*, and first affixed their names to the decree of *déchéance* and impeachment for high treason launched against Louis Napoleon. The vote for vice-presidents was a decided victory of the Monarchists, and was followed by violent recriminations between Conservative and Republican members.

In the same sitting, M. Keller, a deputy from Alsace, presented a declaration signed by the representatives of Haut and Bas-Rhin, Meurthe, and Moselle, protesting against the threatened severance of these departments from France. The declaration was referred to a committee, which, in words expressive of lively sympathy, reported it back to the Assembly, and recommended it to the attention of the French negotiators for peace. The Assembly then proceeded to vote on a resolution presented by Dufaure, Malleville, Vitet, and Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, conferring upon M. Thiers the dignity of Chief Executive of the French Republic, pending the decision of France upon her definitive institutions, with power to appoint his Cabinet. The result of the ballot was an almost unanimous vote in favor of the resolution, which shows how fully all parties are convinced, all manifestations to the contrary notwithstanding, of the necessity of an immediate conclusion of peace and of postponing the fundamental reorganization of the country. Keller, however, again adjured his colleagues to declare by resolution against the cession of Alsatian or Lotharingian territory. The Assembly seemed disposed to delay the consideration of the subject, but Thiers, naturally enough in his new position, insisted upon an immediate and unequivocal declaration by the Assembly, "on its own responsibility," of its wishes on this momentous subject. The Assembly went into committee on Keller's motion, but the result of its discussions has, of course, not been made public.

The new Executive was unhesitatingly recognized as such by the ambassadors of England, Austria, and Italy, and his recognition on the part of Russia is expected to follow. On the 18th, he constituted his Cabinet, composed, in the main, of well-known Orleanists and moderate Republicans, as follows: Favre, Foreign Affairs; Buffet, Finance; Dufaure, Justice; Simon, Public Instruction; Picard, Interior; Lambrecht, Commerce; General Leflô, War; Admiral Pothuau, Navy; Larcy, Public Works. This Cabinet embodies a coalition, both natural and wise under the circumstances, of the liberal Monarchists with the practical wing of the Republican party, against Legitimists, Clericals, and Bonapartists on the one side, and radical Republicans and Socialists on the other, with the distinct understanding of making peace first, restoring order next, and then submitting the decision as to the permanent form of government to a general vote of the nation, through its Assembly or a *plébiscite*. Should the political parties represented in the Cabinet remain firmly united against all opponents, their common success could hardly be doubted, as they unquestionably represent the great majority of the leading portion of the French people.

In the sitting of the 19th, Thiers addressed the Assembly in his capacity of Chief Executive, dwelling on the distress caused by the war and the necessity of peace, but promising to discuss courageously with the Prussians the terms of peace, and to purchase none with the dishonor of France. Acting on a proposal by the Government, the Assembly then resolved to send a commission of fifteen members to Paris, to act as intermediary between itself and the peace negotiators. Thiers then recommended the suspension of its sittings during the negotiations, and on the same evening left for Paris, together with his ministers, Favre and Picard. What conditions of peace "consistent with the honor of France" Thiers may still hope to receive, we are not told, nor do we believe he can receive any which France will recognize as such.

SALARIES.

The Constitution of the United States wisely provides that the members of the national judiciary shall "receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office." That compensation was fixed at the very modest amount at which it has stood until this winter, in the year 1855. In spite of the provision quoted, since 1861 the salaries of the judiciary have been diminished, both directly and indirectly, by the immediate action of the national Congress. While the income tax acted as a direct curtailment, just as much as if so much salary had been docked off, the issue of a depreciated currency further diminished what was left by an amount exactly equal to the always fluctuating premium on gold. It is safe, therefore, to say that, in direct and indirect violation of a constitutional provision, the members of the national judiciary have been deprived during the last ten years of, upon an average, not less than 33 per cent. of their at best inadequate compensation.

Under these circumstances, it has certainly been rather disheartening, during recent debates, to hear of members of Congress from New England, and even from Massachusetts—men who ought to know better—meeting a proposal to remove this stigma of meanness, if not fraud, from the record of a great people by the usual cant of demagogues with which we are very familiar in respect to such topics. Every one has listened to it until the gorge rises with disgust at a mere reference to the subject. "It is no time to raise salaries when the price of everything is falling"—as if prices were not twice as high as when the salaries were fixed. "Large salaries are undemocratic," or "unrepublican," is now the more popular form of expression; as if it was not more "unrepublican" to cheat servants out of their wages. If a private person—Mr. A. T. Stewart, for instance—were so to pay a very responsible and lifelong employee, who served him from a sense of attachment, that his children, after his death at his work, were left in absolute want, few people would say that Mr. Stewart was a model man of business. This is exactly what the nation has done as regards a Chief-Justice of the United States. The last and clinching argument in favor of under-paying officials is, that no difficulty is experienced in filling the situations at existing wages. This, undoubtedly, is very true. It is also true that if these salaries were reduced fifty per cent., there would be still less difficulty in filling vacancies; if they were reduced yet another half of the remainder, the difficulty would be still smaller; and, finally, if they were brought down to a laborer's day wages, there would be least difficulty of all, inasmuch as all the laborers in the country would be applicants for them. The lower an official salary is, except in the few cases where an extreme honor and dignity attaches to the position, the larger is the class of persons who are eager for it, and the less are they qualified to earn it. Our great corporations have long since learned this. They know perfectly well that $25,000 men are rare, and always hard to be secured; $15,000 men are always to be had; $10,000 men are common enough; and as to men worth in the market the late salary of a Chief-Justice, they are as plenty as the dried leaves in autumn. Below this the competition far exceeds the demand; among $3,000 men any corporation has but to pick and choose. Meanwhile, our political communities go on canting about "democratic" salaries, and meanly asking high public officials to accept a modicum of honor in lieu of a competence.

An admirable illustration of this penny-wise and pound-foolish spirit has recently been afforded in Illinois. The legislature of that State is profoundly exercised by the railroad problem which the new constitution has devolved upon its hands. The popular voice insists on something being done, but no one has the least conception of what is the correct thing to do. This is not unnatural. The State has no statistics, no returns, no treatises, and no men who have made a study of the subject. It has neither the materials to use, nor any one competent to use them. Under these circumstances, the legislature shows some disposition to half-do the wisest thing it, under the circumstances, could do. It proposes to content itself with a minimum of crude legislation, and to turn the whole task of maturing some scientific action over to a small body of salaried and permanent commissioners. So far, it is well. The next thing is to secure at least one competent man on this commission; of course, more than one can hardly be expected, and that one should be forthcoming is not probable. It is well to consider the task which this one man will have before him; that understood, the market value of such a man will better enable us to appreciate the probability that the State of Illinois will secure his services at the rate it seems inclined to offer for them.

Illinois is, as every one knows, *par excellence* the railroad State of the Union—its railroads created it, and with its railroads its whole future is indissolubly bound up. Through it pass all the greatest railroad combinations of the country, and very many of them centre and make their headquarters at Chicago. It is difficult to exaggerate the size and consequent wealth and influence of these corporations; the figures which should convey an idea of these things are so multiplied that the mind fails to grasp them. For instance, in one single depot in Chicago, and under one roof, are centred 2,000 miles of track, represented by over $20,000,000 of annual income. Eight roads could be named, all centring in Chicago, which own or work upon an average 700 miles of road each, and, likewise on the average, earn considerably over $8,000,000 each per annum. There are in the State considerably over 4,000 miles of road, the annual income from which is estimated at little, if anything, short of $50,000,000. So far as the community is concerned, the corporations may now be said to be almost absolutely irresponsible, as regards the methods in which they may see fit to levy this very considerable sum. Competition, so far as it makes itself felt, and a regard for their own interests, are the only controlling influences; beyond these, the privilege of levying the $50,000,000 per annum is wholly unrestricted.

How to deal with these enormous corporations is now the great problem before the people of Illinois. A whole policy is to be originated, absolutely to be created out of nothing, or, even worse than that, to be re-created out of reluctant and hostile elements. He is a bold man who will even undertake the task; the man who will carry it successfully through must, in addition to being a very bold man, be also a very brilliant one. He must, in fact, possess about all the qualities which bear the highest value in the labor market of the world. He must have tact and firmness and temper; he must have prodigious powers of application and origination; he must know himself, and know his opponents; he must be prepared at any moment to be ejected from office in contumely, and he must be heedless of disappointment and discouragement. In fact, he must be just such a man as any dozen corporations in the country would be glad to secure on the salary of the President of the United States.

That which is expected of this man or these men is to originate a policy. The office of a judge or a governor is one comparatively easy to fill. The duties are well defined, the precedents are well established; with average abilities and fair labor any man may, in those positions, earn a fair if not a great reputation, without incurring an undue risk of failure. The present case is different. The Legislature of Illinois has sat down in blank despair before a novel problem—how to take the first step towards solving it, it knows not; and yet its solution involves everything to the State—it involves political purity and financial success; it cannot well be measured in money, unless we suppose a relief from ten or fifteen millions of annual taxation. It is, therefore, very singular to observe the money value which the Legislature of Illinois sets upon the services of these men who are thus to represent the State in controversy with the railroad potentates—the ablest, the richest, and often the most unscrupulous men in the country. We quote from a Chicago paper extracts from the debate in the Senate at Springfield on this point: "Mr. Washburne offered an amendment cutting down the salaries of the Commissioners from $5,000 to $3,000, and followed it with an economical speech, to the effect that no man would refuse to accept the office, no matter how small the salary, . . and that the people could not stand this piling up of fees." . . . Mr. Richardson favored $3,000, . . the people wanted a cutting down, and they should have it in all things. . . Mr. Fuller thought $4,000 was sufficient, with the honor of the thing, to get good men. . . After a long discussion, the sum was reduced to $3,500."

We have then here the exact money value which an advanced State of the West sets upon the highest class of service, and we can form a very good guess as to the result of the struggle between the

$3,500 men, representing the people, and the $35,000 men, representing the corporations. Of course, the corporations will be successful, as they always have been. They know the value of success; they know that it involves millions; and to secure it they will not haggle over hundreds. It is very pretty and very refreshing, both in Washington and Springfield, to hear the representatives of the people talking of the "honor of the thing;" but what business, after all, has any community to levy services out of the public-spirited which it is not willing to pay for in the labor market of the world? Are the people of Illinois too poor or too mean to pay their officials, who are to represent them in transactions involving millions a year, more than the salaries of the third and fourth-rate subordinates of those with whom such transactions must take place? There would be no man fit for a day to represent in such capacity the interests of the State whom the corporations would not be glad to secure at four times the compensation.

There is, indeed, something singularly pitiable in that frame of mind in our public men which is always thus willing to place the nation in the position of a mendicant. The public servant must be one of two classes—a self-sacrificing patriot, or a thief. He must give to his country that which everywhere else commands a higher price, or he must pay himself in unpermitted ways. The system of meagre and inadequate salaries is the great and fruitful progenitor of fees and pickings and perquisites. The New York Custom-House is a superb specimen of this vicious system elevated to a science. But, of course, the answer is reiterated that the offices are easily filled—that applicants swarm at the present rates of compensation; to which we can but again and again reply that they certainly do, and a sorry tribe they are. So would they also swarm if you reduced your salaries one-half; and the further you reduced them, the more they would swarm, and the sorrier and the less competent would they become. After all, even when serving republics, the laborer is worthy of his hire; the Chief-Justice of the United States should not for so many years have been rated so far in value below a Broadway salesman.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAVAL STAFF QUESTION.

There is just now a good deal of discussion at Washington, kept alive elsewhere by occasional articles in the daily papers, upon a subject which, considering its real importance, is surprisingly ill-understood—namely, the reorganization of the navy, more commonly called the "Staff Question." Mainly because the discussion relates to a "specialty," and is therefore gladly left for argument and settlement to those specially concerned, and partly because of the ill-advised efforts of too zealous advocates who rush into print on either side, the real matter at issue has been lost sight of in a fog of side-issues and technicalities, until the interested public has been narrowed down to the small number whose relatives and friends are directly affected by the present status of the navy, which a part of them desires to change. Yet, if it is worth while to have a navy at all, it is worth while to see that it be efficient; and the smaller the number of ships and officers to which it is reduced, the more important becomes the state of efficiency and readiness in which it is maintained. No doubt, small quarrels and petty conflicts of authority and precedence will inevitably and frequently occur among gentlemen whose bile is daily stirred up and temper soured by the discomforts and confinement of sea voyages, and the public has very sensibly ceased to take much interest in naval squabbles. But the resent dispute really appears to be rooted too deeply to be lightly disregarded. On shore as well as at sea, and during more than two years, the division has been growing wider and deeper; and it is persistently alleged that, unless certain points are settled definitely by law, and no longer left to the elastic rules of usage and precedent, the efficiency of the service will be seriously impaired, while its internal harmony can now scarcely be said to exist at all. These points of issue are between the line officers and those of the staff, the latter being inclusive of surgeons, paymasters, and engineers; and can scarcely be made intelligible without a brief explanation.

The functionaries of a man-of-war are, first, the commanding officer; second, an "executive officer," or first lieutenant, who *executes* the orders of the commander, and should not originate any orders himself. This officer presides in the ward-room, and is supposed to exercise general supervision over all departments of the ship. Officers desiring to leave the ship or to communicate with the captain, whatever their nominal rank or length of service, must first ask the "executive's" permission; all reports to the captain must be first presented to him; and, in fine, he stands between the commander and all others on board, and, by special regulation, takes precedence of all staff-officers. Next in rank among line officers is the navigator, who performs the duties indicated by his title, which on merchant vessels belong to the captain; and below him are four or more watch-officers, who take the charge of the deck in turn for four hours at a time. Of the staff there are a surgeon, paymaster, and engineer, and on large vessels an assistant surgeon and one or more assistant engineers.

Previously to the late war, the highest rank known in the navy was that of post-captain, the title "commodore" being given, by courtesy only, to the senior captain commanding a squadron or fleet; and a staff-officer, after due length of service, might attain to the rank of commander, the second grade then existing. The dispute now raging was then unknown, for the reason, as the staff allege, that, promotion being very slow, officers of the line were not advanced to positions of power and command until they had thoroughly mastered the details of their duties, and had learned by experience to recognize the responsibilities of others as well as their own. The "grey-haired lieutenant" who was first officer in those days (the term "executive" is of recent growth), although perhaps no classical scholar, had appreciated the application of Menenius Agrippa's fable long before he had attained to that position of authority; and a courtesy which left the authority unfelt, and its exercise unneeded, was then as constantly the rule as we are compelled to believe that it is now the exception. The staff contend, moreover, that in the earlier days of the navy the first lieutenant was really what he purported to be, the executor of the orders of the captain, and not, as now, an independent authority, resenting as "interference" any personal action of the commander concerning the details of ship management, and as "insubordination" all efforts of staff-officers to improve the condition and efficiency of their respective departments.

When the enlargement of the navy consequent upon the war rendered it desirable to create the additional grades of commodore, rear-admiral, vice-admiral, and admiral, there was no corresponding advance in the staff grades until Mr. Welles, in 1863, by a general order, raised their possible rank to that "with" captain, granting the chiefs of the several bureaus the "assimilated" rank of commodore. With this they were content, although varying interpretations of the word "assimilated" began early to be a *casus belli*, more or less suppressed by the common danger and consequent nearer fellowship of the war. But in 1869, Mr. Borie's General Order No. 120 was promulgated, reducing all staff-officers to their status of 1846, and additional regulations were issued, confirming in many ways the supremacy of line officers, even the very youngest, over all the staff. Meanwhile, promotions among the line officers, especially in the lower grades, became so rapid that the midshipmen who made their first real voyage in the fall of 1867 have returned as lieutenants, having been promoted through the successive grades of ensign and master; while the surgeons, paymasters, and engineers who sailed with them, of the "assimilated" rank of commander, returned with that of lieutenant. Not unnaturally, such a change has produced anything but a pleasant state of feeling—a state of feeling to which it is very desirable to put an end.

In support of the present condition of affairs, the line officers contend that efficiency requires rigid discipline, which implies absolute, irresponsible command on the one hand, and unqualified obedience on the other; that such power of command must reside in the captain and in his representatives, whatever their nominal rank; and that such representatives are the executive officer and the officer of the deck for the time being. Should staff-officers be allowed actual rank—say the line—circumstances might frequently arise in which they would be entitled to command the ship, a sphere of duty for which they are totally unfitted by education. Moreover, they maintain that, for the proper maintenance of discipline, a superiority of their own, as the governing class and

essentially *the navy*, must be acknowledged, particularly by those whom they delight in calling "the auxiliary officers" of the navy.

The staff, on the other hand, claim to understand best the details of the management of their several departments, and state that, under the present system, the efficiency of the service is frequently and seriously impaired by unwarrantable and petty interferences on the part of young and subordinate line officers. They therefore ask for the control of their respective departments, subject only, though entirely, to the captain of the ship. They demand, to this end, and as the only practical remedy, actual rank (but expressly disclaim the right of command in the line, or outside of their several specialties) and the right to quarters in the cabin. With this rank they ask for the dignities, immunities, and privileges which it conveys to the line, with the exceptions abovementioned; and that the precedence of the executive officers over themselves be limited, as in the line, to cases in which he is senior in lineal rank, or by date of commission. These demands have been embodied in the Stevens Bill, which is now pending in the Senate.

The result of the present state of uncertainty is certainly bad, and calls for a remedy. The naval service has become a house divided against itself, to the point of almost absolute non-intercourse. Officers go to sea bristling with jealous watchfulness of each other's actions, and ready constantly to seize upon the first pretext for a dispute. Reports, based often upon the most trivial grounds, are more frequent than in a young ladies' boarding-school; and, from such a state of feeling, delays, want of *esprit de corps*, and occasionally positive public damage have resulted. In the medical corps, for example, although an examining board is constantly in session, there are to-day over fifty vacancies, and when, in a profession notoriously so overcrowded as the medical, not so many can be found able to pass the moderate examination, and willing to accept a position which should be honorable, there follows a strong presumption that the alleged injustice to staff-officers has good foundation in fact. The medical profession, indeed, has taken up the cudgels actively, and there is now scarcely a medical association in the country which has not passed resolutions calling for legislation in this matter, and, so far, discouraging capable physicians from offering themselves as doctors in our national vessels.

In support of their assertion, that actual rank will prove a sufficient remedy for the hardships and hindrances which they suffer, the staff-officers point to the well-known success of the staff organization in the army, where the provisions of the Stevens Bill have been long in practical operation. The efficiency of the Army Medical Department has really been a wonder to the scientific world in general. Its circulars are accepted as the best of authorities in Europe as well as at home, and it has become a legitimate source of pride to every American who knows its history and values the true honor of his country. If this great success and acknowledged superiority be, as alleged, the result of independence of action and of freedom from the control of those not experts in medical and surgical matters, doubtless the instance is well chosen and applicable.

Or take the case of the paymasters: the cost to the Government of disbursing its money, including the pay of officers' transportation and *defalcations*—much noise has been made about this and that notorious case of embezzlement—was less than one-sixteenth of one per cent.—a fact showing, as the advocates of the Civil Service Bill have well said, that the surest protection to the Government against the dishonesty of its officials is to be found by making its offices permanent and respectable, thereby attracting a class of men so high as to be above the commoner temptations to fraud. Concerning the army system, Gen. Sherman writes to Admiral Porter that it "works very well in practice," and such is the testimony of army officers generally.

It appears, also, that in other countries this distinction which staff-officers find it so hard to endure does not exist. In the Russian navy, for example, they attain to the highest rank (general admiral); in the British and Spanish to that of vice-admiral; in the French and Austrian to rear-admiral, without impairing either efficiency or discipline.

There are at least two facts to be deduced from the mass of contradictory statements on both sides of this quarrel. One is, that the staff-officers of the navy are quite convinced that they are unjustly treated, and are clear as to the remedy: and the other is, that this remedy has the merit of being no new or untried experiment, but a plan which has worked well in practice; in the United States army and in the navies of other countries. Its merits must be decided by Congress, since every effort to settle the question by means of mixed boards, and by reference to those most thoroughly cognizant of the circumstances, has resulted in a strictly party division and no agreement upon essential points. Certainly the picture which has been presented of the aged fleet-surgeon or paymaster asking the executive officer, not born when he entered the service, "for permission to go on shore," reporting to the beardless ensign pacing the quarter-deck that he has "permission to leave the ship," and then waiting for a still lesser youngster to take command of the boat which is to convey him ashore, manifests an inherent absurdity, which is yet the necessary result of existing laws and regulations. Or think of a competent surgeon condemned by a naval court-martial for declining to take a man off the sick-list and declaring him too ill for duty, when a certain line officer—who had disabled the man by punishment—demanded that the surgeon should report him well.

The subject is of more importance than it seems, for few of those who remain at home are aware to how great an extent foreign ideas of Americans, particularly outside of Europe, are based upon the demeanor, attainments, and ability of the officers of the navy. Aside from the undoubted necessities of war, it is a matter of considerable importance to this country that, at least until the diplomatic service can be set upon a more creditable footing, the navy should be so constructed and directed as to attract the best attainable material into both staff and line corps. And in no way can this be better effected than by at least equalizing the status of professional men on board ship with that which they would occupy in the military service on shore.

Much, if not most, of the trouble now existing is to be attributed to the introduction of equivocal terms, such as "assimilated rank," admitting of various constructions according to the whim or prejudice of different officers, and it is to be hoped that the subject will not only be fully discussed in Congress, but finally settled by a plain and intelligible enactment.

ENGLAND.

LONDON, Feb. 3, 1871.

THERE is, for I feel as though it were right to remind your readers of the fact, a country known as England. It occupies, it is true, a very subordinate place in the affairs of the world at the present moment. In London, one would suppose that it should excite as much interest as anywhere; but for some time past, I have scarcely heard the name mentioned. The exorbitant demands reported to have been put forward by Prussia, in regard to the French navy and colonies, have reminded us that there is an insignificant island more or less directly concerned in the result; but we can spare little attention to such trifles from the absorbing news of the moment. Paris is the one word upon everybody's lips, and I must descend into the obscure corners of newspapers or collect gossip of the most insignificant character, in order to find raw materials for a correspondent's letter. I fancy that I have made this excuse once or twice before; and a dim recollection occurs to me that I promised not to make it again. If so, I can only apologize, and add my sincerest hopes that the excuse will soon cease to have any validity.

One topic has recently come up upon which it seems necessary to say a few words. The members of Parliament who have recently been addressing their constituencies have developed a certain prejudice in unsuspected strength. To judge from the "interpellations" addressed to them, it would seem that the British constituent has suddenly become possessed with a certain fixed idea. He is indignant at the thought that Parliament should be asked to pay a dowry to the Princess Louise on her marriage with the Marquis of Lorne. Members for some of the more radical constituencies have pledged themselves to vote against the proposal; and I presume that we shall have some kind of discussion, in which Prof. Fawcett and a few of his friends will make a few speeches, very unpopular in the House, but considered by a certain class as proofs of patriotism and public spirit, and that the number of true believers who follow him into the lobby will be exceedingly small. The matter has been argued very seriously in the leading journals, which are, of course, in favor of the dowry. It has been urged, for example, that Parliament having assumed the management of the crown property, in return for a certain stipulated

sum, is equitably bound to do what the Queen might otherwise have done for herself. The simpler and, to my mind, more cogent argument is that so long as we keep up the monarchy, we ought to keep it up handsomely; that cavilling at perquisites and haggling over the terms on which we get a Princess taken off our hands is a rather unworthy method of beginning an agitation; and in short, that if any large number of persons are converts to republicanism, they had better say so openly instead of appealing by indirect methods to the lurking stinginess of the British public.

Does the agitation, then, really indicate a growth of a republican sentiment? I do not believe in anything of the kind. A little fuss was made in the papers recently over a "republican club" which had been founded amongst the university dons at Cambridge. All sorts of absurd stories were told about it; but the real truth of the matter was simply this, that half-a-dozen fellows of colleges agreed to have a cheap dinner together at fixed intervals, and, being of ultra-radical views, chose to call themselves republican. Everybody knows that there are a good many strong radicals amongst the younger authorities at the universities; and, so far, there was nothing surprising; but the notion that they were forming a society for the propagation of their creed, or that they had any precise creed to propagate, was totally without foundation. Nor do I believe that there is anywhere much republican sentiment, except in a latent condition. The fact, however, is, and many other circumstances might be mentioned to prove it, that the personal popularity of the royal family has exceedingly diminished. A few years ago the mention of the Queen's name was certain to provoke a genuine outburst of enthusiasm. Now it is received with considerable calmness; and there is still less zeal on behalf of the younger members of the family. A constitutional sovereign who will not take the trouble to put herself in evidence, and a Prince of Wales who is seldom heard of except in connection with the shooting of partridges, drop easily into a very insignificant position. And when it is proposed to give a large sum for the dowry of a Princess, there is a certain degree of irritation on the part of sulky radicals, and still more on the part of small tradesmen, who hold that the first duty of a sovereign is to run up large bills at as many shops as possible. Under easily conceivable circumstances, such a state of feeling might have serious consequences; but at present I should hardly mention it, were it not for the comments which have been put forward in a good many quarters.

The recently elected school-boards are beginning to contribute more or less decidedly to our amusement. The worst symptom about them is that the religious sects seem to be doing their best to stir up a jealousy which will be dangerous to the efficiency of the system. The effect of the plural vote has been to secure a representation of small minorities, rather, as some people fancy, to the exclusion of majorities from a fair preponderance of power. At any rate, it has contributed to the development of the feeling of which I have spoken. Thus, for example, the London School-Board had a long and disagreeable talk the other day upon a proposal made by some of the dissenting ministers to open the proceedings with prayer. Nobody would of course object to any number of individual members meeting together and praying as earnestly as the spirit might move them. It was desired, however, that the Board should in some way make provision for praying in its official capacity. Perhaps the most distinguished member is Prof. Huxley, who, if I am not mistaken, took part in a controversy which raged some time ago in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, with the view of showing that prayer was altogether an unphilosophical proceeding. The debate was, therefore, calculated to produce a very unpleasant and undesirable discussion. The Board, I am glad to say, had the good sense to get rid of the objectionable proposal by an indefinite adjournment; and nobody will be troubled to devise a form of prayer in which every religious sect known to England, including sects which would not in popular parlance be called religious at all, might take part without offence. We are not without symptoms that the spirit of which this is a trifling indication, may provoke discussions equally irritating and of greater intrinsic importance. The wide discretion left by the act of last session to the local authorities gives ample opportunity for very vigorous party fights over religious questions. The motion just noticed looks rather like the preliminary trailing of an Irishman's coat through Donnybrook Fair; but I still believe that the good sense displayed in avoiding the challenge on this occasion, will be exhibited in more important matters; and, at the worst, the act will have done infinite service in stirring up the popular attention to so important a subject. From every part of the country we hear of school-board elections, which everywhere excite a deep interest, and there is an apparent determination to put the powers conferred by the act into vigorous operation. There is a novelty to the English mind in the very notion of any public body taking the initiative in making due educational provision for the wants of the people; and it is satisfactory to observe that, having got hold of the idea, it seems to be grasping it with considerable tenacity.

And, now, what shall I tell you more? That we have had a winter harder than has been known for years, and that, in the intervals of downright freezing, the weather has passed through more phases of detestable combinations of fog, rain, and raw wind, than the mind of man could have invented? That the small-pox has been breaking out with unusual violence, and that we are all going off in a panic to be vaccinated? That we have had an unusual abundance of ingeniously contrived railway accidents? That pauperism, which had slightly declined in the metropolis, has risen to its old limits under the influence of the severe weather? That we are all a little out of temper in consequence of these various annoyances and the still more serious causes of melancholy which influence us from beyond the sea? I do not know that any of those topics will bear any prolonged treatment, as they are all rather depressing in themselves. I will therefore confine myself to the comparatively cheerful statement that we are going to have one of those exhibitions of things in general which have done so much, since 1851, to promote a pacific spirit, and, indeed, to render wars impossible. Long galleries in brick are extending themselves down the piece of ground at South Kensington bought from the proceeds of the great exhibition of 1851. The huge dome which rises between them, known to the gods as the Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences, but to men as the Hall of Omniscience, is all but finished. The biggest organ in the habitable globe is erected beneath its roof, and will be worked by steam-engines of I know not how many horse-power. Its music will be discoursed to the largest audiences that can be gathered together under any roof within this metropolis. Some grand ceremony of inauguration will take place in April; and we shall listen once more to demonstrations of the mode in which large temporary bazaars promote peace and good-will amongst mankind. On this occasion, it is true, the scope of the exhibition is to be more limited than of old. Instead of including every object that has ever been manufactured by mankind, there will be only a few select classes. I presume that the expectations to which assurance will be given will be proportionally limited; and that the foreigners who resort to our stalls for the purpose of inspecting pottery, educational inventions, and textile fabrics (if my memory serves me right) will be in a sober frame of mind. The Continent, however, will not be a very lively place for some time to come, and the attractions provided by Mr. Cole's enterprise in London will have little to rival them elsewhere, unless indeed people prefer to see the terrible scars left by the war on what was so lately the most generally attractive centre of European travel.

Correspondence.

ANOTHER DEFENCE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sympathizing as I do in your efforts to reform the Civil Service, and coinciding in the general editorial management of the *Nation*, I have frequently been tempted to correct what to me seem erroneous views as to the manner in which this desirable reform can be achieved; and as I am addressing you, who have thought much upon the subject, and an audience educated by you, I can afford to be brief.

First. A ten years' experience in the Civil Service (Treasury Department) has convinced me that *earnest political convictions* are essential to the success of the executive service; and that it is in proportion that political qualifications have been subordinated that the civil service has fallen into decay. Surely, sir, in a land where it is the *solemn duty* of each and every citizen to assist in the government of the country, the ability to think politically ought not to be made a disqualification. You would not admit that you yourself should be excluded from the public service because you have well-defined opinions upon all political questions. I maintain that the only other bond except pure self-interest is the enthusiasm and earnestness with which the civil officer may be devoted to his country, and, as a means, to his party. That great Secretary, Chase, made the bulk of his appointments from young men who had made great sacrifices for the party, and who were capable, by pen and speech, of defending it; and, without an exception, these appointments were a success, giving vigor and power to the administration.

The difficulty is only this, that it is not easy to distinguish the demagogue

from the political thinker, and that men who have no administrative ability may be preferred over men who, in addition to executive ability, possess political talent. But statesmanship consists in the ability to separate the wheat from the chaff; and the head of a department who cannot distinguish between the *brawler* and the *thinker* will also be imposed upon no less if political activity is considered a disqualification.

Secondly. The head of a department, so far as the non-commissioned officers of the service are concerned, stands before the public *without a shield*, or a division of responsibility. He can appoint or dismiss at pleasure; and if we have inferior men in the service, it is owing, in part, to the fact that neither he nor any one can buy sufficient capacity to the creditable discharge of public business for $1,200 to $1,800 per year.

Lastly. I will only make one more observation. I think, as Eastern and European people are apt to, you overestimate the value of a mechanical examination. At present, our school education consists less in the formation of character than in the mechanical memorization of a number of facts. Without wishing to underrate the value of mental discipline or of extensive reading, there are yet qualities which escape the crucible of technical examinations. Judgment, power, industry, and devotion, as well as high integrity, are qualities which no competitive examination can adequately ascertain. Surely you would not deny to that brave old man, ex-Senator Wade, an honorable place in American history?—and yet there is not a sophomore in college to-day who does not speak more grammatically.

I am afraid that you are, unconsciously, I am sure, sharing in the prevailing tendency of our age to reform the world by means of machinery, by checks and balances nicely contrived. Reform is upon every lip; but it is so much easier to reform others than ourselves. It gains for the author so much greater renown to patent and advertise a reforming machine than to labor quietly and individually, that machines of all sorts are brought forward. Instead of regarding law as an adjunct, as something that should follow in the wake of reform to give it fixity and expression, it is now regarded as the active agent, which it is not, and can never be. Eight-hour laws, female suffrage, and divorce laws are only specimens of the general tendency.

If public sentiment, or, rather, if individual reformation were to demand of the Government a higher order of public servants, you would have them; but if you trust to law exclusively, you will be disappointed.

Very respectfully,

J. FRED. MEYERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 13, 1871.

[First. No sane person has, to our knowledge, maintained that "the ability to think politically ought to be made a disqualification" for the public service. What the advocates of civil service reform say is that under the present system a candidate's ability to think politically, or to do anything else decently, is not ascertained before appointment by any test whatever; and that even if the ability to think politically be not a *dis*qualification, it ought not to be treated as the *only* qualification.

Secondly. The statement that a head of a department stands before the public "without a shield, or a division of responsibility, as far as the non-commissioned officers of the service are concerned," is not only incorrect, but—Mr. Meyers will excuse us for saying—so notoriously incorrect that his making it seems to indicate something very like contempt for the intelligence of his readers. It is almost as patent as the sun at noonday that the non-commissioned officers of the service are appointed on the *demand* of members of Congress; that their dismissal even for gross misconduct is treated by members of Congress as a personal offence; and that the patronage has in practice passed almost entirely out of the hands of the Executive. In fact, the head of a department has hardly any responsibility left him with regard to the great mass of his subordinates, and he has in this division of responsibility a ready shield. Mr. Meyers will find in the last number of the *North American Review* the testimony of a head of department on this subject.

Lastly. Nobody has ever said or insinuated that a competitive examination would reveal a candidate's "judgment, power, industry, and devotion." What we say is, that they would reveal *some* of a candidate's qualifications for office. The peculiarity of the present system is that men are appointed without being subjected to any test whatever, either as regards knowledge, judgment, power, or industry. Their "devotion," doubtless, is ascertained, but it is a kind of devotion which as often operates as a disqualification as a qualification, by leading a man to neglect the particular duty which he is paid to perform. He may be a very "devoted" politician and a very worthless clerk. Mr. Meyers's protest against the use of machinery for purposes of reform is good, but covers too much ground. It would, if sound, forbid the testing of a man's qualifications for any position whatever. "Devotion" hardly qualifies a man to command a man-of-war, or take charge of an observatory, or to be a judge of the Supreme Court. It would, therefore, be absurd to talk of a law which provided that an admiral should understand navigation, or an engineer the steam-engine, or that a judge should know law, or a clerk should know arithmetic, or that all four should be temperate and of good moral character, and which prescribed tests for the ascertainment of these facts, as a "mere adjunct." Mr. Boutwell—Mr. Meyers's chief—said, in his last report, quite correctly, that the business of the Treasury resembled that of a bank. Now, fancy the following scene occurring in a bank:

(*Enter the banker and a candidate for a clerkship.*)

Banker.—You want to be a clerk, I understand? Have you ever filled a place in a bank before?

Clerk.—No, sir.

Banker.—Have you ever been in any commercial house?

Clerk.—No, sir.

Banker.—What has been your occupation?

Clerk.—I was for a short time a reporter on the *Oshkosh Sentinel*. After that I tried photographing; I then peddled hair-pins, and then lectured a little on temperance, and wrote advertisements for a drug-store; then published a campaign paper, and then canvassed for a horse insurance company, and then brought out a patent double-action tooth-pick. In the last Presidential canvass I stumped Poorcuss County for Grant, and have warm recommendations from Governor Fenton, Charley Spencer, Hank Smith, and Collector Murphy.

Banker.—Then you have absolutely no business experience whatever? Are you quick at figures?

Clerk.—No, sir; never could get hold of arithmetic.

Banker.—Then, what *are* your recommendations?

Clerk.—Well, my heart is in the right place. I am a friend of banking and banks. I believe the good they do in a great commercial country like ours is simply incalculable. What with their taking care of money for people who have no safe place to put it in, and lending it to others who will use it to develop our vast material resources, it is hard to say how we should get along without them. I think their accounts ought to be well kept, and admire people who can cast up a column of figures without a mistake. Every bank should contain a few such men. I may mention also that I am in favor of equal rights for all, and abhor caste.

Banker.—Well, I must tell you frankly, your own account of yourself is not very promising; but if you like to undergo an examination in arithmetic and book-keeping and, say, geography, and let me make enquiries about your character of persons who have known you outside politics, I am willing to give you a chance. We must have honest and competent men in our business, or else we should be ruined.

Clerk.—Ah! sir, you make a great mistake in wanting to examine me. I do not wish to underrate a knowledge of arithmetic and book-keeping—happy are those who have it; but a man might have it in a very high degree, and yet be a very poor stick as regards judgment, power, industry, and devotion to your interests. The qualities of my soul, which are what I most pride myself on, you cannot get at in this way. There are scores of eminent men in the community who could not pass such an examination as you propose, and yet who are very valuable members of society. With regard to testimonials about my moral character, the fact is, you can trust nobody to give them honestly. Everybody lies and equivocates on this subject, just to save themselves trouble and annoyance. You know how it is yourself. So, if you take my advice, you won't do anything about it. All these devices for satisfying yourself about the honesty and competency of your employees, believe me, are delusive; they simply show that you share in the general love of "machinery" of reform. Be honest and upright yourself, and honest and upright clerks will rally round you without any of these invidious enquiries. You must rely on the general pro-

gress of society in morality for the character of your employees. Let the community be good, and your cash-box will always be safe.

We "must clear our heads of cant," as Dr. Johnson said on this subject. The community at large has, like the individuals of which it is composed, certain work to be done, which differs in no respect from the work carried on in banks, counting-houses, and stores, except in its vastness. It needs the same kind of machinery, and the same kind of qualities for its proper performance, and it ought to be done as cheaply, faithfully, and efficiently as possible. All talk about the need of "devotion" or "enthusiasm" in Government servants which is not needed in bankers' or manufacturers' servants, is simply cant concocted to cover up one of the greatest violations of all sound principles of administration ever witnessed.—Ed. Nation.]

THE LICENSE OF THE PRESS.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In your article upon the Field-Bowles controversy, you speak of its "arising out of some very unwarrantable gossip about Mr. Field, written from New York by a correspondent of the *Republican*, and of a kind in which its correspondents are apt to indulge."

Is this altogether consistent with your late praise of George Alfred Townsend, Donn Piatt, and another Washington correspondent, for fearless and independent criticism? I did not go out of my way to speak of Mr. Field, but my comments were in the course of a general sketch of the New York bar. The subject was certainly a proper one to treat; and in referring to Mr. Field, I could not avoid giving the current view of his standing. If my report of the latter is not correct, it might be called "unwarrantable," but as that has not been shown, I think I have a right to take exception to your criticism.

Yours very truly,

"Carlfried,"

New York Correspondent Springfield *Republican*.

New York, February 14, 1871.

[We think the rule in these matters is tolerably clear, and we have never approved of any violations of it, either in the case of Donn Piatt, George Alfred Townsend, or anybody else. It is this: A newspaper or newspaper correspondent may fairly comment upon or even "gossip" about so much of a man's sayings, or doings, or habits, as are sufficiently before the public to enable the public to judge of the fairness or accuracy of the criticisms on him or of the stories told about him. The speeches or general political action of a politician; the books or articles of a literary man; the professional career of a lawyer, in so far as it passes in open court; the decisions and demeanor of a judge on the bench; the sermons of a clergyman, are all fair game. Anybody who enters any of these callings, enters it under perfectly well-known conditions, and one of these is constant exposure to the animadversions of the public and the press; and this exposure, let us say, *pace* Mr. D. D. Field, is necessary to a healthy condition of society. There are abuses now, and the license of the press is amongst the worst; but they are bagatelles compared to those of the era of secresy, silence, and irresponsibility. But it is not permissible to drag to light and comment on portions of a man's character or career, or incidents in his history, about which the public has no means of forming a judgment. An editor may say that Smith in his speech on the San Domingo question, as in all his speeches, makes a great ass of himself, because every reader has the means of estimating the value of this judgment on Smith's powers; or he may say that Brown behaved very unprofessionally in the trial of the Wilkins case, because the public can examine the Wilkins case if it likes. But he may not say that when Smith goes home from the Senate he abuses his wife, and goes to bed drunk, and that Brown takes a large amount of his fees in lottery tickets, and is notorious for cheating butchers, because about these things the public knows nothing and can learn nothing.

We are here putting the matter on what some people will call narrow and technical ground. We presume most editors and correspondents will claim a wider range than this for their investigations. Well, then, to these we say: If you will insist on invading what is called a man's privacy—that is, in dragging before the world a portion of his life which he, in the exercise of an undoubted right, keeps concealed—you are bound, at least, to spare his feelings to the utmost extent of your power. This he may fairly claim of you as men, no matter what your tastes as journalists may be. Some persons do not dislike to have their private affairs revealed, or their personal characteristics described in the newspapers, *but all dislike to have anything revealed which will put them before the public in an odious or ridiculous light.* This peculiarity, a weakness if you will, they have a right to have respected. So, if you must look into their parlor windows, you are bound, if you report anything of what you see, to report only what will please your victim, or cause his fellows to think more highly of him. You are bound not to report what will pain him and lower him in the public estimation. You have no right to torture people for the entertainment of anybody, or for your own emolument. You may be grossly mistaken in what you say, or the reports you hear may be totally unfounded. Nevertheless, the person you assail may be a sensitive man, who in contradicting or refuting you will suffer positive agony.

We shall not here go into the effect of all this newspaper gossip on the public mind, morals, and manners. That is a large subject. We have no intention in saying all this of throwing any special blame on "Carlfried," who, as far as our observation has gone, manages to write a great deal that is interesting, with very few infringements of the rule. In the case of Mr. Field, he undeniably did infringe it; but the responsibility for such things rests largely with the editor of the paper for which the correspondent writes. Every correspondent is constantly and naturally tempted to overstep the limits of propriety in his eagerness to make his letters spicy. It is the duty of the editor who reads his productions calmly to see that he keeps within bounds, but this is a duty which many editors grossly neglect. Many of them, who pass for decent men, take into their pay unscrupulous wretches, and give them full swing in their columns; and an unscrupulous wretch, with but little education and little mind, and no manners, venting his private hates and spites and malignities on his enemies, bedaubing his friends and flatterers and benefactors with praise, through the columns of a newspaper, is as repulsive a sight as Christendom has to show, and we do not know one which reflects more discredit on our civilization.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

The March number of the *Radical* contains the first instalment of a translation of "Goethe's Conversations with Chancellor von Müller" (which we lately reviewed), by the Rev. C. C. Shackford. We presume this is the first English version. When completed, it will be published in book-form.——Mr. Horace B. Fuller announces for publication, next month, "In the World," a sequel to "Battles at Home," by Mary G. Darling; and, in the spring, a new volume by the Rev. Robert Collyer. ——Messrs. Gould & Lincoln will publish their usual "Annual of Scientific Discovery" on the 10th of March; it has been edited for this year by Profs. John Trowbridge and W. R. Nichols. The same firm have in press "The Life and Letters of Hugh Miller," by Peter Bayne, two volumes; "The Bremen Lectures on Fundamental, Living Religious Questions," translated by the Rev. Dr. Heagle; Dr. L. T. Schultze's "Of the Son of Man and of the Logos," translated by Dr. Alvah Hovey; and "The Puritans; or, The Court, Church, and Parliament of England during the Reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth," by Samuel Hopkins, in three volumes.——Messrs. Harper & Brothers have in press "The History of Rome," by William Ihne.——Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co. announce "Truth and Trust: Lessons of the War," by the late Dean Alford; "On the Ruins of the Second Empire," by a witness of its fall, Azamut-Batuk, the well-known correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette;* and Lord Palmerston's "Diary of Two Visits to Paris in 1814 and 1815," discovered since his death among his papers.——A work of importance for merchants and all others who have frequent occasion to use the telegraph is Major Frank Bolton's "Telegraph Code" or Dictionary, designed to effect economy and secure accuracy and secresy in the transmission of dispatches. It is a quarto of over 1,200 pages, and is sold only by subscription by the American publishers, Messrs. Francis B. Felt & Co., of this city, or their agents. The price is $40.——Messrs. J. E. Tilton & Co., Boston, announce a Globe edition of Tennyson's Poems, including the latest and least of them, "The Window."——Messrs. Sever & Francis begin at once the republication of the "Catena Classicorum," edited by

Oxford and Cambridge men. They have in hand Thucydides (Books I. and II.). Demosthenes (Olynthians and Philippics), and Aristophanes (Acharnians and Knights).

—Yale College will have no reason to regret, and the general public only cause for congratulation, that the Rau library of Political Economy went to Ann Arbor. To the college the loss is more than replaced by a collection larger in extent and in scope—the library of Robert von Mohl, the distinguished writer on political science, for many years professor at the universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen, and now ambassador of Baden at Munich. The library contains some 6,000 volumes, distributed, in round numbers, as follows: 1. Political Encyclopedias, 150 vols.—2. General Theory of Politics and Social Science, 500 vols.—3. Public Law of Germany, England, France, United States, Switzerland, etc., etc., a careful selection of the principal works in this department, 1,500 vols. The Public Law of Germany is *complete*, so far as the constitution of Germany in the present century is concerned; quite sufficient for all scientific and practical purposes concerning the old German Empire and the constitution and administration of the separate German states. One rare series may be specified—the "Official Collection of the Proceedings of the German Diet" (Protocolle des Deutschen Bundestages), 1817 to 1866, 1–3 vols. folio per annum, of which but 170 copies were printed, exclusively for Government use.—4. International Law, 300 vols.—5. Political Economy, in all its branches, particularly in its practical application to internal government, 2,000 vols.—6. Statistics, chiefly large official publications of different governments, 300 vols.—Important Works in Political History, in different branches of law, and a few of miscellaneous character, make up the balance of the collection. For the means of purchasing this library, which is now on the way to New Haven, the college is largely indebted to Mr. William Walter Phelps, of this city.

—The Library of the Boston Athenæum has just received a valuable work, published by the English Ordnance Survey Office, entitled "Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland, photozincographed by Sir H. James." It is similar to the National Manuscripts of England, of which we have already spoken. Of course, it will not have for other than Scotchmen all the interest of its English predecessor, for, after all that Sir Walter Scott has done, English history is much more read, and English names much better known, than the Scottish. Vol. I. contains documents written between 900 and 1296, and is edited by the late Dr. Joseph Robertson. Vol. II. extends to 1488, and is edited by Cosmo Innes, author of "Scotland in the Middle Ages," etc., who has prefixed an Introduction, written with more spirit than one usually finds in works of this sort. Among the most interesting documents are the patriotic letter of the Barons of Scotland to the Pope (1320), hung with a multitude of seals, and a charter (1282) of Devorgilla, mother of King John Baliol, and founder of Baliol College, Oxford, which gives considerable information on the character of education in her new college. This volume has the new feature of containing specimens of illustrations, which Mr. Innes gives because illustrations are rare in Scottish MSS. A third volume is in course of preparation.

—Prof. Agassiz, it has been recently announced, is preparing an illustrated work on the American Salmonidæ, including trout, salmon, and whitefish, of all which he is very desirous of obtaining live specimens, but will be thankful even for dead ones. They should be sent to him at the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Cambridge, Mass., with full and distinct labels of names and locality. The service is one which may be rendered either for the sake of Prof. Agassiz himself, or of science, as embodied in the proposed work, or, finally, of the Museum, which the country owes to Agassiz's untiring and unselfish industry, and which is the best nursery of natural science on this side of the Atlantic. Some remarkable statements were lately made by the Professor before a Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature (the committee on education) in regard both to the economy and the efficiency of the Museum. In it, he stated, are engaged twenty-six persons, all told, while the total income available for salaries, and for all other purposes, is but $10,000. How the Museum could be run at such a figure was explained by reference to a list of private subscriptions:

"You will see that to the share of one individual goes $6,000 for salaries at the Museum; to another, $7,400 for salaries, and for the support of young men; and $4,100 from the same source for material, and for the arrangement of collections. Constantly, when it would have been necessary to stop the work, private individuals have come and given largely and liberally. At one time a lady gave $3,000, at another time $2,000, at another time $1,500, and so on. These donations, in money alone, including the grants of the State, amounted to $473,000."

Regarding the arrangement of the Museum as better, in consequence of its recent foundation, than that of European museums, Prof. Agassiz called attention to the opportunities of securing for America private collections abroad, "which are likely to be lost or scattered at the death of their owners, for the simple reason that the public institutions of Europe have similar collections; and another reason is, that those who have made these collections are not in particular favor with the government, which is very frequently the case." He estimated the price for which they could be bought at $300,000.

—Much has been said, and much more might well be said, if intelligent people who have knowledge of the facts would say it—about the murderer Ruloff, now lying in confinement at one of our State prisons under sentence of death. It is, to be sure, repeating newspaper talk, for the accuracy of which no one could safely vouch, but it is told of him, that up to the age of thirty or thereabouts he lived an inoffensive, scholarly life, pursuing linguistic and other studies with a great deal of eagerness and industry, and with results in some respects remarkable; though, doubtless, it would not be true to say that he pursued them with real success. We read, for instance, that while imprisoned in a New York penitentiary, he wrote some observations on a certain philological treatise, and that in these he quoted—necessarily from memory, but yet almost verbatim—page after page of several Greek authors; so that it would seem as if he had considerable learning, and possessed in a singular degree one, at least, of the philologist's powers—retentiveness of memory. Furthermore, we are told that, having won the heart of his jailer, he was permitted to receive pupils in his cell, and that he there gave them excellent instruction in several languages. This first imprisonment of Ruloff's has some other strange features besides the one just mentioned. As we have said, he is reported as having lived a blameless, studious life up to the age of about thirty. Then suddenly he came under suspicion of having committed a double murder, the victims being his wife and only child. Arrested on the charge of murder, he escaped the penalty of the capital offence, for there was no *corpus delicti;* and from that day to this not a trace of the woman or the child has been found. Somehow or other, we are not informed how, the charge of abducting his wife was made good against him, and he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Among the pupils whom he had during his incarceration was the son of his jailer, and if all is true that is told—as the Arabs say, "It is related (but God is all-knowing)"—Ruloff set himself deliberately to work to improve the intellect of the boy, and at the same time to corrupt thoroughly his moral nature and make of him an accomplished member of a school of robbers and murderers, of which he himself was the lawgiver and head. At all events, the boy did become a burglar and murderer, and a few months since he perished miserably in an excursion which he, in company with Ruloff and another professional robber, was making in the neighborhood of Binghamton, if we remember right, and which had for its object the robbery of a merchant's safe in that town. This was Ruloff's last excursion, and the last of the robberies of his two companions also, for there fell upon the three a punishment almost as swift and ghastly as falls upon the robbers in the old tales. The three dissolute ruffians of the terrifying story in which it is told how they went forth from their carousing to meet and fight with Death, of whom they had heard people talk, were hardly overtaken by a speedier or grimmer fate than overtook our robbers. The store was entered, and the pillaging had begun, when the burglars were attacked by two clerks, whose custom it was to sleep there. In the struggle that followed, one clerk was killed and the other wounded, as also was one of the thieves, and these latter fled, one of the younger ones carrying the other; but, in crossing the river, which was at that time much swollen, the wounded burglar and his companion were carried away by the flood, and Ruloff alone escaped alive. Suspicion falling upon him, he was arrested, tried, and condemned. We have not read the report of the trial, but it is stated that his conviction was secured by testimony which, curiously enough, his better-self might be said to have furnished against his worse. Apparently he was proud of his attainments, and constantly, when he could find any one to listen or any editor to print, used to ventilate his theories in linguistics. In an unlucky day, he found a certain editor who printed a certain essay of his, and it so happened that when he came to load the pistol with which afterwards the murder of the clerk was done, he took for wadding a piece of the newspaper that contained this production of his. Carelessness or, perhaps, tenderness for his literary offspring caused him to keep by him the printed copy of the essay; it was found in his room, and, at his trial, was used against him with fatal effect Ruloff was not only a worker in the science of linguistics, he had studied

the law, and it has been said that he was a good lawyer, and that he has on some occasions had the effrontery to appear, and the ability to appear successfully, as counsel in New York courts where accomplices of his were upon trial. Here, again, it is, perhaps, as well to remember the Arabic exordium above quoted, and to wait till some competent hand shall give us a trustworthy account of a person whose character and course of life are of precisely the kind to excite the wonder of illiterate and unsagacious people, and to furnish the basis for stories full of the exaggerations of bewilderment and the vulgar love of the marvellous and mysterious.

—A year and a half ago we think it was that we received from Ruloff a printed circular, in which he set forth the fact that he had some sort of a method—we forget what—which, when applied to the study of linguistics, was to work we do not know what miracles, and the secret of which he would sell for five hundred thousand dollars. He intended, he said, to go before the American Philological Society, then on the point of meeting at Poughkeepsie, and see if he could not persuade it to give him the half-million. The half-million it was that he was going to try to get from the members of the Society, or else it was their approval of his method for which he was hoping—the latter, probably. A very wild lunatic, indeed, it would be who should hope to get five hundred thousand dollars from any assembly of the philologists of the United States. Our memory is at fault about the details of Ruloff's scheme, and even about its general scope; but we recollect very well that the circular seemed to us the production of a brain crazed—of a man whose fit home was in an asylum for the insane; and were we, in the present state of our knowledge concerning Ruloff, to order him to execution, we should be more than doubtful as to whether we were not killing a man out of his wits. And the testimony of his life, as recorded in the newspapers, appears to us confirmatory of the testimony which his philological circular afforded us. Whether or not there are better uses to which you can put a certain kind of man than are subserved by hanging him, Ruloff it would seem to be worth while to save for study and investigation. A more noteworthy case than his it would be hard to find in the annals of criminal law. Eugene Aram's is commonplace and simple and uninteresting in comparison.

—There is a German fable, in which the badger and the hare run a race, in parallel furrows of a ploughed field, the badger winning by the simple artifice of placing his wife—who exactly resembles him—at the farther end of his furrow, while he remains snugly at the starting-point. Singularly enough, the counterpart of this fable was current before the war among the negroes of South Carolina, and has been published in the *Riverside Magazine* (November, 1868; see, for the German story, the September number). It opens in this way ("coutah," we may explain, being negro for terrapin):

"Once upon a time Br. Deer and Br. Coutah was courtin', and de lady been lub Br. Deer more so dan Br. Coutah. She did been lub Br. Coutah, but she lub Br. Deer de morest. So de noung lady say to Br. Deer and Br. Coutah both, dey mus hab a ten mile race, and de one dat beats, she will marry him.

"So Br. Coutah say to Br. Deer: 'You has got longer legs dan I has, but I will run you. You run ten mile on land, an' I will run ten on water.'

"So Br. Coutah went and git nine of his fambly, and put one at ebery mile-post, and he himself, what was to run wid Br. Deer, was right in front of de noung lady door, in de broom grass.

"Dat mornin', at nine o'clock, Br. Deer meet Br. Coutah at de first mile-post, wha dey was to start from. So he call, 'Well, Br. Coutah, is you ready? Go 'long.' As he git to de next mile-post, he say, 'Br. Coutah.' Br. Coutah say, 'Hullo!' Br. Deer say, 'You dere?' Br. Coutah say, 'Yes, Brudder, I dere too.'

"Next mile-post he jump, Br. Deer say, 'Hullo, Br. Coutah!' Br. Coutah say, 'Hullo, Br. Deer, you dere too?' Br. Deer say, 'Ki! it look you gwine for tie me. It look like we going to de gal tie.'

"When he git to de nine mile-post, he tought he git dere first, 'cause he mek two jump; so he holler, 'Br. Coutah.' Br. Coutah answer, 'You dere too?' Br. Deer say, 'It look like you gwine tie me.' Br. Coutah say, 'Go 'long, Brudder, I git dere in due season time.'"

And so he does. At the end of the race Br. Deer "saw Br. Coutah in de piazza, had de noung lady hooked hands, walking up and down." But now for what is curious indeed. Prof. C. F. Hartt, lately returned from the Amazons, contributes an article on the Lingua Geral of that region to the *Cornell Era* (Jan. 20). "At Santarem," he says, "I found an old Indian, Laurenço Maciel, whom I trained to dictate to me in Lingua Geral, . . . and through his aid I made a considerable collection of fables and stories. . . . There are some very curious stories told about the *Fauti*, or forest tortoise, who cheats the onça and tapir and other large animals." Of one of these, which is "of Mundurucú origin, but appears to be generally current in the Lingua Geral," Professor Hartt gives a free translation—"How the Tortoise outran the Deer;" and, minus the peculiar humor and piquancy of the negro fable, it differs from the latter only in the object of the race. In the Indian fable, the "noung lady" does not appear; it is purely a challenge of speed. The tortoise craftily chooses to run in the forest, while the deer runs in the path; and so great is the number of the tortoise's relations posted along the line of the course, that the deer runs himself to death from sheer fatigue.

—A sensible consolidation has taken place in England between the Anthropological and Ethnological Societies, whose fields were nearly identical, and which, therefore, had no good reason for keeping up separate organizations. The Anthropological Society was, intellectually speaking, the weaker of the two, and hence gains most by the alliance. Both ethnology and anthropology are to receive the attention of a new scientific periodical just started in Italy, encouraged, no doubt, by the establishment, within a year past, of the National Museum of Anthropology at Florence. We find in the *Gazetta Medica Italiana* (*Lombardia*) of Jan. 14 a circular from Signor Mantegazza, the head of the Museum, requesting of physicians in all parts of the peninsula contributions to his collection of *crania Italica*—the total number of skulls, native and foreign, being already over five hundred. "Railroads," says the director, "and brotherly concord will soon melt in one crucible the blood and cranium of all the Italian races, and if we do not act promptly, we shall lose the opportunity of determining the ethnology (*fare l'etnologia*) of the modern Italians, rich and varied as it is." Inasmuch as German unity promises to obliterate distinctions in the same manner, a similar appeal in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* of Drs. Bastian and Hartmann would not be untimely; and by a sad fortune, the hospitals of Germany might now furnish large and valuable contributions to a national museum.

—We have received from Switzerland a letter, in which the writer says: "I am not of those Americans who found in French imperialism a never-failing theme for praise and adulation; but I fear that while one devil has gone out of the European household, the rooms are only being swept and garnished in order to receive, in the Prussian domination, seven devils worse than the first." Holding these views, and having observed in the *Nation* of December 29 a list of German pamphlets on Alsace and Lorraine—"disentombing," to use his language, "from the dust of centuries arguments for the assertion of brute force in the present day"—he sends us some advertisements from the *Journal de Genève*, of "brochures d'actualité," or pamphlets for the times, from the French point of view, which he thinks may have some interest for our readers. The list, however, contains but two titles relating to the Germanic provinces of France: one, "L'Alsace et les prétentions prussiennes," an Alsatian's reply to the Germans, by Edouard Schuré; and "La République neutre d'Alsace," by Count Gasparin. We commend both to whoever would judge fairly of the rightfulness or expediency of annexation. Among the other pamphlets treating of various phases of the war, we will, with our correspondent's permission, mention only the one which stands last on the list—"La Paix," by Roger de la Lande, concerning which the advertisement says: "This brochure was seized at Bordeaux by order of the Minister of the Interior."

—When the French artillery was forced to abandon the plateau of Avron, there retreated with it the commander of a battery, Baron Stoffel, formerly military attaché of France at Berlin. It was not unnatural that upon him should have been turned some of the odium justly excited against the Imperial Government, because of its neglect to inform itself thoroughly of the Prussian military system and resources. In justification of himself, the Baron publishes a very complete study of the Prussian staff system, which he sent to his Government in 1868, and which was either unopened or utterly disregarded. The same reception befell other similar communications made in that year, and which, with a truly loyal frankness, exposed the French ignorance of its neighbor in every respect, and the vast inferiority of the French army to that of Prussia.

"How should it be otherwise," he asks, on one occasion, "since a young Frenchman receives no notion of that important part of history which concerns the institutions of the moderns, their character, their genius, their tendencies, that he is not seriously instructed in any foreign language, or inspired with a taste for study? The result is that generation succeeds to generation without any knowledge being obtained of the people by whom France is surrounded. Is there a single person in France who has followed the curious development of Prussia since 1815? Here are a people full of life, who in fifty years double their population; who, laying the foundation of their edifice on two great principles—obligatory instruction and obligatory military service—place themselves in the first rank of the enlightened nations of Europe, organize a formidable army, provided with an armament *sans pareil*, and led by the best instructed officers in the

world—and this spectacle remains unperceived until this people reveal themselves like a thunderclap in 1866. We then began to study the causes of these great events, but already this nation, capable, energetic, and unscrupulous, whose frontiers are within nine days' march of Paris, without any natural obstacle interposing, counts 30,000,000 of souls, and disposes of a million of soldiers.

"Within the last fifteen years," he goes on to say, "we have had two great wars. What lesson have we learnt in a military point of view? Have we attempted to ameliorate any branch of our service? It was no doubt said, Everything appears to be satisfactory, since we have beaten the Russians and the Austrians."

And how fully has this warning been justified:

"Should war break out, take care not to believe in France that we shall have to deal with Austrian troops. The Prussian army will show us a vigor and audacity and a science of war which we did not encounter in Italy. How would the Prussians have acted in 1859? Directly hostilities commenced, they would have entered Turin before a single French soldier had crossed the Alps. At Solferino, the Fourth Corps, in spite of its heroic efforts, would have been broken by noon. There can be no doubt of this, looking at the energy and intelligence displayed during the war of 1866."

LOWELL'S LATEST PROSE VOLUME.*

This latest book of essays by Mr. Lowell opens with two which are perhaps the best. That is hardly the right word, either, there are so many kinds of goodness in the book—as of criticism often unsurpassable in acuteness; of criticism unsurpassable often in the delicacy of its sensibility to imaginative beauty; of humor; of wit, sarcastic, or playful, or almost poetically fanciful; of penetrative thought; of a cheerful hopefulness for the future; of righteous indignation at certain things, yet of unfailing kind-heartedness; of keen enjoyment of nature; of poetry. The most delightful we should perhaps do better to style the two opening essays. "My Garden Acquaintance" is the title of one, and "A Good Word for Winter" that of the other. Both will be remembered by many of our readers as having adorned the first numbers of the "Atlantic Almanac," and in a way in which almanacs have seldom been adorned. They bear witness to the truth of Mr. Lowell's prefatory remark about the title he has given to his new volume. It is not a title that he likes, he has been saying; he would have preferred something simpler; but publishers are "inexorable on this point"—that is to say, they care more for a title that will look well on a placard than for one that may suit a book—and having no time to find one thoroughly to his mind, he hastily snatched that which the volume now bears; but, he says, it "is meant to imply both the books within and the world without, and perhaps may pass muster in the case of one who has always found his most fruitful study in the open air." The book is mainly about books and men of letters; but both "A Good Word for Winter" and "My Garden Acquaintance" manifestly show that only an ardent and persistent lover and companion of nature in all her moods and of the open air in all weathers could have written them, or, let us say rather, could have had them to write. Much that is in them is literary, but more of them is as freshly natural as a brook, or a leaf shooting; and of the literature much, being quoted from other lovers of outdoor life, is literary as Cowper's "Winter Morning Walk" is, the first part of which, though read in an air-tight library, would still give almost the very sensation of a walk in the snow amid the sights and sounds of rural England, or New England either for that matter. Mr. Lowell's garden acquaintances are the birds that frequent his trees, and we remember that it was like being out in the fields in the nest-building time of the year, and afterwards in the time of fruit, to read his account of them when it was first printed. Better yet is the essay on the shows that winter affords, and whoever is not now persuaded that winter is that season of the year when man has most days in which to enjoy life out-of-doors, and also has then more to enjoy than the other seasons can give, may very probably, after reading this "Good Word for Winter," find themselves of his opinion. Perhaps such a convert should live neither in the city nor in the unmitigated country. In the city winter is apt to mean streets vile with defiled snow, and is worse to endure than summer. In the country, if man is not shut by roads blocked with mud or snow into a hermetically sealed house hot with stoves, he is likely to be made to feel something of the sordidness of the struggle for mere animal comfort, and to know by catarrhs and colds and enforced isolation that we have not yet subdued nature and made the world habitable. The city man knows the winter as so much mere unsightliness and additional expense; but the country liver has not so wholly guarded himself against its fiercer attacks that he does not still feel something of that fear which our cave-dwelling ancestors justly felt. The struggle has lost most of its terrors, and is irritating and spiteful now rather than a matter of life and death; but its meanness makes it none the less dislikable. The converts of whom we speak will probably be dwellers in suburban towns, where winter, indeed, has been made tributary, and has lost the power to harm, but has not been robbed of everything, as the cities have robbed him, and still can show us all his treasures. It might, by the way, be worth while to enquire whether the alleged greater enjoyment of external nature by us moderns is not in great part due to the fact that we are so much more independent of the vicissitudes of the elements, and have also learned to know so many of the mysterious secrets which awed our fathers. We speak rather of our more immediate predecessors than of the ancients; and of a question not the same as the question whether the Greeks and Romans, for instance, had the sentiment for nature which Christianity as opposed to paganism is said to have brought into modern as opposed to classical literature.

In the essay entitled "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners" Mr Lowell humorously and with abundant wit complains of the supercilious tone with which our British cousins have been wont to criticise us and patronize us; and, to confess the truth, he finds so many excellent reasons, based on our condition and on theirs, why they should have done so, and also so many and so much better reasons why they should not, that we almost wonder he thought it worth while to say anything about it. This the more, inasmuch as the American people, having recently made some great discoveries as to its own strength and its own weaknesses, has discovered the animus of the more impudent and exasperating criticisms and the reasonableness of some of the others, and is now able to profit intelligently by the most that its relatives say about it. Moreover, we should say that, on the whole, the American people is henceforth likely to pay too little rather than too much regard to foreign criticism. The man of the Mississippi Valley—who is soon to be America, so far, at least, as regards the Committee on Foreign Relations—is more likely, we imagine, to sin on the side of Mr. Zachariah Chandler than on the side of Washington Irving and the Prominent Citizen of Boston. However, Mr. Lowell says nothing which is not perfectly justified by a long array of facts; and it is to be recollected, too, that his essay was intended not as complaint—which was the fault of the general run of the protestations that we used to make—nor as retaliatory criticism; but as a warning to Englishmen who desire amity with this country, and as a frank declaration to his own countrymen that they are obnoxious to some of the blame which used to be over-insolently showered upon them. Nobody among us need care at this time of day for the things that Carlyle said when he "freed his mind," as they say in New England, about the late rebellion; but everybody among us ought to care a good deal that some of the harsh things he said about us are so true that Fisk and Drew and Vanderbilt and Hoffman and Tweed represent not so badly one of the most pervading and powerful tendencies of our national life. There is something for Englishmen to care about, too, when a man like Mr. Lowell—not General Butler nor Senator Chandler—talks to them about a "settled sense of wrong" in the minds of his countrymen caused by the attitudes which England has so often adopted towards this country.

As a specimen of wise criticism of the kind most different from reviewing and most capable of directing the labors of such workers in literature as endeavor to understand the philosophy of their art, we would call attention to an essay entitled "Swinburne's Tragedies." The attempts at doing the antique which, in one form or another, periodically breaking out, have constituted a main curse, if not the main curse, of our later modern literature, would hardly have troubled us if it had been permitted to Goethe, say, a century ago to see so clearly and lay down so forcibly the law which, we trust, may now work out our deliverance from that mother of shams, pseudo-classicism. Of her earlier broods less is to be said; for how could men foresee that there would come a time when readers and writers would no longer be those alone who knew Greek and Latin; and what more natural than that the Greek and Latin forms should, in the larger number of cases, dominate the mind of the writer whose vehicle of expression and of thought was the Greek or Latin tongue? But between Petrarch writing "Africa" in Latin and a man of our day writing "Merope," or a man of the last century writing Pindaric odes, the difference is great indeed. The one, by training if not by birth, was in good part a true Latin; and, moreover, could not foresee that all of that posterity to which he appealed would not also be as genuinely Latin as himself; the other, ninety-nine parts Englishman or German or what not, in spite of himself ninety-nine parts modern, endeavors to throw away the ninety-nine parts, and with the other produce work worthy of himself

* "My Study Windows. By James Russell Lowell." Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

In the nature of things this he cannot do, and his performance is either nothing, or it is such a mixture of classic and modern work and ideas as to be bad on both sides. This pernicious fallacy Mr. Lowell so exposes as to make one hope that a great deal of useless labor may be left unattempted by many men whose time is worth saving.

"Thoreau" and "Carlyle" are two most admirable studies of character, of which we do not know which is the better. We fancy that the enemies of Thoreau and the friends of Carlyle might perhaps be more pleased in the perusal than the friends of the one and the enemies of the other. Thoreau's distinctive quality as a writer to people who are extravagantly fond of him, as we know some who are, is the power he has to make them breathe the very air, and smell the very scent, and feel in all ways the very presence of the virgin woods in their solemn wildness; it is, they say, as natural and utterly unadulterated a flavor that one gets from him as from a cranberry picked and eaten in the swamp. Perhaps this view, if it be at all deserving the name of a view, of one side of Thoreau, is not brought out by the essay before us. But, so far as we know the man, we should say that he gets full justice. People who are able to be the friends of such a person as we take him to have been, are usually capable of being blind and partisan worshippers. Carlyle is perhaps discussed with something of that feeling of the semi-affectionate respect with which, as we fancy, more men of the last generation regard him than any man who will be writing of him twenty years hence. He is now a part of the recollections of many men's youth, of their time of early and uninstructed but noble aspiration, delightful even in the pensive retrospect. So, perhaps, Mr. Lowell speaks of him in a tone that many will think somewhat too laudatory. We do not say no. But, let that be as it may, the general summing-up of Carlyle's character is as truthfully severe, and severely truthful, while both dignified and considerate, as anything that we at present recollect in English criticism.

We have left ourselves but little space, and cannot speak at length of the very richly-deserved excoriation which Mr. Lowell gives Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt, one of the most ill-natured of critics, and not honest either, and, as it would seem, almost utterly incapable of doing literary work of the least value. Of the "Chaucer," a charming essay, full of unmistakable fellow-feeling, and which cannot be otherwise than a permanent gain to the literature of criticism, we have before this called the attention of our readers; and our readers had the pleasure of reading in our own columns the fine tribute which Mr. Lowell pays to Mr. Emerson the lecturer, the lecturer whom all the world was mad about—and not with so much unwisdom—some thirty years ago, when he began his work of emancipating and vivifying so many American minds, and giving to the best men of our last generation, or our risen generation, so strong an impulse towards a saving idealism. The essay on Abraham Lincoln closes with a passage so good and just that we regret our inability to quote it; and not unlike this essay, for its power of incitement to higher ways in politics, is that entitled "A Great Public Character." On the whole, we think this volume may with probability be expected even to increase its author's great reputation as one of the best of critics and one of the wittiest of men. We still mingle with our gratitude, however, some grumbling that there should be so much too much wit and point, and some supersubtleties of interpretation; while the judgment on Pope seems to us little less than astonishing. But no student of English literature, and, we should think, no American worker in literature, can afford to be without the body of criticism contained in "My Study Windows" and its predecessor.

GUSTAVE DROZ.

It may seem a little hard-hearted to look upon the present war as merely an interruption of French literature; but, even regarded from that point of view alone, it may well give us plenty of food for thought. Here is a whole school of writers, a whole generation of novelists, whose works, only six months ago, we were all reading with interest, and of many of whom one might almost say they are now as much men of the past as George de Scudéri or M. le Président de Brosses. In the prostration of France everything will be changed; even the very *dramatis personæ* must be different; and in reading the novels of last year, not the most enthusiastic friend of Germany can forbear a feeling of pitying regret for the elegant and witty society, which seemed made for pleasure only, and is now in such terrible distress. As to certain of these writers, we feel that they are finished. But there are others who, if France becomes once again peaceful, cannot help bringing to more serious use in the future the grace acquired in the luxury of the Second Empire. And to the student of modern literature it will be extremely interesting to watch the subsequent career and change of those writers with whom he is familiar. Théophile Gautier, who will never change, is in Paris, and we may confidently expect from him an interesting account of the city during the siege. Our opinion of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian our readers know, and from them also we feel justified in expecting continued activity, and activity with excellent results. And Edmund About may perhaps look forward to a new career as creditable as the old. It is, however, of another writer, Gustave Droz, that we wish to speak more especially to-day. He has already published two volumes of short essays—"Monsieur, Madame et Bébé," and "Entre Nous;" two novels, "Autour d'une Source," which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in the year 1869, and "Le Cahier bleu de Mdlle. Cibot," which came out last year. Besides these, we should mention a little book, called "Un Paquet de Lettres," which also was first written for the *Revue*. He is probably a young man, for his first writings appeared only five or six years ago in a flippant paper, "La Vie Parisienne," which thoroughly deserved its name. These two volumes it would be telling but half the truth to call frivolous. They are of the sort which are to be hidden beneath the sofa cushion rather than literature *virginibus puerisque;* but, in spite of that fault, they are in many respects admirable. Most of the sketches are little scenes of life in Paris, told with a charming wit and an aristocratic elegance which is seldom outdone even by the most practised writers of that city. They are written with just that art which redeems the most ordinary incidents from appearing commonplace, and which is so necessary if the subjects, personages, and incidents are to appear natural. A few of them are pathetic, and lack that additional pinch of salt which the *blasé* appetite of Droz's French audience demanded. Such, for example, is the little tale called "L'Omelette," the first one in "Entre Nous." Others again, in fact the most, are satirical, but with the grace of the satirist who will not be listened to unless he amuse the reader, and who is himself too little of a moralist to forget his craft as a story-teller. Observe the cleverness of this passage, which very well serves as a specimen of his lighter manner. It is in the chapter called "Causerie," in this same "Entre Nous." The scene lies in Paradise, in the Faubourg Saint-Germain of the place, in the Paradise of the blessed of good family. The speakers are two Parisian ladies. We quote the original French. A translation into English would be harder than a translation of Faust:

"Lucile (*se levant tout à coup du fauteuil où elle est assise, et venant au-devant de Berthe, qui se promène lentement*).—Hé quoi! Vous ici, comtesse? Quel heureux hasard, ma belle! (*Elles s'embrassent avec effusion.*)

"Berthe.—Heureux hasard, en effet, ma chérie; car je ne comptais guère vous rencontrer sous ces ombrages.

"Lucile (*éclatant de rire*).—Et, de bon compte, où vouliez vous que je fusse?

"Berthe.—Eh! mon Dieu! je craignais que vous n'ayez été .... retardée. .... Cela peut arriver.

"Lucile.—Non, vraiment; tout s'est parfaitement passé. J'ai eu une réception—oh! mais une réception, ma chère! Figurez-vous que toutes ces dames sont venues à ma rencontre en grand uniforme. C'était un coup d'œil enchanteur. Saint Pierre lui-même—

"Berthe.—Ah! qu'il est bien! Du premier coup il a fait ma conquête—

"Lucile.—N'est-ce pas qu'il a l'air distingué? Il est en relation avec tant de monde! cela forme— Je vous disais donc que, malgré ses occupations, il est venu au-devant de moi, et, après avoir fait taire par un geste l'orchestre, qui jouait un air de circonstance, 'Madame la baronne,' m'a-t-il dit, 'je vous attendais. Veuillez croire aux sentiments de respectueuse sympathie,' etc., etc. Enfin il s'en est admirablement bien tiré—pour un parvenu.

"Berthe.—Je trouve votre *parvenu* ravissant. Ah! ah! ah!

"Lucile.—Pourquoi ravissant? Il est clair que saint Pierre est un grand saint, mais enfin il n'est pas né duc et pair; c'est comme cela, ma belle.

"Berthe.—C'est certain, mais ce n'est point l'endroit, entre nous, de lui faire des reproches— Ne trouvez-vous pas qu'il ressemble au comte de N. de profil? C'est prodigieux."

And so they run on, expressing their elegant horror at the number of vulgar people they meet. Another clever sketch is that called "Sous l'éventail," the prattle of a number of pretty young girls at a party, which he overhears. He is a keen social satirist, quite free from ill-nature, in full evening dress, witty, gay, brilliant, and polished, without heartlessness on the one hand, and, on the other, without sentimentality. He points out the follies of society with a truth that must convince the most thoughtless, and a calmness of good taste which prevents that abuse of the methods used which so often diverts the attention from the object of the satire. He paints his women so charming, witty, and fascinating that they cannot help feeling complimented in spite of the little mercy shown to their follies; and his men, too, see themselves exposed, with all their petty vanities and foibles; but it is done so delicately that they will probably be rather proud of their faults.

We speak thus at length of these slighter works because they are really so clever; his longer novels, however, are masterpieces of fiction. "Autour d'une Source" strikes a much higher note. The *Revue* naturally demands something more serious than the debauched "Vie Parisienne." We find here the same merits, unstained by the faults we have mentioned above. The story is simple and pathetic. The hero is the priest of a little village; the other characters, a spendthrift count, who is a man of pleasure of the Second Empire; his rich wife; her father, who is a speculator; and a few others. We shall not give an analysis of the novel which it is so easy to get, but shall content ourselves with praising its great merits. Regarded merely as a bit of workmanship, it has all the elegance which, perhaps, will immortalize the best of the present race of French writers as truly as the works of the French period of dramatic success immortalized the great dramatists. The poetry of those authors was cramped by its form, but French prose is far more poetical than the poetry, and, of course, much less hampered by artificial canons of art. Every reader knows its charm, its ease, its accuracy, and its dignity. This book has more than that—the characters are admirably drawn without exaggeration, but clearly and impressively. Droz has had the great advantage of knowing that he had readers whose taste was delicate enough to make that exaggeration which coarser minds need absolutely disagreeable—an advantage which, except our poets, our English-speaking authors lack so entirely that most of them find difficulty in conceiving of it. It has its ill effects, to be sure; it shows itself unpleasantly in the French contempt for other nations; but an immense advantage it is, nevertheless. The best of our novels treat of far nobler themes than most of the French. Take, for instance, this other one of Droz's, "Le Cahier bleu de Mdlle Cibot." It is the sad story, written half in the form of a journal, half-told by the author, of the life of a French woman. Her girlhood in the convent with priests who frighten her; her life at home with a mother who does not care for her at all, and with a henpecked father; her marriage with a broken-down, odious man; her love for a friend of her husband; the contrast between the wretched life she leads at home and her almost innocent devotion to her lover; her husband's death; the polite contempt of her lover, and her despair—such is the story. In our analysis the tale gets but very scant justice. It seems simply improper; in fact, it is simply piteous. In our novels we pay for their innocence by too many pale, passionless figures, or else, just at the present time more particularly, we find works which give us improprieties or crimes without that analysis of the moving passion which alone could make of them real works of art, which alone redeems them from utter vulgarity. A novelist, like every one else, should avoid prudishness; and we could pray that English-writing authors, while they still retain their present ground of moral dignity, which, after all abatements have been made, is still the ground that English fiction holds, might set themselves to work—if the thing could only be learned—to learn some of the methods of their French brethren. Whether Droz has survived this war, we do not know. We sincerely hope that he has, and that he is destined to go on as well as he has begun. And if, as seems not impossible, we are now beginning the twentieth century—for centuries, like the magazines, always come out in advance of their time—and if Germany is to have the position which France has held, let us hope that during the new literary age that is upon us, each nation may acquire some of the merits of the other; the moral worth of the one be made more attractive by the charm which has so long been gilding vice; and the elegance of the other ameliorate the manners and style of a people which, if it has all the virtues, certainly has few of the graces. And, as for us Americans, a more ductile and more quickly apprehensive race than the nearer neighbors of the French, who can say that this twentieth century which we are beginning may not turn out to be that age of literature in which, combining French skill and lightness of touch with German force and depth of thought and feeling, we are going to astonish and disgust all the contributors to *Blackwood* by flooding the world with American books which everybody will read, written in English superior to the best of Doctor Beattie's himself? Seriously, however, and whatever may be going to happen to us in the next hundred years, it will be a good day for American literature when American authors, before they write many books, make careful study of a writer whose workmanship is like that of Gustave Droz.

The Recovery of Jerusalem. A Narrative of Exploration and Discovery in the City and the Holy Land. By Captain Wilson, R.E., and Captain Warren, R.E. With an Introduction by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. (New York: D. Appleton & Co.)—American scholarship and American enterprise led the way, in recent times, to the scientific exploration of the Holy Land. Dr. Robinson was the pioneer in that method of investigation which gave to ancient historical records, to the itineraries of early travellers, to local associations and natural features, and to Arabic names and memories, precedence over the monkish traditions which everywhere in Palestine had usurped the place of authentic history and of a rational chorography. Dr. Robinson was greatly assisted by Dr. Eli Smith, whose knowledge of the Arabic language and familiarity with the country and the people supplemented at every point his own historical learning and his habit of patient observation. But Robinson himself was a little apt to proceed upon a theory, and to come at results by a foregone conclusion. This is especially noticeable in his treatment of certain disputed points at Sinai and at Jerusalem, where, though we follow him in the main, we should prefer a less dogmatic assertion of facts not fully established by discovery. Still, Robinson and Smith remain to this day almost unimpeachable authorities upon the topography and archæology of Palestine. Dr. William M. Thomson, an acute observer, and of great shrewdness and tact in dealing with human nature of the Oriental and especially the Arab type, has added much to our knowledge of the details of sacred localities and of Biblical manners and customs. To Captain Lynch and his party the scientific world is indebted for the careful tracing of the Jordan and the successful exploration of the Dead Sea. A host of European explorers, of different nations, have followed in the wake of these; but only within a few years have well-appointed expeditions been sent out for the study of Palestine.

The benevolent wish of Miss Burdett Coutts to provide water for Jerusalem, gave the first impulse to investigations which have been followed up systematically by the committee of the "Palestine Exploration Fund," under the presidency of the Archbishop of York. By the favor of the British Government, the ordnance survey of Palestine was undertaken by a corps of engineers, and the position of many important points, especially in the northern section of the country, was for the first time accurately determined. The Lake of Gennesareth was explored with a thoroughness which enables us to fix with reasonable certainty the sites of Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin. This is especially true of Capernaum; for the identification of the fountain at Tabigah with the fountain of Capernaum by the discovery of an aqueduct carrying its waters into the plain of Gennesareth, seems to establish the claim of *Tel Hum* to be the ancient Capernaum. The labor of the "Fund," however, has been chiefly expended upon the Holy City, and its results are now published in the attractive volume with the somewhat ambitious title given above. In a scientific point of view, the book is disappointing. It presents, in the form of a popular narrative, the results which had already been given more drily in the quarterly statement of the "Palestine Exploration Fund;" and these results are meagre in comparison with the time, money, and labor expended upon the object. Yet, when we consider the difficulties of the case, the incessant warfare to be waged with ignorance, prejudice, and fanaticism, the perils to life and limb in underground tunnelling, and the climatic dangers attendant upon any kind of exposure or exertion at Jerusalem, we may rather wonder that so much has been achieved. Some advance has been made toward determining the course of the ancient walls, the course of the Tyropœon and its depth, and the area of the Temple. Dr. Robinson's discovery of the arch of an ancient bridge across the valley has been confirmed. The city has been more carefully surveyed and mapped, and the specimens of cartography given in the volume are extremely beautiful.

The publication of this book is timely as a stimulus to the work of exploration. It will acquaint multitudes with one of the most interesting enterprises of archæological research. An American committee for the exploration of Palestine has just been constituted, and we understand it is their purpose to send a party to the regions lying east of the Jordan which are known to be rich in the monuments of antiquity. A meeting will soon be held in this city for the purpose of bringing the plans of the committee more fully before the public. Americans should resume their leadership in this field.

Kitty: A novel by M. Betham-Edwards, author of "Doctor Jacob," etc. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.)—This is not only an unusually good novel, as novels go, but, in point of readability and general interest, it is also a marked improvement upon a previous novel by the same author, which was published rather more than a year before. That it is intrinsically very much better we are not certain. Clever as its character-drawing is, and ingenious and little tiresome as is its moralizing, "Doctor Jacob" quite equalled it in these respects; and the hero of that

story, although not nearly so pleasantly interesting as "Kitty," was an earlier study of the same kind of character, and his history pointed a moral not dissimilar to that of hers. His lines were cast in unpleasanter places, however; the little German town in which he practised his fascinations, and the prosaic German pastors and schoolmistresses who were beguiled into loving and trusting him even beyond the period when their judgment decided that he was unworthy of either feeling, though they were carefully studied and well described, are less interesting to ordinary novel-readers than Kitty's vagabondish life in Paradise Place, and her subsequent adventures in more or less fashionable English society. And Kitty herself, a young, handsome, variously gifted woman, is a person the secret of whose power of fascination is not so far to seek as it was in the case of the elderly Doctor Jacob, whose well-preserved beauty and clerical character did not of themselves account for his personal popularity. Kitty seems to us sufficiently consistent and accountable—and that Doctor Jacob was not equally so was, we think, rather more the fault of the author than of her readers. It is reasonable, at all events, to suppose that people who write novels give every clue in their possession to the elucidation of their characters; and the key to Kitty's faulty virtues, which is supplied in the remark that her "moral perceptions were as acute as her practical morality was lax," and which would have equally well applied to Doctor Jacob, seemed not to have been suggested to Miss Edwards in that instance. The secret of his success with good people—a success not wholly undeserved either—was apparently a puzzle to herself. Her own lack of faith in the character was too evident. Kitty, however, she understands better, and she has made her sufficiently plausible.

The book is all pleasant reading, though it is a trifle too suggestive of Thackeray at times, perhaps; but all that portion of it which introduces the reader to the artistic Bohemia of Paradise Place seems better done and more real than the rest. We at least were always glad to get back from more genteel company to Polly Cornford and her proverbs, and Perry is as cleverly drawn as Kitty herself, and is a more satisfactory person. As for Kitty, with all her faults, she interests her readers too, as well as her friends, and her failure at the last seems rather ignominious. Apparently, however, there is to be a sequel to her story, in which we may hope that she is to learn that true wisdom and worldly wisdom are not so widely opposed as even the least sceptical among us are sometimes inclined to believe.

I. Elements of German Grammar. I. First Book in German. By E. C. F. Krauss. (Boston: S. R. Urbino.)—In these two really excellent little books the student will find all that he needs for a very good reading knowledge of German, and he will find it put in a simple way, and made intelligible to those who may not have had a scientific grammatical training in other languages. These qualities admirably fit Mr. Krauss's volumes for the use of any of our preparatory schools or many of our smaller colleges. The first of the two is arranged in the usual order, save that it omits all exercises, it being especially intended as a book of reference. For this reason, and to this end, it contains what many grammars lack, namely, full lists of the nouns which are exceptions to the ordinary rules. In another edition, these lists might be made complete. In that upon page 11, § 6, 3, we do not find *Genoss, Gesell,* or *Gefährte;* nor in § 8, b. *der* and *die Geissel, die* and *das Gift, der* and *das Mensch, der* and *das Messer, der* and *das Reis.* The explanation of the German passive, so often a stumbling-block to beginners, is clear and intelligent. The third chapter, upon the words incapable of inflection, is admirable; it contains just that information so often lacking in the grammars, but which every teacher must never weary of repeating.

The other volume will be found of service to single students more particularly, or to a small class under a teacher. The principle on which it is arranged is a good one. A bit of the German text is given, with an interlinear translation for every word at its first appearance, with the rules of pronunciation as they are needed, and such grammatical information as is founded upon the text and required by it. There certainly seems to be great economy of time in this method. The beginner learns his grammar at the same time that he has a peg on which to hang his information.

As the names imply, these books are both elementary. They do not contain the long discussion of the knottier points which is required by the more advanced pupil, but which so dazes the beginner; but for a young student, or for one who is painstaking, but to whom the more artificial methods of the conventional grammar are distasteful, we can recommend them heartily.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Adams (J. Q. and C. F.), The Life of John Adams, 2 vols.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Allibone (S. A.), Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors, vol. 3 and last	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
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Clement (Clara E.), Handbook of Legendary and Mythological Art	(Hurd & Houghton) 3 25
Darwin (C.), The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex, vol. 1	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Emma Parker; Scenes in the Homes of the City Poor	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 1 25
Fosbery (Rev. T. V.), Hymns and Poems for the Sick and Suffering, 8th ed.	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 1 50
Greene (Hon. Mrs.), The Little Castle Maiden	" " 1 00
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May (F.), London Press Dictionary and Advertisers' Hand-book	(Frederick May) 50
Mivart (St. George), On the Genesis of Species	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 00
Morelet (A.), Travels in Central America	(Leypoldt, Holt & Williams) 2 00
Rae (W. F.), Westward by Rail	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Rand (Dr. B. H.), Elements of Medical Chemistry, 2d ed.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Seymour (Mary H.), Ned, Nellie, and Amy	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 1 25
Squier (E. G.), Honduras; Descriptive, Historical, and Statistical	(Leypoldt, Holt & Williams) 2 00
The Lover's Library, vol. 1, swd	(J. S. Redfield) 50
Wilson (Capt.) and Warren (Capt.), The Recovery of Jerusalem	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Yonge (Miss C. M.), The Heir of Redclyffe, 2 vols.	(D. Appleton & Co.)

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1871.

The Week.

It is curious and interesting to see how the San Domingo affair tends to a decision on a collateral issue. The main question is and always has been whether the annexation would or would not prove advantageous to the United States. On this point there is hardly any difficulty in putting the authors of the scheme to open confusion. But Mr. Sumner raised a fearful hullabaloo in the Senate about the frightful wrong, fraud, outrage, and cruelty the annexation would prove to the black man, and on this ground they are delighted to close with him and all other opponents. The interest of Americans in the matter has been quietly pushed aside as something subordinate, and the question which is now being debated with most interest is whether the Dominicans would like to be annexed. It is to this the Commissioners have been first directing their enquiries, and they have, of course, not the least difficulty in finding thousands of Dominicans who declare that there is nothing they would like better; and the New York *Tribune* swears before high heaven that if they don't want to be annexed, they sha'n't be annexed. Mr. Wade says the same thing, and so do all the correspondents, so that the public is being gradually worked into the belief that this is the only point on which its mind is to be satisfied, and that if the Dominicans say they would as lief be American citizens as not, there is nothing for it but to naturalize them.

The point to which the attention of most intelligent men, however, will still continue to be directed, is the probable effect on American politics of the admission of such a State as Dominica must prove. On this point the correspondents—many of them unwittingly—furnish much useful information. Their accounts agree in making it plain as possible that republican government in the hands of such a community as they describe would be a wretched farce, and that the political machinery would inevitably be worked by white sharpers and adventurers and speculators from the North. The population is grossly ignorant, poor, superstitious, and indolent, and horribly afraid of the Haytians. Indeed, fear of the Haytians seems to be their principal reason for wishing to be admitted to the United States. If their account of the Haytians be true, however, we shall either have to keep constantly fighting the Haytians—and what a fearful expenditure of life this would entail, French and Spanish experience shows—or else annex Hayti also, and then we should have a nice job on our hands. South and North Carolina, and Arkansas, would be nothing to it. Considering the condition of certain grave problems now before the country at home, one can hardly help looking on the enterprise as little short of mad.

There is one touch in the reports from the island which would give the whole transaction a comic air, if anything so serious could be made to look comic. Part of the bargain is to be the assumption by the United States of the debts of the Republic. Now, those who best know what has been going on behind the scenes ever since this project of annexation was first broached, have constantly maintained that it was in this that the materials for the job were to be found. It has been alleged for months by the knowing, that it was an essential feature in the plan that an opportunity should be given to divers persons, as soon as annexation was resolved on, to bring in "claims," "certificates of indebtedness," and paper issues of the Republic, to be paid off by the United States, and that it is the expectation of this which has given the scheme most of its strength. We do not mean to insinuate that the President was or is cognizant of this, but the President is more unsuspecting than is good for himself or the country.

Accordingly, we find now that when the Commissioners ask Baez for a statement of the liabilities of his government, he cannot furnish it. He knows there is a debt, and a respectable one, but how much, or to whom due, or in what species of money, he cannot tell. He has no books of account or memoranda, or signs, or memorials—not as much as notches on a stick, or chalk-marks on a door-post. Now, there may be people who, on reading this, did not perceive what a prospect it opens up to us, but we suspect they are few in number. We must not imagine, however, that because he does not know how much the Dominican debt is, nobody knows. There are plenty of gentlemen, we may be sure, who know to a cent for what sum the American people will render themselves liable when they take possession of the island, and who have their statements of account all ready in their carpet-bags. The last argument in favor of annexation comes from Dr. Vinton, who says the American people need a sanitarium. Perhaps they do; but what about a sanitarium which cost two soldiers' lives for every consumptive provided with a mild winter? Besides which, any sanitarium bought with Government money ought to be open not only to wealthy consumptives—these can go anywhere they please—but to all consumptives. Ought the poor ones to be sent South every winter at the public expense? Is a mild climate one of the "natural rights" of delicate citizens?

Both branches of Congress have been engaged on appropriation bills during the week, and have accomplished little worth noting. The Senate passed on Friday the House Bill, amending the present law for securing the purity of elections; and, after ineffectual opposition by Mr. Conkling, the bill assigning to Philadelphia the industrial exposition that is to celebrate the nation's centennial anniversary. The South Pacific Railroad Bill, which had been amended and bettered in the House, was not accepted by the Senate; but the usual committee of conference has been agreed to. On Tuesday, the McGarrahan claim got the cold shoulder in the Senate, and in the House a bill passed removing the duty on foreign coals.

The excitement of the week has been the coal famine. The remote cause of this semi-annual trouble is the desperate effort to keep mines and railroads of a productive and carrying capacity of 20 millions fully employed on a market incapable of consuming more than 15 millions of tons. This, and this alone, is the radical cause of the trouble. To ascertain with whom lies the blame for the immediate cause of each suspension, is a thankless task. The responsibility of all suspensions alike finally rests with those who, having misguidedly invested too large a capital in a certain business, think they can interfere with the laws of nature and prevent competition from deciding who shall be obliged to withdraw his capital, and who shall be allowed to remain. If the railroad companies and mine-owners even get the better of the workingmen on this occasion, and force them to submit to terms, the question will be no nearer settlement, for then the fight between the different carrying companies will commence, and where *that* will end no one can tell. In the meantime, no one can refuse his tribute of respect to the 40,000 workingmen on strike, who, during a suspension of sixty days, have not given the least cause of complaint, and have made the mining regions as orderly, quiet, and peaceable as any portion of the United States.

The political condition of the South at the present moment is deplorable. If we take only the reports of the week, it appears that there is neither public order nor security in the States of Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. In the last-named State the point has been reached, namely, the inability of judges and sheriffs to enforce the laws, which chiefly deterred Governor Scott from sending the military into the up-country; and he has at last called upon the President for troops to aid him in repressing the or-

ganized disturbance of the peace. United States troops are also stationed at Little Rock, to prevent the bloodshed likely to flow from the mixed-up politics of Arkansas. Here we have the Democratic House conspiring to put the Lieutenant-Governor in the Governor's place, by impeaching the latter; the Supreme Court enjoining the Lieutenant-Governor from assuming power, and the Chief-Justice impeached in consequence by the House, the Senate all the while avoiding a quorum in order not to have the impeachment tried before them. In Kentucky, a murderer, whose victim was a colored man, is forcibly rescued from jail in order that he may not be convicted by negro testimony. In Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, colored schools are broken up, and teachers and pupils variously outraged. In short, the worst days of mob violence at the South are recalled, if not surpassed. If the lawlessness were concentrated, it would be easy to deal with it, but it covers a vast and thinly-settled territory, difficult to police, and impossible to hold without a numerous body of troops. In spite of the Congressional investigations now proceeding, we doubt if the Government will undertake to garrison the South anew. It is perhaps better that the outrages should continue till the necessity of ending them unites the decent and respectable citizens of each State, without regard to party, in a last effort to make life tolerable and property safe among them.

Business continues to improve, but scarcely in proportion to the reasonable anticipations of the season. The reduced railroad freights have led to increased purchases of almost all descriptions of goods for interior trade, and although the markets are more lively, there is great complaint of the low prices. The iron-men have for some time past been, as they declare, doing a losing trade, though the coal suspension has helped them wonderfully; the coal suspension itself was mainly caused by the steady decline in price; the copper-smelters have for months been applying Wall Street manœuvres to their markets, in hopes of preventing the inevitable fall; and the spike and nail manufacturers have just been in session in Philadelphia devising means to keep up prices. The receipts of cotton have at last begun to fall off, as was to be expected, but they continue large, while the shipments of the week equal the heaviest of ante-war times. In spite of a moderate and continued decline, the European markets continue active and sound, and Lancashire is unwontedly prosperous, and is evidently not seriously alarmed at the cotton goods coming back unsold from China and the East. Breadstuffs and meats have been lower, but the export has been active, though the figures are again missing, the last "Murphy man" in the Statistical Bureau of the Custom-House not being "up" in a dition, though otherwise sound.

The extreme ease in money, owing to the general dulness of business, has favored another sharp advance in stocks, in which the public seems disposed to participate more largely than they have done of late. Mr. Boutwell's programme for March favors the movement. He proposes to increase his sales of gold and his purchases of bonds, a move in the right direction, as far as lowering his excessive balances is concerned. It is to be feared, however, that his object is to influence prices and facilitate his funding scheme, in which case the result is doubtful. The Secretary has certainly made a good selection for his principal European agents, among whom the Rothschilds and Barings figure prominently. The Alabama Legislature has authorized the payment of the interest on the bonds on which the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad made default last January; and, regardless of the warning, the State of Louisiana has just authorized the issue of about eight millions of her bonds, mainly to aid in local improvements, the result of which may be foreseen. Government bonds have materially advanced, and gold has slightly declined.

The Methodists are at last engaged in doing what they ought to have done a year and a half ago—selecting accountants to examine and report upon the affairs of the Book Concern. It is reported, however, that the committee charged with the duty find it very difficult to agree upon anybody, and at this writing have not succeeded in doing so, though the city abounds in this class of experts. We trust they are not going to adopt the Congressional mode of dealing with the Civil Service—that is, agree that an accountant ought to be appointed, but keep doubting whether "this particular accountant" is the right man for the place. We may add that, if so, they have hit on a capital plan for preventing the investigation, far better than anything they have yet tried. "Certainly, the accounts ought to be examined, but whom will you get to do it?" is an observation that will silence the most troublesome caviller. All accountants have their faults. Some are not religious; some are not temperate; others are not chaste; and others are not skilful. In fact, it begins to look as if the affairs of the Methodist Book Concern were past human unravelling.

The President of the Michigan Agricultural College reports that the experiment of admitting women to the college has proved very successful. He says "they study botany, chemistry, horticulture, and surveying, and other branches," and make rapid progress in them. Their open-air work thus far has consisted in preparing seed for the ground, transplanting the lighter plants, trimming shrubbery, etc. This is about the most cheering news about "the condition of woman" which has reached the world for a long time, as it promises the opening to her of a new field of industry, which will swell the ranks of capable, strong-nerved women, equal either to rearing families or supporting themselves by healthy labor. Thus far the tendency of the "woman's rights movement" has been to swell the ranks of feeble orators, third-rate lecturers, and sentimental politicians, and tricky speculators. In other words, it has borne in many of its phases all the marks of unhealthiness, and has seemed to promise, if successful, an aggravation of some of the worst diseases of modern society. Two of its most prominent leaders —Woodhull & Claflin—a pair of female Wall-street speculators, were brought before the courts in this city a week ago, by a poor governess, who, in her confidence in them as "champions," had given them all her hardly-earned savings—$500—to speculate in gold with. Of course they lost it all, and the jury, believing the governess's story as to the representations by which they got her money out of her, gave her a verdict.

We have no doubt this is but a specimen of hundreds of cases of which the public hears nothing. Nothing can be worse than the effect on the vast army of unemployed and discontented women all over the country than the career of these itinerant female orators, for nothing can be better calculated to deepen the average girl's already deep distaste for labor that hardens the hands, and strengthens the back, and browns the face, than the stories which the press tell of Woodhull's stock operations, and of her gorgeous weekly paper, and of other women's large audiences, and velvet robes, and heavy gold chains. As the New York *Tribune* well says: "Women betake themselves to lecturing and writing on the hypothesis that, because they want bread and butter, they are qualified to be the world's teachers. A young man of their calibre, not fancying that idleness or discontent could anoint him with a holy chrism, would go to a trade, and become a respectable carpenter or blacksmith." We know all that may be said as to the effects of hard work in the open air in destroying woman's moral as well as physical delicacy, and there is a good deal in it; but the disease which is ravaging the female world needs heroic treatment. We need in that world now of all things sound, strong bodies and healthy brains, capable of taking a wholesome, hearty view of life and of its duties.

We cut from the marriage notices of the *Philadelphia Press* the following illustration, omitting names, of the way in which attempts to reduce human marriages to the level of those of the lower animals are dressed up in fine language:

"In Philadelphia, on February 23, ——— and ———, the parties protesting against all marriage laws, whether legal or conventional, which subject either the wife or the husband to any control or influence on the part of the other which is not in accordance with the dictates of pure and mutual love."

This is, of course, simple "pairing." Marriage means the assump-

tion by a moral agent of an obligation to perform certain duties, even after they become disagreeable. The arrangement by which the parties live together as long as they find it thoroughly pleasant, is that common among birds, beasts, and fishes, and has nothing human about it.

The preliminaries of peace between Germany and France were signed on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 26, subject to the ratification of the Bordeaux National Assembly. It seems to have taken a great deal of hard bargaining before this result, so desirable in the interest of both nations, was attained, and, according to the *Journal des Débats*, which ought to be well informed, Thiers and Favre were several times on the point of breaking off negotiations, yielding only—which need hardly be stated—"to dire necessity." The terms of the treaty are, however, in some respects at least, less harsh than anticipated by outsiders, though, certainly, hard enough almost to drive to despair the French diplomatists that had to affix their names to them. France cedes Alsace and "Metz," which latter term undoubtedly includes all of the Department of the Moselle lying east of that fortress, as well as Thionville, on the western bank of the river, and possibly some other portions of Lorraine. The Germans restore to France the Alsatian fortress of Belfort, probably with a portion, if not with the whole, of the French-speaking district around it. France pays, in three years, one thousand millions of dollars, the Germans, in the meanwhile, holding, as a guaranty, some of the fortresses occupied by them—we presume the border fortresses of Longwy, Montmédy, Sedan, and Mézières, if not also Verdun.

The peace negotiations and their final termination absorbing all interest, we have been left rather in the dark concerning the composition of the French National Assembly and the motions of the political tide in the distracted country. The little we hear is far from sufficient to justify a decided opinion concerning what France, freed of the German incubus and once more left to herself, will first undertake for her self-regeneration. Thiers and his associates appear to act with decision and in harmony with the majority of the Assembly, and the appointment of the Duc de Broglie as Ambassador to England may be considered an Orleanist move on his part. The Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville are reported to be in the Department of Gironde, awaiting a decision of the Assembly on the legality of their elections, and Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, and Rochefort to contemplate a joint motion of impeachment against the ex-Emperor. In Paris, the Reds celebrated the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of 1848 by a disorderly manifestation on the Place de la Bastille, which terminated in an atrocious murder. Disorders of various kinds have also taken place in Marseilles, Nice, and Algeria. An outbreak was apprehended in Corsica. Much of the coming situation may hinge on the decision of the Assembly to go, or not to go, to Paris after the conclusion of peace—a removal naturally demanded by the radicals and just as naturally opposed by the clericals and other ultra-conservatives.

Of the wisdom of putting Thiers at the head of the Provisional Government there can be no doubt. He is the ablest, shrewdest, most experienced, and most trusted politician France now has. There is all the more fitness, too, in his selection, since he, more than any other man, is responsible both for the rise of the Empire and for its downfall. He nourished and spread, through his writings, the Napoleonic legend which made Louis Napoleon's success possible; and he preached more fervently than anybody the detestable doctrine that French greatness and prosperity needed the division and humiliation of the neighboring nations, which finally drove the unfortunate Emperor to his doom. Considering what his career has been, and of what a number of antiquated and immoral and absurd ideas he has in his time been the apostle, it is amusing to see him cited as a protectionist authority by the New York *Tribune*. He is probably better able to shoulder the responsibility of a humiliating peace than any other Frenchman, particularly as he has not long to live; but he has a task before him which might fairly appall a man in his prime. He will probably stave off decision as to the form of government as long as possible, the Reds all the while growing more furious and impatient. Should the Republic be set up, the Government will have to surround itself with strong guarantees in the interest of order—or, in other words, will have to "betray the people." Should a monarchy be set up, there is Rochefort's delightful paper, *Le Mot d'Ordre*, preaching regicide. Whichever way one looks, there is a prospect of "lively times"; but it is quite certain that the great body of the French people desire quiet and security, and will have it at any cost, even if they have to slaughter the Reds. It would show great magnanimity on the part of the Germans not to enter Paris, but when one reflects on the character of the gentlemen whose feelings would be most hurt by it, one feels that most of the preaching against it is a little superfine.

If the Cabinet programme published in the official journal of Vienna contains a candid statement of aims and intentions, the meaning of the late ministerial change in Cisleithan Austria is this: Count Potocki, failing to bring about a compromise with the Czechs, has made room for a Cabinet which is determined to defend the unity and constitution of the western half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire against all Slavic opposition—Czechic, Polish, or Slovenic. The new Ministry is willing to take the initiative in extending the legitimate autonomy of the provinces as far as compatible with the interests of the whole of Cisleithania; but it is firmly resolved "not to enter upon any greater compromise with separatism at the expense of the unity of the State," nor to allow its prosperity to be endangered by "excesses of licentious party manœuvres." The principal measure it proposes to advocate in defence of unity against the encroachments of provincial separatism, is the substitution of direct elections to the Reichsrath by districts, for the present elections by the Provincial Diets, which secure the complete victory of every centrifugal nationality, in its own sphere, over the provincial minority favoring a firmer Austrian union. The programme is decided and bold in its tone, and, while promising strict constitutionalism and the extension of freedom, it threatens an unsparing use of all legal powers against factious opposition; but it remains to be seen whether a cabinet which is composed of so little known and, we might almost say, strange names as Hohenwart (Interior and Presidency), Habioninek (Justice), Holzgethan (Finance), Schäffle (Commerce), Jericek (Worship and Education), and Scholl (National Defence), can muster sufficient authority and parliamentary influence for so complete and difficult a task. Hungary, of course, has nothing to do with all these troubles of her Cisleithan associates in the Empire, and her Andrássy Ministry is as firm now as it was at any time since its creation in 1867. It has, however, suffered a grievous loss by the death of Baron Joseph Eötvös, its most eminent member.

The Turkish difficulty is passing away with remarkable facility, thus justifying the predictions on which we ventured when it first arose. The London Conference has apparently found no difficulty in reconciling the claims of Russia with the safety of Turkey and everybody else's dignity. The possession by Turkey of a powerful fleet, including iron-clads which she did not possess in 1856, is held to constitute both a sufficient reason why the Russian war-vessels should be again admitted to the Black Sea and why Turkey should not be afraid of them. The only guarantee which is now considered necessary for Turkish safety is said to be provided by the opening of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the navies of all powers except Russia. This would give them all access to the Black Sea, and thus in fact, though not in form, neutralize Russian preponderance. In addition to all this, the Conference has found Turkey more apathetic about the whole matter than any of the other co-signataries of the treaty—the result, it is said, of the strong assurances given the Government at Constantinople by the Russian Ambassador that Russia in her last move had no ulterior designs. It appears to be certain that Prince Charles will not govern the Roumanians any longer for anything they can offer him. The fact is that trying to work a parliamentary government at Bucharest is very like trying to navigate a man-of-war with a ship's company composed of a large picnic party of both sexes. Every one wants the thing to go, and thinks it would go if somebody else would only keep quiet.

"CORNERING" THE PUBLIC.

The coal strike is useful in one way, at least, and that is in giving people a still clearer view than they have ever had before of the nature of the labor problem. A great city like New York threatened in time of profound peace with a total deprivation of fuel while the snow is still on the ground, is a spectacle which has rarely, if ever, been witnessed; but the more startling and impressive it is, the better. It is not generally true in politics that things must get as bad as possible before they get better, because, in the downward course, the very sentiment from which reform must come is apt to be destroyed or weakened. But it may be said, in a general way, of tendencies which are not the result of wickedness, but only of delusion or mistake, that we can only look for a change from a complete and thorough *reductio ad absurdum*. The theories which now agitate the world of labor nobody can fairly call evil. They are the result of a legitimate longing for an easier and more comfortable existence, and it is doubtful whether they can ever be upset either by repressive legislation or by declaiming against them or refuting them. The cure will probably come from an effort, on a great scale, to put them into execution, and we come every year a little nearer to seeing this effort made. The leaders of the "labor reform movement" are steadily endeavoring to make strikes universal, instead of being confined to a particular district or country, and it is quite plain that their machinery works better and better. Whenever they succeed in securing a simultaneous strike, in any particular industry, in two or three of the leading nations of the Western world, we shall have that demonstration of the real danger and impracticability of the present relations between labor and capital which the political economists have thus far in vain tried to produce.

Let us say, first of all, that the doctrine on which these coal-miners, and all other strikers on a great scale, base their action, that a body of workers owe no duty to society, but are at liberty, whenever they think they can extort a few cents more wages out of it, to throw down their tools and fold their arms, no matter what loss or suffering their idleness may cause, is a detestable and anti-social doctrine, and that the strong hold it has taken of the working-class mind is a striking illustration of the demoralization wrought by the last thirty years' cultivation of individualism, or, in other words, the war on the correlation of rights and duties which a certain class of reformers has been steadily waging. "Every man for himself, and God for us all," is, perhaps, as delusive a war-cry as ever was raised; for experience has abundantly proved that, as far as this world is concerned at all events, it is about the states in which the ties which bind a man to the community at large are most sedulously cultivated that Providence, to all appearance, most concerns itself. The Prussian has been enabled to conquer the Frenchman mainly in virtue of the greater strength and multiplicity of these ties, or, in other words, in virtue of his stronger sense of *duty*. The French "dry-rot of equality," as Mr. Wasson well called it the other day in Boston, which occupies a man's mind all his life with the degrading and malignant business of seeing that nobody else is any better off than he is, has, according to the almost unanimous testimony of intelligent observers, done more than anything else to scatter French armies like sheep before the Prussian bayonets, and convert French politicians, in the hour of supreme peril, into screeching and feeble demagogues.

But it will not do, in passing judgment on the mode in which these miners are carrying on their war against capital, to forget that it is from capital they have learnt what is worst in their policy. The business of "cornering" the public; that is, of extorting money from it by the sudden production of artificial scarcity for the benefit of one class or body, was first begun by capitalists for their own benefit, and they carried it on with the aid of legislation in nearly every civilized country for centuries, without admitting the laborers to any share in the profits, or booty, whichever one pleases to call it. The whole protective system was in its origin neither more nor less than legislation in aid of great trades-unions, and the real nature of the operation was concealed from society by the device of giving all the great industries a share of the proceeds. The manufacturers generally "cornered" the farmers pretty successfully, because they were the more intelligent class, and lived in compact bodies in the great towns, and were thus better able to act in concert; but the farmers gradually learned how to imitate them, and got laws passed helping *them* to "corner" the manufacturers.

It is only in our own day that the laborer has begun to find out that he only had derived no benefit from protection. He has nothing to sell but his labor; and the policy of nearly all governments, while pampering the capitalist, has been directed to forcing the laborer to sell his labor as cheaply as possible. As the laborer has grown in intelligence, however, and as improved means of locomotion and of intercommunication have enabled him to combine more readily, the first thing he has tried to do is to seize and turn against society the very weapons which he has seen the capitalist use. The trades-unions are but substitutes, and very imperfect ones, for the legal artillery which the laborers are in nearly every country hoping one day to have at their disposal. They serve the purpose of "cornering" the public simply till such time as the laborers are able to get hold of the legislature and give their exactions the form of law. In those countries, for instance, in which the laborers' necessities are greatest and his intelligence quickest, he makes no secret any longer of his belief that the true remedy for the evils of his condition lies in such use of the majority which he has, or will soon have, at his command, as will force the rich and well-to-do to hand over to him a larger share of the products of the year than he has fairly—that is, according to the received notions of fairness—earned. We doubt if he will much longer make any secret of it in any country.

The Pennsylvania miner, in having got possession of the source from which the seaboard States draw their supplies of fuel, feels exactly as the capitalists feel who have secured a great line of railroad communication or of an act of Congress giving them the monopoly of the sale of a particular commodity—that is, that he has got hold of a very good thing, and that he ought to make the most of it while he has it, no matter what happens to the rest of the community. In fact, in most of the great fields of trade and industry, the idea that anybody has any duties to society grows fainter and fainter. Take the case of railroads. The community, in giving a company the monopoly of certain valuable business, imposes on them a very solemn trust as regards safety, speed, and punctuality, and efficiency in the transportation of goods and passengers. The stockholders, in electing officers to manage the road, impose on them a trust of still greater delicacy and gravity towards the owners of the road. Now, we are only saying what everybody knows, when we say that few companies have more than the dimmest sense of obligation to the public, or, indeed, ever think of the roads as being anything but private property. Supposing them, however, to be simply private property, it makes the trust committed to presidents and managers all the more binding. Every man who holds the bonds or stock of a railroad has as strong claims on the officers as one human being can have on another for the care, protection, and prudent management of his interests. Bnt the notorious fact is, that within the last few years the sense of trusteeship is rapidly vanishing from the minds of the officers. The managers of our great corporations are gradually becoming mere "operators," who make it a business not to raise the value of the stock or bonds, but to make money out of the holders, by running them up and down in the market—that is, to speak plainly, by cheating the persons for whom they are trustees. The number of railroads of which it is dangerous to hold the securities unless one is in the "ring" of officials which is doing the cheating, increases yearly. The Erie road is the most prominent illustration of how the system works, but by no means the only one; and how deep the evil has gone is well shown by the fact that Fisk's predecessor or pioneer in mismanaging that corporation was a pious and wealthy church-member, who "manipulated" other people's property entrusted to his care as dexterously and impudently as any pedlar or faro-banker.

We might travel through nearly all the great industries and multiply our illustrations at every step. The enormous facilities of combination offered by the telegraph and by the concentration of dealings in a few great markets, is making "cornering" the community in one commodity or another the sole business of great bands of unscrupulous capitalists. They began by making "corners" in stock; they then made "corners" in gold and in greenbacks; and now they make "corners"

in anything in general use which they think they can get hold of for a few weeks, be it corn, or pork, or coal. It is by no means wonderful that the coal-miners, as well as other laborers, should have learned the trick, and, having learned it, should practise it, and less wonderful still that a great trades-union should be found, as at this moment in Pennsylvania, co-operating with a great capitalists' union to extort, by withholding from the community one of the necessaries of life, not what intelligence, industry, and skill would fairly bring them in the market, but what they are pleased to fix on as a desirable rate of remuneration. In the last *North American Review* will be found some account of the rapidity with which all the great lines of communication from the seaboard to the interior are passing into the hands of bodies of capitalists who have managed to emancipate themselves from all sense of trusteeship. What is passing in Pennsylvania may serve to give some idea of the kind of surprises to which the country will be treated when the great monopolist organizations, whether of laborers or capitalists, have got fairly into working order.

The remedy it is very difficult to write down on paper. The working-classes are suffering partly from the delusion that capital in the possession of rich men is not used for the benefit of labor—as if capital could be made to yield any returns without benefiting labor—and that if the trifles which rich men spend in personal luxury could be wrested from them, the workingman's condition would be improved. This delusion is strengthened and its dangers increased by the manner in which the tariff is managed by rich men, in which Congress distributes charters, subsidies, and land-grants among rich men, and by the way in which these rich men use their advantages, and the decline amongst them, as we have said, of that sense of trusteeship which is the only thing which can reconcile any community to possession by individuals of the power which large fortunes inevitably bring with them. No matter how good or well adjusted the social machinery may be, if individuals refuse to be guided by anything but their own passing inclinations or consult anything but their own selfish interests, a deadlock or general ruin must come sooner or later. No constitution and no social system can stand one year in a country in which everybody yields nothing but what the law wrings from him, and demands everything which the law allows him. This is but another way of saying that no reform is radical, and no guarantee for good government or honest trade can be considered permanent, which does not rest in character—and character is formed in schools and homes. It is there that we must look for the first radical check to the outrageous pretensions of unscrupulous laborers and unscrupulous capitalists.

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR.

Now that the Franco-Prussian war is over, it is not unreasonable to ask some of those who have busied themselves with commenting upon it and making predictions about its results, to sit down soberly and reflect upon their own sayings. We are not going to taunt those who were quite sure that the French would rise in their might and sweep the Prussians to perdition, or who would have it that the poor "professors" would be so wasted by famine and pestilence in their ridiculous attempt to take Paris, that by the spring there would hardly be enough of them left to fill the prison of Mazas, in which Trochu would, more in mercy than in anger, shut them up. Nor shall we guess at the contents of that luminous discourse on the war which the Republican Committee in Massachusetts wisely, and just in time to save the German vote, prevented the perspicacious Mr. Banks from delivering, or of those of a similar character which other philosophers were doubtless preparing when the disaster of Sedan interrupted their speculations. Over all these unpleasant passages in the history of several eminent persons we are quite willing that a kindly veil should be drawn. The wisest men may and do make mistakes in foretelling the course of military operations, just as the military commanders themselves make mistakes in conducting them.

The points to which we wish to call attention are the inferences as to the political future of Europe which many people, and amongst them many who enjoy a high reputation as political observers, have drawn from the overwhelming success achieved by the Prussian military system. Take, to begin with the most important, the prophecies, with which we are all by this time familiar, about the influence on the character of the German soldiers of the license which they have been enjoying during the last six months in unhappy France, and of that intoxication which the ease and rapidity of the German victories cannot but have wrought. True, it is said, the German army is a citizen army. The men are drawn for a short period of service from all employments and occupations. At home they are doubtless industrious, sober, law-abiding, intelligent, and, in many cases, even learned citizens. But as the war has gone on, the self-restraint and discipline which characterized them in the first month of the campaign have visibly declined, and they have declined in the ratio in which contempt for the enemy has increased. The mere habit of making "requisitions"—that is, of taking private property without payment—must diminish a man's respect for all property, and must tend to blunt his perception of the distinction between *meum* and *tuum*. It has been said even of the German judges, some of whom are in the army, that after a few months of this sort of work they cannot possibly carry back to the bench their old reverence for justice and for law. It has been said, too, of the ordinary run of German youth who fill the regular army, and of their elder brothers and fathers who fill the landwehr, that after having passed half a year in the daily perpetration of acts of violence, and in triumphal marches through conquered territory in pursuit of a flying foe whom they hate and despise, they cannot go home and settle down calmly in the dull and monotonous pursuits of peace. On these assumptions has been based a dismal view of the future of Europe. A great race, occupying the very centre of the continent and the highest position in point of training and intelligence, has suddenly learnt that it possesses vast and overwhelming strength. It has crushed almost at a blow the foremost military nation of the world. It will now devote itself exclusively to thoughts of conquest. The army will not return contentedly to civil pursuits, and the nation will not wish to have it. It will dream of fresh invasions, and occasions or excuses for attempting fresh invasions will be constantly arising. To-day it fights for "German unity," but to-morrow it will fight for a longer line of seaboard and annex Holland, or for the union of all German-speaking races under one government and annex Switzerland, and attack the Baltic provinces of Russia. In short, there will be no check on its turbulence and ambition.

Now, is all this a fair deduction either from history or principles of human nature? Did those who said that "the cause of France was the cause of human freedom" really believe that, the cause of France being lost, as it has been, the cause of human freedom would also be lost? Do they really believe that it *has* been lost by the surrender of Paris? Do they believe that Europe is now helpless at the feet of a conquering horde, and that the nation which has made the greatest advances in civilization is really going to abandon its industry and its mental culture and its aspirations after political freedom, and convert itself into a mere instrument for subjecting the civilized world to a military despotism? Of course they do not. If they did, they would, if true men, be to-day in sackcloth and ashes, mourning over the approaching return of the dark ages. The fact is, they are as good-humored and hopeful as ever, and are discussing all the events of the day with the same pleasant anticipations as if no Franco-Prussian war had ever taken place. Why, then, did they talk this way? For almost the same reason—and we do not mean to be disrespectful in saying it—that a cow lows or a dog barks: to give vent to certain feelings which oppressed them. To many men, language, like the inarticulate cries of the lower animals, is simply a means of expressing the emotions of pain or pleasure. If they like France and do not like Prussia, they express this idea by saying that Prussia will hereafter be the scourge of mankind, and will throw off all restraints of law and morality. They do not believe this really, but saying it gives them a certain relief, and, the feeling which prompted it having passed away, they contemplate Prussian success with as much calm and as much confidence in the future as anybody.

When we come to look for any basis of fact for these assumptions, we make some curious and instructive discoveries. We are told that the German citizen army will never return quietly to the pursuits of

peace after having tasted the fierce delights of battle and rapine. There have been two such armies as the Prussian army seen before now. One was Cromwell's New Model Army, and the other the American army, on both sides, in the rebellion. Cromwell's was, perhaps, the finest body of fighting-men the world has ever seen. It was not only never beaten, but destroyed every foe that was ever opposed to it. It crushed the famous Spanish infantry just as surely as it crushed the Irish kernes and gallowglasses, and ruled England for nearly twenty years. When it was disbanded "it was expected," says Macaulay, "that the discharged veterans would be seen begging in every street, or that they would be driven by hunger to pillage. But no such result followed. In a few months there remained not a trace that the most formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community. The Royalists themselves confessed that in every department of honest industry the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men; . . . that if a baker or mason or wagoner attracted notice by his diligence or sobriety, he was, in all probability, one of Cromwell's old soldiers." Of the still more wondrous absorption into the mass of the community of the armies both of the North and South, we need not speak. All our readers are familiar with that extraordinary phenomenon of an extraordinary struggle.

In estimating the effects of war on the character of soldiers as individuals, many philosophers constantly forget the fact, which appears prominently in the history of every army, that it is not so much the mode in which the war is carried on as the weakness of discipline which makes campaigning demoralizing. It is safe to say that few soldiers were ever rendered less fit for civil life, no matter how much "requisitioning" or even pillaging they may have taken part in, as long as they remained firmly under the control of their officers. This control serves the purpose which law serves in civil life. It keeps the man in constant remembrance of the idea of duty, and keeps up the habit of self-control, which lies at the basis of character. As long as military excesses even are committed under order or with the permission of a man's superiors, they no more lessen his respect for the property and persons of his neighbors in time of peace than his killing men in battle disposes him to murder. We might support this proposition in a dozen ways if it were necessary or if we had time. The subject is an interesting one, and calls attention to a corner in human character which has been rather neglected by moralists and psychologists. The most prominent fact of military history is that the disciplined soldier makes an excellent citizen, and that the armies whose discharge threatens public security and tranquillity are armies whose officers have failed to make themselves obeyed.

It is said, however, that the Prussian army differs from the Cromwellian or American army in that it is officered and controlled by a military caste. But the influence of this circumstance on the future of Germany can be best estimated by examining its influence on the past of Germany. The Prussian army has been officered by Junkers ever since the foundation of the monarchy—that is, one hundred and fifty years. During that period Prussia has had, including the campaigns of Frederic the Great, just twenty-five years of war. No other first-class power can tell the same story; and, curiously enough, the people which has been during the last eighty years most frequently engaged in the work of destruction is the very one whose army has been most democratic in its organization. In other words, the French army, with its bourgeois officers, has been engaged in about ten times as many wars during the same period as the Prussian army with its noble officers. It must be remembered, too, that although the constitution of Prussian society has within fifty years undergone a complete revolution, it offers, in connection with the constitution of the army, guarantees for peace such as the society of no other country offers. If the Junkers want war, they have, owing to the constitution of the army, to overcome obstacles in having it declared such as the officers of no other European army would meet with—that is, they have not simply to get the supplies voted and the army mobilized, but they have to stop the machinery of industry and break up nearly every household in the country. This would be more than the Junkers are equal to, even if they had to deal with a poor and ignorant agricultural population. Dealing with a highly civilized, highly educated, wealthy manufacturing community, it is almost absurd to suppose them equal to it. Future German wars, like this one, will be the expression of intense national feeling, and when they break out the Junkers will have to serve the nation faithfully and efficiently, as they have served it in the two last; and there cannot be a more striking refutation of the theory that they are or consider themselves in any sense the masters of the nation, than the extraordinary pains they take to be thorough masters of their profession. They have none of the *insouciance* of a military aristocracy. Insolent they doubtless are; but the insolence of men who work at their calling with the diligence, industry, and self-denial of poor students or poor clerks, and whose places depend on their keeping constantly in the front rank of the educated class of the country, are not men from whom a great people need fear any serious hindrance to its social or political progress. Of course, German political progress will be slow and toilsome, but, after witnessing what has come of the quick and brilliant leaps of the French towards liberty, every intelligent lover of liberty will pray God that it may be slow—if, as seems plain, it is only on a broad foundation of habit that strong and great political edifices, "cemented by reverence, cemented by law," can really be built.

STATE TAXATION.

Proofs are multiplying of the growing recognition, even among professional politicians, of the fact that Government cannot be permanently carried on in total disregard of the dicta of social and economic science. The systematic remodelling of the Illinois constitution, the similar efforts in Missouri, the Railroad Commission of Massachusetts, and now the Tax Commission of New York, whatever may be thought of their results, must be acknowledged as practical illustrations of decided progress in the right direction. The report of the New York Commissioners, recently submitted to the Legislature of the State, grapples in a spirit of practical enquiry with one of the most difficult problems of the age; and if it does not solve it, it certainly furnishes a large amount of important matter for its solution, and marks clearly and emphatically the direction in which future discussion and enquiry must inevitably run.

The object of all State taxation must be exclusively the raising of revenue. The question here is not complicated, as in the case of Federal taxation, by the seemingly irrelevant, yet practically controlling, issue of the object of the tax—the issue of protection or free-trade. It is reduced simply to the question of revenue: how the State can best obtain—justly, equitably, and economically—the necessary income to maintain its necessary expenditures.

Our State revenues are levied principally by means of a direct tax on personal property and on real estate. The tax on the former is, next to an avowed protective tariff, the worst tax which it is possible to imagine. It is equally objectionable in principle and in practice. Personal property consists, with the exception of national and State securities (the former of which are already exempt from tax), almost exclusively of active property (or the evidences of it) engaged in production—ships, railroads, machinery, banks, money, raw material, and merchandise of every description. To tax these is to swell the tax ultimately paid by the consumer by the addition of a profit, interest, and commission for every hand through which they pass before they reach the actual consumer. It has been estimated that a tax on personal property in the shape of money employed in loans is quadrupled before it is finally paid by the consumer of the article manufactured by its aid; so that one dollar levied on the manufactured article in the hands of the retailer would cost the consumer one dollar, and yield the State one dollar; while one dollar levied on a money loan to a manufacturer, while yielding the State that one dollar only, would cost the consumer of the manufactured article four dollars. But in addition to this grave objection to a tax on personal property, no human ingenuity has yet been able to invent the means of ascertaining the amount of such property owned by each citizen, while the efforts to disguise and hide it, so as to evade the tax, have been eminently and conspicuously successful. By far the largest and most valuable part of the report before us is devoted to an exposure of the inefficiency, the injustice, and the immorality of this tax, as now levied; and no thinking person can even hastily glance over it without being convinced that this tax

on personal property is a fraud and a farce, and that its abolition is one of the very first and most imperative measures calling for the action of the people of the State.

The tax on real property—houses and lands—is partly open to the same serious objection as the tax on personal property, that it is a tax on capital employed in production. But, to a very large extent, this objection is not well founded. Dwelling-houses, which form a very important part of all real estate, are certainly not employed in production. On the contrary, the tax on a dwelling-house is an almost direct tax on the consumer, to whom the rent is certainly as much a daily expenditure as his butcher's or grocer's bills; while, even when applied to farming lands and retail stores, the objection loses much of its weight from the fact that the tax on a retail store is levied almost directly on the consumer, while the product of the bulk of our farming lands enters more immediately into consumption than any other product of human industry. It is, therefore, only apparently true that a tax on real estate is a tax on capital employed in production, and should on that account be considered objectionable. But if the objection were far better founded and far more generally true, it would fade in importance before the one great fact, which will probably in all time to come make real estate the great basis of all taxation—the fact that a tax on real estate is the only tax impossible of evasion, except by corrupt collusion with the collector. A tax on real estate, honestly assessed and faithfully collected, is the most just, the safest, the simplest, and the most productive tax ever yet put into practical operation by the ingenuity of man. It is the great merit of this report that, while nowhere announcing the doctrine, it yet throughout leads to the conviction, that, in the future, real estate will inevitably be made to furnish the bulk, if not the whole, of our taxes.

But after thus rendering clear and conspicuous the nature of real estate as the basis of all future State taxation, and sweeping away the confusions and fallacies of the tax on personal property, leaving a great problem plain and intelligible to the public mind, the Commissioners, in a most unaccountable manner, proceed to confuse their work by a supposed substitute for the tax on personal property which they condemn. The Commissioners make a distinction between a tax paid by the owner and a tax paid by the tenant, and propose to collect from the latter a special tax, to take the place of the objectionable tax on personal property. But not only is it unimportant who pays the tax to the State, as it is always ultimately repaid by the occupant (except in the very rare case of unoccupied buildings), but the collection of the two kinds of taxes, ultimately paid by the same person, necessitates a double expense, a double army of assessors and collectors, and introduces either an element of uncertainty in the collection, as the occupant of a building offers no security, or else it enforces the bad principle of holding two persons for the same obligation, making one responsible for the other in case of failure, instead of placing the obligation at once upon the one who really offers the security, the owner of the building. The proposition of the Commissioners is to tax the owner of the building a percentage on its valuation, the same as now; and then, in addition to that, to tax the occupant according to an imaginary assessment on the rent he pays, as a substitute for the former tax on his personal property. It is evident that this is only a cumbrous, inconvenient, and expensive way of raising the tax rate on real estate, while disguising it from the owner under some other name.

Besides this objectionable suggestion, which does not, however, affect the main argument of the Commissioners, we find only one other serious fault in the report—the total silence of the Commission on the subject of taxes on unimproved property in cities and towns. This question is now attracting increasing attention among taxpayers, especially in the cities and suburbs, in which much real estate speculation has been going on. Large blocks of unimproved property are in many places held for a rise in the midst of other improved property, the owners of which latter are taxed for the paving, lighting, etc., of entire streets and squares, benefiting largely the value of the unimproved property, which contributes but very slightly to the expense. That there is a grave injustice here no one is disposed to doubt, although it seems difficult to suggest an adequate remedy. But it is certain that this question will shortly come up for action, and it is to be regretted that the Commissioners should not have bestowed some thought upon it.

The report, in spite of these faults, emphatically vindicates the appointment of Mr. Wells as one of the Commissioners, and encourages the hope and belief that the invaluable services of this gentleman will not be lost to the public, who have so uniformly benefited by his labors.

AN ENGLISH ART ENTERPRISE.

In the year 1861, seven artists or amateurs connected with the so-called Pre-Raphaelite movement conceived the idea of carrying artistic reform into domestic furnishing, and, in order to do so, formed themselves into a company, each contributing the sum of £25 as capital to commence operations with. They were Rossetti, Webb, Morris (the poet), Burne Jones, Madox Brown, Marshall, and Faulkner. Morris was made director, and the company entitled itself Morris & Co.

Beginning with a modest workshop in Red Lion Street, their first operations were in ornamented furniture, chiefly in painting and stamped leather, for which the members of the firm furnished the designs, being paid therefor from the fund subscribed to its full amount, so that it may really be said that they have only contributed a certain number of designs. They borrowed no money, but made their enterprise limit itself to the means in hand, and for several years allowed the profits (after paying the director's salary) to accumulate as capital.

Of the seven, two are already well known in America—Morris by his books, and Rossetti through his pictures and poems. Jones is one of the leading painters of England, both for color and poetic conception, while Madox Brown is perhaps the most accomplished master of design, in its diverse branches, in England, or, if exception must be made, it would be in favor of Rossetti alone. Webb is an architect of great ability, the others being in artistic power unknown to the public. Morris also made his *début* as a painter, and has in his designs a peculiar mediæval grace which adapts them, in a remarkable degree, to the higher ornamental work, such as stained glass.

The problem they proposed to themselves was not an easy one. It was not merely to make a paying enterprise, it was more still: to set a standard of ornamental art for the country, and quicken the sluggish, indifferent taste in England to the perception of what really good work was, in branches which the artists of reputation and influence either neglected or were ignorant of. The modern idea of absolute naturalism in ornament on one hand, and the renaissance system of ornamentation by lines and forms without meaning, are the extremes of bad designs for ornamental purposes. To draw from nature forms of beauty and tints in artistic relation, without either the wearisomeness of complete elaboration which suggests rather putting the work into a cabinet than a possible useful function, and makes the ware of Sèvres and Dresden oftener bad art than good pottery, or the fidelity of rendering which is inconsistent with the playfulness and lightness necessary to good ornamental work; and, on the other hand, to avoid the senseless invention of forms and combinations of tint which only display the designer's ingenuity in avoiding nature and all possible natural forms, was the problem which the new school (for so it may justly be termed, having to educate its workmen and the public) had before it. To give the results of the highest artistic feeling in England to household decoration was a boon which, perhaps, might have been better bestowed than on an English public; but this was the gift of the organization which, prospering, may now be found in quiet quarters in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, with no other indication of its whereabouts than the title of the firm painted in small letters on the door-lintel. It uses no advertisements, makes no attempt at publicity, save such as the work itself makes. And this, one kind with another, reaches now the amount of £5,000 per annum average product; and the original £175 has more than tenfolded in investment, while last year it paid a dividend of £50 per share.

The first work done was in elaborately ornate furniture, with panels in stamped leather, the intervals being done in gold and color designs of simple ornamental forms. These forms, be they for the most trivial or important character, are always furnished by one of the firm, Morris himself being one of the most fertile of the number, and, indeed, this rule is followed throughout, every design of any kind being the conception of Morris, Rossetti, Burne Jones, Madox Brown, or Webb. The system of ornamentation in stamped leather, which is so admirable a feature in mediæval furniture, was well reproduced for a time, but a deterioration in

the quality of the leather furnished compelled its abandonment, and with it, to a great extent, the production of furniture, and the firm then turned its attention more to stained glass, to the manufacture of which it brought a thoughtful development of the laws of color and monumental effect. The modern practice of painting glass, with a complete ignorance of the tasteful employment of color in stained windows, has almost destroyed the value of the windows of to-day—the stainer emulating the effects (impossible to him) of the painted glass, and in the effort at chiaroscuro not only losing color in white and black, but sacrificing the light and cheerfulness of the entire work to pictorial subordination, as if a window could follow the same law as a picture in relation of its parts.

Morris & Co. at once recurred to the principles of the mediæval glass-stainers, and make the maximum of color the object of the design; and as any great brilliancy of color necessitates a great degree of light, the masses of the design in their windows are of middle tint as to light and shade, with no more approach to black than is necessary to define and relieve the forms, while the masses of color are mostly kept more or less grayed, and relieved by passages of intensity. It is in effect the principle of all good colorists, applied in its extreme of applicability to glass. This makes the difference between their glass and that of the ordinary manufacturers, that between the best art of England and the conventional work of routine workmen, as may be seen by contrasting windows of various manufacture in the Savoy Chapel, where are several windows, of which one is by Morris & Co.

In fact, in this branch of art they have done a great work for England, in the restoration of the early qualities of glass decoration with adaptation of design not less pure and yet more completely adapted to modern taste. The designs for the windows, generally by Morris or Madox Brown, are enlarged by the more intelligent of the subordinates to the size of the actual window, and pass in portions to the cutters of the glass, who cut from sheets of "pot glass" (glass which is colored throughout) or "flashed" (that which is coated with a film of colored glass only) the pieces into which the design is divided. These pieces, of all tints except yellow, then pass to the painter, who, cementing one to a plate of ground glass, which is reared between him and the light, draws the design on it in oxide of iron (the *crocus martis* of chemical phraseology), which burns on the glass in a transparent brown, deepening to black. When a yellow tint is wanted, it is got by a stain of silver and antimony, which gives from a pale primrose to deep orange, according to its strength.

In this as in all the branches of their manufacture, Morris & Co. avail themselves of the products of ordinary fabrication, the glass employed being furnished by the glass-houses, their only care being to stamp the artistic value on what they find ready to their hands.

The separate portions of the design, having left the hands of the painter and stainer, pass into the furnace, where the tints are fused into the glass, and then go to be leaded together. For this purpose, little bars of lead, drawn out like tiny H railway rails, are used, and thus, when the window is complete, each portion of the work is surrounded with a black line, a condition which seriously influences the nature of the original design, as both for facility of handling and firing, and for inexpensiveness of repairs in case of breaking, the pieces must preserve a certain limit of size, and the lines must interfere as little as possible with the effect.

Amongst the most important works in glass of Morris & Co., are the windows in a little church near Stroude, entirely by them; a St. Cecilia for St. Peter's-in-the-East; and the Savoy Chapel window already mentioned.

The cost of these windows ranges from ten to twenty-five dollars per square foot, according to the size and nature of the design. The most costly are the small windows for private houses, of which many are made. The rule of the house is never to enter into competition, or go to seek the work—in short, being artists and not mere manufacturers, their ethics are those of the craft, and their corporate practice the same as their individual.

They had at one time a business in domestic glassware, ornamental in form or color, or both, but this they have been obliged to renounce from their inability to get their designs executed by the workmen of the glass-houses in England. Before the late war, they had sent samples of models to France, whence they hope to receive their work put into shape by the superior operative skill and taste of the French workmen.

Their most important business at present, after the stained glass, is in ornamental tiles for fireplace or wall decoration. These are of all degrees of artistic dignity, from a simple design of leaf-work to figures which have all the value of original ideal work which can be given to a faithful copy. The tiles are imported with a glaze, and the designs of the company painted (by hand always) on them, after which they are re-baked. There is the plain blue emulation of the old Dutch tile, with quaint histories on each tile complete; others which require several tiles, and are accompanied by ornamental borders; others in colors, and of importance as works of art. Of these some classic designs by Burne Jones are very beautiful, and carry art as far as it can go consistently with its function as ornament. Another series of classical figures by Morris, in two tiles, each in blue monochrome, are exceedingly interesting examples of his designs.

The paper-hangings of the establishment are entirely fabricated at other manufactories, the paper being made for them by one, and the printing, after the company's designs, by another; but, in every step of the latter process, the taste of the direction is employed. These papers develop a new series of applications of ornament, in which the principle adopted seems to be that no part of the design, mechanically reproduced in such extensive iteration as must be the case here, shall be salient or *prononcé* enough to weary the eye in its perpetual recurrence, while the use of good, harmoniously-related color is especially insisted on, as well as the general rule of good ornament, that all form shall be natural, yet none imitative. The senseless and, to a good taste, irritating contrivance of scroll-work and arabesque—which modern designers consider the perfection of ornament, simply, it would seem, because it can by no possibility be anything else—bizarre and ultimately wearisome effects, are utterly avoided as well. The same rules apply to their chintzes, in which, however, as they occupy in use less space, and so repeat themselves less frequently, a greater degree of brilliancy is permitted, as the colors which in a sofa-covering only refresh the eye, when extended over the walls of a saloon weary it to disgust.

The success of Morris & Co. in employing the artistically undeveloped materials which English manufacture afforded them, availing themselves of the actually existing intelligence, and filling up the void by educating a set of workmen who can be faithfully depended on to carry out or copy an artistic conception, is certainly one of the most noteworthy instances of manufacturing enterprise of which we have any note. To have the art of the best English designers and painters all over one's house—a perpetual education of the taste—is something which, under any other shape, would be unattainable to anything less than colossal fortunes; it is now attainable by the most moderate competence.

And whatever deficiencies English art may have in other respects—in schooling and classic refinement, in method and artistic science—in design it has the greatest living masters. Amidst masses of senseless triviality and purposelessness occur instances of the most thoughtful purpose and earnest self-development; and in general, one might say that it is as superior to all other national art in its purposes and intention as inferior to any in its methods.

OUR "UPRIGHT JUDICIARY."

The Albany *Law Journal*, commenting on our recent article on "Forensic Ethics," says of our appeal to the Bar Association to try the question whether the counsel of the Erie Railroad have or have not unnecessarily and improperly dragged litigants before judges whom they have reason to believe are in corrupt relations with the Erie Ring, that "the difficulty is, it apprehends, that the *Nation*, like other newspapers, does not rest its charges and conclusions on 'facts.' It rests them on common report, which itself helped to create and circulate, and which is very apt to justify the old adage." If this be not so, it calls on the editors of the *Nation* to impeach any judge they suspect of corruption; and is pleased to add that they, the editors, "are guilty of gross dereliction of their duty in not taking measures to secure his impeachment." Now, our reply to this is, that we are taking all the measures an editor can or ought to take to secure impeachment, by trying to bring about such a state of public opinion as will prevent the trial of an impeachment by the legislature from being a farce, and by trying to rouse the lawyers, who are the only persons competent to conduct such a process as the trial of a judge for corruption, into doing their duty. It is not our business to go up to Albany and impeach a judge. Nor is it our business to supply the facts on which an impeachment should be based. It is our business to convince those whom it concerns that fair cause for enquiry exists; or, in other words, that the bench of the Supreme Court of this District has so completely lost the confidence of the public, and is the subject of such grave suspicion, that failure to investigate is a great scandal, and a great injury to morals and property. This we do to the best of our small ability.

As to the foundation of our charges and conclusions, it will be time enough to give it when the correctness of those "charges and conclusions" is seriously challenged with a view to their refutation. But if the *Law*

Journal does not know that their correctness is acknowledged by three-fourths of the bar of this district, it must have neglected one important portion of its own duties as a legal paper. Our own reasons for believing in the dishonesty of the judge whose relations with the Erie Ring have of late been the subject of most suspicion, are of a nature which raises them far above the rank of "common report," and which, if we were to publish them, would make the article on which the *Law Journal* comments wear a look of singular moderation. We shall give them whenever the proper occasion arrives; that is, when anybody who feels himself personally aggrieved by them calls for them.

We may add that it is tolerably discreditable for a professional paper to find no better work than pretending to doubt whether the charges fairly made against the New York judiciary have any foundation. Anybody who really believes they have no foundation must possess so little familiarity with what is passing in legal circles, as well as with the exact condition of the administration of justice in this district, as to make him unfit to conduct a "law journal;" anybody who does not believe it, and yet says it, lays himself open, of course, to a still graver imputation. Anybody who, in view of what has frequently passed in open court, in the presence of the bar, in this city, alleges there is no good ground for impeaching any judge now on the bench, either does not know what he is talking about, or, if he does know, deserves himself whatever punishment is due to those who encourage and connive at judicial villany.

The reproach of the *Law Journal*, that we have "turned the matter over to the Bar Association," has a silly side, on which we shall not dwell. It is about as fatuous as a sneer at a man for turning a case of theft over to the District Attorney and the Grand Jury.

THE TERMS OF PEACE.

BERLIN, February 8.

THE proclamation of the Empire and the capitulation of Paris have been received here with comparatively little enthusiasm. While the former is more a matter of sentiment, the great military achievement passed off rather quietly, for the reason that it was long anticipated, and that the news of the armistice reached Berlin, as it were, in instalments. People were angry that our victorious soldiers should not enter the conquered capital of the enemy triumphantly, and that the information, instead of coming directly, was forwarded by way of England. As to the former complaint, it is said that after the peace, in order to satisfy the troops, a great parade will be held on the Champ de Mars. But even if that were not the case, the Government could not be blamed. The condition of Paris and the spirit of its population are not yet such as to justify its occupation by our troops. If only a dozen soldiers were killed on their entry or at their quarters, the pageant of a solemn entry would have been bought at too dear a price. As regards the transmission of news, on the other hand, the dealings, or rather non-dealings, of the Government with the German press cannot be approved. Count Bismarck is a statesman who fully appreciates the power of newspapers when his interests are at stake; but, while treating foreign correspondents and editors with the greatest courtesy and distinction, he studiously shows the greatest indifference, if not contempt, for the press of his own country. In the present case, it is quite immaterial whether the foreign press is generally better informed, or whether the German newspapers have no influence on the affairs of this country. The Government should have considered that at least 100,000 families are deeply concerned in the momentous questions now pending at Versailles, and that the least it could do to show its gratitude for the valor and self-sacrificing spirit of the people should have been to spread the glad tidings of approaching peace all over the land as soon as possible. The Government press make a very lame excuse in saying that, while the negotiations were pending, they could not divulge what was a secret at that time. No intelligent man asked for anything of the kind, but only for that information which first became known here through the English papers. This want of regard has been keenly felt by all classes of this city; consequently, there was no public festivity, no illumination, no procession, nor any demonstration. Here and there a house had illuminated, the flags waved lonesome in the cold air, and the glorious end of the war passed off with less notice than the news of the smallest battle. In other German cities celebrations took place on a tolerably large scale, as at Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfort, and the Hanse towns, which already on former occasions had outdone Berlin.

Much has been said about the terms of peace which are to be imposed upon France; but the statements have all been exaggerated. I can tell you, upon good authority, that Germany neither wants a single French man-of-war nor any French colony. Our navy is to be increased by degrees and for our own wants, and we have the more time to do so as we get a large amount of money to invest in this direction. The news that Bismarck had demanded Saigon or Pondicherry has arisen from the fact that the Hanseatic merchants had petitioned the Chancellor for the first-named place as a proper coaling station and rendezvous. You are aware that the German ships almost monopolize the freight business and carrying trade between East India and the Australasian Archipelago on one side, and China and Japan on the other. It is, therefore, of great importance to our mercantile marine to have some protection in these far-off waters, which abound in pirates. But the preposterous idea of acquiring a colony on the other side of the globe never seriously occupied the minds of the leading German statesmen. In general, the time for colonies has passed, and the proposed ends can better be reached by a squadron of two or three ships stationed in the Indian or Chinese Ocean. Germany is not, and never can or will be, a naval power. Our only interest is to protect our commerce, and for that purpose our means are quite sufficient; but acquiring colonies would divide our strength and divert us from our legitimate tasks.

Bismarck has asked eight milliards of francs as indemnity from the French, but it is understood that he will not be too stiff on this point, and will eventually throw off one-half of his demand. The retention of Metz, which has been doubted by some otherwise well-informed correspondents, is a settled fact. It is even contemplated, instead of running the boundary line due north from Metz to Thionville, to run it a little to the northwest, and include the French fortress of Longwy. In this way, the southwestern boundary of Luxemburg would be protected by Germany as well as the southeastern, and thus any future attempt of France at breaking the neutrality of the Grand-Duchy would be frustrated. It is expected that Luxemburg, under Prince Henry of the Netherlands, or some other prince of the House of Nassau-Orange, will in future form an independent state of Germany. She will not be suffered to remain politically out of the Empire and to enjoy, at the same time, the commercial benefits of the Zollverein; if she wants the latter, she must come inside. All that has been said about Bismarck's designs against the old German duchy dwindles down to this alternative.

Another condition makes France comply with the German doctrine touching the immunity of private property on sea in time of war. Both powers bind themselves to co-operate in future in exempting merchant vessels from capture by the men-of-war of the belligerents in all cases where neutral ships are not liable to seizure, and in trying their best to have this reform adopted by the other powers as the fifth and supplementary article of the Paris declaration of April 16, 1856. It was first proposed to include the blockade provision (Article X. of that instrument), and have it more particularly defined; but for the sake of not endangering the first clause, Germany has for the present dropped the latter. It will be easy to effect an agreement of all European powers except England; but this agreement will be of only limited value without the assent of the greatest naval power. It remains to be seen whether the Continental statesmen will be in a condition to overcome England's opposition and to secure her acquiescence in this doctrine. As long as the *Alabama* claims are not settled, she will, of course, plead the chance of a war with the United States, and will, for this reason, if for no other, decline to become a party to the new compact. But even if England should stay outside, all European liberals will greet this much-needed improvement of the international code with delight, as marking an important progress in naval warfare.

On the whole, the conditions of the peace are moderate and mild. To spare the feelings of the French, even the word *capitulation* has been left out in the preliminaries, and all things are couched in the most considerate terms. It is quite uncommon for Prussia to be *suaviter in modo;* but in this instance she has found her interest to lie in making it agree with the *fortiter in re*. Peace, of course, is looked for as the certain result of the armistice. After the defeat of Bourbaki and the retreat of his army into Switzerland, even the most sanguine and enthusiastic admirers of Gambetta are giving up the hope of being able to renew their resistance; the more so, as their chief has lately resigned. France requires years of quiet to recover from the blows inflicted on her; and if, in the immediate future, she should lose faith in her destiny, and by degrees fall a prey to priests and usurpers, she may thank Gambetta for it.

I will conclude this letter with an historical fact, which has just been made public by M. Giskra, the former Austrian Minister of the Interior, at present a member of the Vienna Diet. In July, 1866, immediately after

the defeat of the Austrians at Königgrätz, Bismarck had his headquarters for a time at Brünn, of which city Giskra was then mayor. Bismarck proposed to him to send a trustworthy person to Vienna to facilitate the conclusion of the peace, and, for that purpose, to put the following terms: Territorial *status quo*, the boundary of the Main River for Prussia, *no* payment of indemnity for war expenses, but exclusion of French mediation from the peace negotiations. Giskra at once sent to Vienna a gentleman who enjoyed Bismarck's and his own confidence, who had, however, to wait sixteen hours at the capital before he was admitted, and was even then coolly sent off with an evasive answer. Having returned to Brünn, he hastened at once to Nikolsburg (the famous castle in its neighborhood), and found the French minister Benedetti, who had just arrived, with Bismarck. "You have come one hour too late," was the answer given to Giskra's confidant. Thus, Austria had afterwards to pay thirty millions of florins indemnity for having sought the French mediation.

This story, which bears all the evidence of truth, has created a deep sensation all over Austria, and is especially welcomed by her German population. They wish for nothing better than for a close alliance with the new German Empire. "We want to secure peace for ourselves, and to pay off our debt," they say; "and can best effect this by entering into friendly relations with our powerful neighbor. If Austria and Germany be united, there will no longer be any need of manufacturing new arms or increasing the strength of the standing armies; and even if, at some future day, Russia and France should ally themselves against us, they will then not be strong enough to defeat the German powers." If the signs of the times do not fail, the sympathies already existing between Austria and Germany will soon ripen into an alliance, which the leading men of both countries are trying to bring about.

In a few weeks, if not days, you will hear of a new crisis in the Danubian Principalities; but it will pass without any danger to the tranquillity of Europe. Prince Charles of Hohenzollern will take to flight from Bucharest, as he cannot master his unruly, semi-civilized, or entirely barbarous Boyards. In a letter addressed to Berthold Auerbach, the well-known author and poet, he has announced his intention of leaving the country. It is quite unusual for princes to make literary men their confidants and publishers of state secrets, and a still more novel occurrence for them to give timely notice of the plans which they will carry out if their ungrateful subjects do not hold them back. From what I know of the populations near the mouth of the Danube, Prince Charles of Roumania is too good and honest for them, and, on the other hand, is not strong and energetic enough for ruling and domineering over them. A man with an iron rod—a *sabreur*—would be of much greater use in those regions. It is, however, a sign of the times that the King of Prussia, evidently to please Austria, is going to drop his namesake. You will remember that in 1866 Bismarck exported the Prince to Bucharest for the express purpose of eventually troubling and harassing the Austrian Empire from the rear. Now, poor Charles's occupation is gone; but it is at times a great blessing and advantage for the head of a royal family to have a full assortment of second-hand cousins on the shelf. If they did not exist, they would have to be invented.

Correspondence.

WEST POINT AND ITS WANTS.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: I have read in Thursday's (Feb. 16) *Nation* the letter headed "West Point," signed "B.," with your short comment.

The "root of the evil" at West Point, as it is the root of nearly all our public evils, is the interference of the nation's legislators with the nation's Executive. This is the tap-root, and until it is eradicated the plant that is nourished from it, and now, like the deadly upas, has overshadowed the land, and is poisoning all within the reach of its infection, must grow and grow until the nation, in its despair, rises up against its intolerable burthen as one man.

No competitive examinations, as "B." proposes, for admission into this national school, however well devised; no care in the selection of its pupils, however guarded, will have a feather's weight of good, until members of Congress will consent to forego a custom to which they have no legal right—that of virtually appointing to cadet vacancies happening in their districts. Here is the source of bad appointments, made, in most cases, as payment for local political services. Here is the source of the disgraceful selling of these appointments for money. Here is the temptation to which some have, it is said, yielded, of keeping these appointments in abeyance, to the latest moment, before making them, when on the eve of a re-election, as a bait to many expectant voters. Here is the source from which flows back upon the school its rejected, unworthy members, whatever their causes of rejection, want of brains, lying, thieving, or conduct however otherwise prejudicial to the usefulness of the school. Here is the source from which flows the unmeasured vituperation which was poured out but a few days ago in the House upon one of the most distinguished officers, conscientious man and honorable gentleman, by a member of that body, who added to his indecent attack the grossest ignorance upon what he was speaking about, and all because the cadet from his district had been dismissed for gross deficiency in his studies.

Supposing the reform your correspondent "B." proposes, or any other one that it might be well to make at West Point, was adopted, *cui bono?* Would it abate one whit this overshadowing abuse? No; and for the reason that, so long as the discipline can be interfered with by members of Congress, just so long will those who have by misconduct become amenable to its requirements snap their fingers in the face of authority, knowing that there is a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself.

No law even can be passed affording some check to this evil which will not be abrogated. Such a check was tried in a law passed in 1861, by which a cadet declared deficient in his studies, and therefore discharged from the school, should not be restored except upon the recommendation of the faculty. What was the result? But a few years back, the law was repealed at the instance of the chairman of the Military Committee of the House. During the discussion of the motion, the question was asked of the mover, by the then leading member, the late Thaddeus Stevens, whether, if the law were repealed, he could send back to the school one of his constituents who had been dismissed from it. On the answer that he could, he replied: "Then I will vote for its repeal."

Of two of our war secretaries, one personally opposed the passage of this law; another practically ignored it, and, when he found he could not get round it, favored its repeal. The reason for such action was patent. It took from them one source of little favors to political friends.

What can be done in such a state of things? There is but one remedy for this, as for the abuses in the appointments in our civil service. Let the people say to their representatives: This is *our* Government, instituted for our benefit, and not for *your* individual interests; these are *our* employees to look after our affairs, and not *your* pensioners for services rendered in electing you to legislate in our behalf. On a certain occasion, Mr. A. T. Stewart, whom to name is to call up the thought of the true principles of business personified, enquired of a person acquainted with the school at West Point how a youth there, for whom he had procured his appointment, was doing. The reply was to the effect that he was rather negligent of his duties. "Why don't they discharge him, then?" was his prompt rejoinder; "I keep no man in my employment who neglects his business." It is needless to ask why this was Mr. Stewart's rule. Where would he, or any business man, find himself who adopts any other?

No; "the root of the evil" at West Point is not to be cured by competitive examinations, nor by any such expedients as "B." proposes. These are very good things in their way; but West Point, in the future, can get along very well without them, as it has in the past. The record of her graduates is proof of this. In every walk of life for which its peculiar training has fitted them, they have filled their places, as a rule, more than creditably. She has given a Totten and Thayer to the country, than whom, as military engineers, no other country can produce their superiors. She has given to it her Dallas Bache, the late superintendent of the Coast Survey, who had not his superior in his special walk. She gave a Whistler and Brown to the Russian Government, from 1842 to 1854, who were the pioneers of her system of railroads. She has given a Grant, a Sherman, a Sheridan, a Meade, and a George H. Thomas, whom to name is to call up the grateful feelings of every loyal heart. She has given to our civil colleges many of their best scientific teachers. She has been the pioneer of the exact sciences and of their applications in our civil colleges and in the prosecution of our public civil works. These are but some of her services to the country, done without the aid of any special examinations or selections, and in spite of the abuses fostered by our legislators.

Would I then proscribe such expedients as "B." proposes? Not at all. I only would not present them as a panacea, for they will not go to the root of the evil. Our great evil is the parcelling out of appointments by districts, and virtually giving members of Congress the control of these for electioneering purposes. Break up this unconstitutional custom, keep

our legislators to their duties under the Constitution, and the Executive to his; apportion the cadet appointments, if you choose, among the States, according to their Congressional representation; leave the selection of the candidates to each State, and throw upon each one the responsibility of selecting its best men, and then, I think, with a wise provision of law for the requirements of admission to West Point, we may hope to reach a result, both as to economy and as to the average ability of West Point graduates, which will leave but little to be desired.

What these requirements may be made, under a sound state of public opinion, I will state in the words of an abler pen than mine: "Give your young men a sound education in the best schools of the country till the age of seventeen or eighteen; at that age let them compete for entrance into a military college, where they will be educated for two, three, or four years, according to the requirements of the service which they are to enter; once entered into the school, the State will assist them in their education, and will enable them to commence a career." This extract gives the germ of what ought to be. It is less Procrustean than the present West Point system, which attempts to educate all of its pupils up to the same standard.

But, it may be asked, where are our schools in which this sound education can be had? To this I reply, in the words of one of the ablest of the French *savants*, himself a graduate of the famous Polytechnic School, and an army officer. He says: "The Polytechnic School, and its high standard for admission, have greatly raised the standard of education in France. Youths desirous of preparing themselves to compete for admission into the Polytechnic say to their instructors: 'The Polytechnic demands this; teach me this.'"

But some one will object, what will poor boys do? The sufficient answer to that ought to be, that the purpose for which the school at West Point was founded was not to educate poor boys, but to train competent men for the military service of the country; men who come to her, and say: You want such-and-such qualifications for those entering the military service; I offer myself; examine and try me. But such requirements as are here alluded to need never be beyond the reach of any poor boy who has the real grit in him. Look at the *personnel* of all our so-termed learned professions; look at that of every business and industrial walk in life; look at our legislators and many of our statesmen. Did their being poor boys keep them from reaching the goal they earnestly strived for?

A great school, like that of West Point, our only national school, should be kept up on a sound basis. Make it what it ought to be, a thing which, like the Polytechnic School of France, the man in the lowliest condition in life will point to with pride, as reflecting honor on his country; and thus we, the American people, sovereigns all, shall be able to say of it, as Napoleon was wont to speak of the Polytechnic: "This is the hen that lays my golden eggs." Like the man in the fable, there are those who would eviscerate our hen. Whether the result of such an experiment would be the same in this case as in the fable, we should have to wait for another big war to find out. M.

Notes.

THE principal publications of the late Wm. V. Spencer have been secured by Messrs. Lee & Shepard, Boston, and to them purchasers will go for fine editions of Mill's Works ("Dissertations and Discussions," "Examination of the Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton," and "The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte"), of James Martineau's "Essays," of Frances Power Cobbe's "Studies, New and Old, of Ethical and Social Subjects," and "Religious Duty," etc., etc.——A Complete Historical Account of Essenism, after Dr. Ginsburg, with editorial comments "on the particular indebtedness of primitive Christianity, and on the relation of Jesus, to this remarkable Jewish sect," will be contained in the April number of Mr. Towne's *Examiner* (Chicago).——The Quarterly *Record* of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society began in January its second volume, and is increased in size to forty-eight pages, indicative of a healthy support. It contains much interesting matter, and a very full index of names for the last volume. We take from it the announcement of a new "Dictionary of American Biography," by Francis S. Drake, whose opportunities for the work are perhaps unsurpassed. The manuscript is complete, and will make a volume of 1,000 large octavo pages, to be sold to subscribers for $6. Lee & Shepard are the publishers.——We gave last year a list of libraries in this country possessing the photozincographic reproduction of Domesday Book. The Boston Athenæum may now be added.——Among English books lately published, republication of the following is announced—by Messrs. Appleton: A. B. Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan," and Buckle's "Miscellaneous and Posthumous Works;" by Messrs. Harper: "Memoirs of the Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham;" by Messrs. Lippincott & Co.: Emanuel Deutsch's "Talmud," and Hübner's "Pope Sixtus V."——Messrs. Little, Brown & Co. complete with Vol. XI. their edition of the "House of Lords Cases," and begin with Vol. I. "Macnaghten and Gordon's Reports (English Chancery)." It is of general interest to know that Ray's "Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity" has reached a fifth edition.——Harper & Brothers announce the "Apple Culturist," by S. E. Todd; "Bred in the Bone," by the author of "Gwendoline's Harvest;" and "Daisy Nichol," a novel by Lady Hardy.——After an absence in Grand Street of nearly three years, Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. reappear on Broadway, at Nos. 549 and 551, which is still a down-town location, though higher up than has yet been reached by this firm, which seems loath to follow the general course of business towards the upper end of the island. Their new premises are very commodious, and conspicuous among the other buildings on the street.——Messrs. Porter & Coates assume with the March number the publication of the *Penn Monthly*, a magazine of scarcely more than local reputation as yet, and which perhaps has not merited a purely literary distinction, but has, nevertheless, in the field of political and social science, served the useful purpose of a quarterly, in publishing articles of positive and permanent value which could not have found a place in the leading monthlies. The same house will publish immediately "Heavenward Led; or, The Two Bequests," a novel by Jane R. Sommers.——Messrs. Lindsay & Blakiston, Philadelphia, announce a number of medical works, of which the following may have some value for laymen: Marshall's "Physiological Diagrams" (nine maps), and "Dental Pathology and Therapeutics."——Messrs. Hurd & Houghton have in press: "Wake Robin," by John Burroughs, well known and deservedly esteemed for his articles on the feathered tribe in the *Atlantic Monthly*; "Admetus, and Other Poems," by Emma Lazarus, a second venture by this lady; "Fireside Science," popular scientific essays by Dr. James R. Nichols, editor of the Boston *Journal of Chemistry*; and two juveniles: "The Judge's Pets," by E. Johnson; and "Four and What they Did," by Mrs. Helen C. Weeks. They will also republish in this country "Culture and Religion in Some of their Relations," by J. C. Shairp.——The Proceedings of the American Philological Association, at Rochester, last July, have been published in pamphlet form, and we find there the announcement that the third annual meeting of this association will be held in New Haven, on Tuesday, July 25, 1871. Persons intending to be present are requested to notify (not later than July 1) Mr. A. Van Name, the secretary of the local committee at New Haven, and those meaning to read papers to send as early a notice as convenient to the secretary of the association, Prof. G. F. Comfort, care of Harper & Brothers, New York City.——Messrs. E. H. Butler & Co. will have completed in April "Mitchell's New Outline Maps," large series (55 by 63). For the set of seven, with key, the price will be $20.

—The *Academy*, which has hitherto been a monthly "record of literature, learning, science, and art," has become since Jan. 15 a fortnightly publication, and is to be enlarged by the following new departments: Painting, in charge of Mr. W. B. Scott; Architecture, Mr. William Morris, the poet; Music, Mr. John Hullah and Dr. Franz Hüffer; Travels, Mr. Alfred R. Wallace; Old English, etc., Rev. W. W. Skeat and Mr. Henry Sweet; Works of Fiction, Mr. H. Lawrenny. Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., 471 Broadway, are the American agents for the *Academy*, of which the subscription price is $4 per annum. As its contributors invariably sign their names to their productions, it is unnecessary to praise this journal to any one who has been in the habit of seeing it. In attempting to embrace the whole circle of knowledge—or perhaps we should say, of literature—it has exposed itself to the criticism of being too brief in its principal articles, and some of its reviews have certainly been noticeable for rather grazing a subject than going to the bottom of it, especially when the subject was a book. Latterly, however, so far as our observation has gone, long articles have not been wanting, and the extent of some has even led us to criticise the editorial perspective from a different point of view. All this, it must be said, applies to the first and necessarily experimental year of the *Academy*, which has meantime displayed a very high order of scholarship, and given great promise for the future. More nearly resembling the *Athenæum* than any other of the English weeklies, it surpasses it in authority, and can say for itself as probably no other publication of the kind can: "Readers are reminded that the men-

tion of new books, articles, etc., in our lists is intended as a guarantee of their importance." And it has also the merit of perfect impartiality in its surveys of whatever branch of knowledge or speculation. For having, indeed, applied this rule to religion—offering "no opinion as to the truth or falsehood of religious belief, or of any form of it"—the *Academy* was relinquished by Mr. John Murray, the original publisher, to Messrs. Williams & Norgate, who now issue it. Finally, a distinctive feature of this journal is the summary which follows the contributed articles in each department, and embraces news, references to and abstracts of important articles in periodicals, contents of the same, with brief comments, etc., etc., and lists of new books pertaining to the subject in question.

—Every one who has consulted the war-maps of the past eight months must frequently have wished for a simple and accurate method of ascertaining distances by river, highway, or railroad. The compass answers tolerably for the measure of straight lines, but is tedious and untrustworthy for curvilinear measurements. More than a year ago, however, there was patented in this country a little instrument of great value in the making as well as the studying of maps, and for a variety of other purposes. The inventor is Hermann von Schlagintweit-Sakünlünski, the celebrated traveller in High Asia, where, in fact, he tested to his great satisfaction the contrivance in question. This is called a "Scalenrädchen" (*molette métrique*, or revolving scale), and consists of a little wheel whose circumference equals three centimetres, and is divided off by raised points into half-centimetres. This revolves at the end of a short metal standard, and every complete revolution is signalled by the click of a steel point on the disk coming in contact with a watch-spring conveniently situated. The effect of rolling this forward is to make on paper a line whose extension is ascertained either by counting the number of clicks or the number of points which subdivides it—any fraction being measured by a half-centimetre scale inserted in the upper end of the standard. In ascertaining distances on a map, it is only necessary to compare the scale on which it is drawn with the circumference of the wheel to calculate without difficulty the space overrun. This, as already intimated, may be either straight or crooked; the wheel will follow it. Other applications will probably suggest themselves to architects and draughtsmen generally. Mathematicians and geometers might also employ the "Revolving Scale" to advantage, and travellers and explorers must find it well-nigh indispensable. The instrument is beautifully made, and, scarcely exceeding a pipe-stem in thickness, can be carried in the pocket or even on the watch-guard.

—The interest taken in the Roman question is marked by the appearance of a new edition of Story's "Roba di Roma," and of two new books—one by Robt. Burn, "Rome and the Campagna," a work of much pretension; and another by A. J. C. Hare, "Walks in Rome," a hand-book for the city and immediate vicinity, compact and complete in its information, and by far the most valuable of its class. There is in the latter no claim to originality in research; and, if any one should make such at this date, he might be, without much question, put down as merely a pretender. But it is to be hoped that the freedom of Rome will permit researches which have never been allowed by the ecclesiastical government. Years ago, enormous sums were offered and refused for permission to excavate that curious excrescence, the Monte dei Testacci, the depository of broken pots of Rome since the rape of the Sabine women; but the erection of the cross at the top saved it from the desecration of archæology. The bed of the Tiber, too, is known to have been at great crises the depository of the treasures of the city, and great efforts have been made to obtain the dredging of it, with the same ill luck. The treasures, pecuniary and historical, hidden there, may be incalculable, but the *non possumus* of Roman sleep keeps them in their bed too. Should the new régime decide to deepen the Tiber, a measure indicated as desirable by the recent flood, we may hope that Rome will become anew the centre of archæological interest.

—Sir Edwin Landseer has been dangerously ill, but is reported better. His death would be a financial event in England, from the quantity of his pictures and the consequent rise in their prices; for the death of a painter of position in England is the signal for the apotheosis of his pictures. So it will prove with the late Zamacoïs, most of whose pictures are probably now in the hands of dealers. His death, however, does not entail on art the loss of a future. He had a line whose limitations are soon reached. The purchase of the Esterhazy collection by the Hungarian Government may be regarded as an example of the conscious *noblesse oblige* in matters of art; for art, or enthusiasm for art, in Hungary can hardly be said to exist. It looks as if Pesth hoped to be a capital city. Dante Rossetti is about finishing a picture which, from its size and importance, will mark an epoch in English art. It is the most important work yet produced by any of the school of which Rossetti is chief, and from his favorite field, the Vita Nuova, and represents the vision of Dante on the night of Beatrice's death. Rossetti is now forty-two, and in the prime of his powers; and this picture, which will probably be the first exhibited work of his since the first two years of his Pre-Raphaelite reform, will certainly produce a great effect, and, in the opinion of those who have seen it (very few, as yet), prove him the first painter of England—his admirers believe, of the age.

—The production of a successful comedy at Athens, by an Athenian, looks like a movement in Greek literature; but it remains to be seen if anything Greek is in it but the language. The Athenians are quick, and know good work from bad; but the national tendencies to dramatic productions have hitherto been mostly in the way of melodramatic incidents of the War of Independence, and for lighter matter—mere stories—the inexhaustible mines of translation have been worked. There is an utter want, to this day, of literature for the common comprehension; and not a single book exists in the Greek language which can be comprehended by a child, or by a countryman who can merely read and write. Yet schools are abundant and well supported.

—In Baron Joseph Eötvös, who died in Pesth in the first week of last month, at the age of fifty-seven, Hungary has not only lost the greatest prose writer she ever had, but also one of her noblest statesmen and parliamentary leaders. As an author, he is one of the few Hungarians whose works have become widely known beyond the limits of their country. His masterpiece, "A Falu Jegyzője" ("The Village Notary"), a novel in which charming pictures of real life and most touching scenes alternate with pages of the keenest satire directed against political abuses, and which greatly contributed to the almost complete overthrow of the feudal institutions of his country in 1848, is alone sufficient to secure him immortality. The "Carthausi" ("Carthusian"), however, his earliest production in the same field, and the historical novel, "Magyarország 1514-ben" ("Hungary in 1514"), are hardly inferior in merit; while his great study, "Der Einfluss der Ideen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts auf Staat und Gesellschaft," published simultaneously in German and Hungarian, and a number of minor works on special reform questions, place him in the foremost rank of political writers. Nor was he less successful as a journalist and orator. Vieing with Count Louis Batthyanyi in the leadership of the liberal opposition in the Upper House of the Hungarian Diet before the revolution of 1848, he at the same time, as a publicist, both defended and opposed Louis Kossuth, and subsequently became the colleague of both, as Minister of Public Instruction, in the Cabinet of which they were the leading members. Shortly after the outbreak of the war, however, he resigned his position, and withdrew to Munich, where he was engaged in literary labors. After his return to his country, he was active in promoting its literary revival, aided by two distinguished friends, the historian Szalay and the publicist Csengery. On the final restoration of the Hungarian constitution, early in 1867, he became, in his former capacity of Minister of Public Instruction, a member of the Andrássy Cabinet, remaining till his death its strongest support, after Deák.

—How near we are to unbroken telegraphic communication with all the northern hemisphere and even with the southern, is hardly realized by the public. The 31st of December, 1870, saw the successful completion of a telegraphic line 2,400 miles in length, connecting with Europe and this country three of the principal ports in Southern Asia, Penang, Singapore, and Batavia. The last section, which connected the first-named port with Madras, was commenced on the 17th of December, and the last splice which "consummated the marriage of the two ports," as a local journal phrases it, was committed to the deep at sunset on New Year's eve—just six hours within the contract time. This extension is, however, but a small part of the project, now in course of accomplishment, to connect Shanghai on the one hand, and Australia on the other, with Singapore, and so with London and New York. The first section of the cable to be laid between Singapore and Hongkong (whether *via* Saigon or not is to be determined at the former port according to the results of the pending struggle between France and Prussia) has already been despatched, and will probably arrive out about May next. Of the section between Hongkong and Shanghai, 250 miles had, by the latest advices, been submerged, and the steamer *Celia* was *en route* for the terminal buoy to splice and continue laying the cable. The two leading ports of China, Shanghai, and, through Hongkong, Canton, will thus by June next be in-

cluded within the vast system whose ramifications are now spread over a lineal distance of more than thirty thousand miles. Should no accident intervene, the close of 1871 will probably witness the accomplishment of daily communication between China and New York. Other undertakings, subsidiary to the main lines just referred to, are, we learn by the India and China journals, being strongly advocated by the more far-sighted of the foreign communities in those countries. Prominent among them is that of a company representing both American and British interests, to carry a land line across Burmah and Cochin China to Saigon, and thence by submarine cable to Hongkong. Even the sluggish Philippines are waking up, and some resident of Manila who is evidently in advance of his age is warmly advocating the formation of a local company to bring that flourishing but out-of-the-way capital into connection with Singapore. The Dutch, who have heartily seconded the Australian cable scheme, are busily carrying out their portion of the undertaking by connecting Batavia with the northern terminus of the Carpentaria line. Asia is, in fact, at this moment the great theatre of practical telegraphic enterprise; and we venture to remind the "American and East India Telegraph Company" and the "American and Pacific Telegraph Company" that they are in danger of being anticipated by their rivals, who have already forestalled them on the Asiatic coast. If a Pacific cable is to be laid (and those best qualified to judge are emphatic in their assurances of the certain profits, commercial and political, to be derived from it), it is a pity that American enterprise should not have the laying of it.

HOLMES'S MECHANISM IN THOUGHT.*

Dr. Holmes presents himself, at the outset of his address, as one who undertakes a purely technical task—as the grave man, with lantern and hammer, who goes round when the cars stop, clinking the wheels to try if they are sound. So he, with the lantern of truth and the hammer of positive science, is going to clink some of the wheels of our intellectual machinery. It is needless to say that this severity of demeanor is in part pretence. Our brilliant poet-anatomist is not the man to pin his audience, at a literary festival, down to the tedious demonstration of dry bones. He only uses the skeleton of scientific fact to give support and expression to the wrappings of anecdote and imagery wherewith the rigid outline is rounded and softened. All this, and the literary skill with which it is done, will be readily conceived and allowed for by our readers, even without seeing the book. It may, therefore, be permissible to use it for our own purposes in a way which could be hardly justifiable in the case of the new production of a writer less universally known and appreciated, viz., to take the Doctor at his word, and, leaving out of view the literary artist and his work, to consider merely the anatomical framework of his reasoning.

Reduced to its simplest terms, the argument is this: Thought, viewed as an intellectual function, is essentially mechanical and necessary, and goes on, independently of our volition, as long as we live, just as breathing does—though we can modify it to a greater or less extent, as we can our breathing, by conscious effort. By thoughts we usually understand those ideas of which we are conscious. But our thoughts only emerge in consciousness—they do not originate there, but have their roots beneath, in the soil of nature. In this underground workshop is evolved the force which impels us, by an automatic and unperceived action, from one of our definite ideas to another. This part of the process belongs to the category of the physical forces, and has its mechanical coefficient in a molecular movement in the nervous centres, attended with waste of material, constantly repaired by the vast amount of blood sent to the brain. This is the domain of nature. We cannot directly meddle with it, and we are not accountable for it. The intellectual product, to be sure, does not belong to the category of physical force, as at present defined; nor does a given amount of molecular action in two brains represent an equivalent of thought. There may be a difference of quality imparted by a brain through which certain nutritious currents have flowed, a *vis Platonica* or a *vis Baconica* in addition to that accounted for by the series of molecular changes in the thinking organ. And there is an influence given by the will, in mental labor, as distinguished from the passive flow of thought. But mental labor, too, is attended by a greatly increased waste of material. All our thoughts, probably, take up room—certainly take up time. It is not improbable that memory is a material record, that the brain is scarred and seamed with infinitesimal hieroglyphics inscribed by the caravans of thought as they passed through year after year—thus, that memory is subject to the limitations and vicissitudes of the organ whereon they are traced. The mechanism of consciousness is certainly subject to a time-rate, and a comparatively slow one, calculated by some observers at not above forty feet in a second. "The connection between thought and the structure and condition of the brain is evidently so close that all we have to do is to study it. It is not in this direction that materialism is to be feared."

In short, the engineer, as he hits the intellectual wheel, shakes his head. There is a flaw here. It would not do to risk the burden of selfhood upon it. Fortunately there is no need, nor is there any use in alarming the passengers by pointing out the insecurity. It is upon the *moral* wheel, the power of intelligent choice between right and wrong, that our fortunes rest; and here the sound is reassuring. In our perceptions and ideas we are the slaves of fate, of outside influences; but that our will is a primary initiating cause or force we cannot, in spite of all arguments, help believing. The strongest-motive argument seems exhaustive, yet the sense that we are, to a limited extent, self-determining, although open to the accusation of fallacy, leaves a certain undischarged balance in most minds. We invoke the strong arm of the *Deus ex machinâ*, and when the doctrine of necessity is proved in terms, our reply is, *Nego quia probatum est.*

Thus Dr. Holmes's position is substantially Huxley's, that man is a machine—only a machine which is partly self-regulated; or Du Bois-Reymond's, that, were it not for the difficulties of dissection, all the processes that go on in living beings, *up to the problem of personal freedom*, would be a matter of analytical mechanics. This reservation in favor of free-will is an important one; the question is whether it can be maintained. If we have the power to determine our own conduct and character, and thereby become invested with responsibilities and rights which even the Creator is bound to respect, it must be because we have the power of raising ourselves *above* nature—not merely of combating, but of superseding and nullifying, or else of adopting and making our own, the natural impulses which would otherwise govern us. If the mind has this supernatural freedom in its practical functions, why not in its theoretical functions? Why should my ideas, any more than my actions, be the slaves of chance impressions made upon my nervous system? It is said, the freedom of the will is an experimental fact; we feel that the will must have this supernatural power of absolutely originating or creating, because without it the will cannot be what it is, but must be a mere illusion. But so knowledge, if it be really knowledge, must acquaint us with things as they really are and necessarily seem to all intelligences which are capable of comprehending them. Knowledge which is only relative to us, is not knowledge, but illusion. Knowledge, if it be a reality, goes as far beyond the dints on the brain as will goes beyond physiological reaction. The two stand or fall together, with the possibility in man of raising himself above his ordinary self and the haps and mishaps that befall it. If we deny this possibility to the intellect, there seems to be no ground for granting it to the will. The experimental fact in either case is the same, viz., self-consciousness; and it is as hard to give a mechanical explanation of self-conscious perception as it is of self-conscious action. If the brain is a physical apparatus, only of extraordinary complexity and delicacy, and if knowledge means only sensations somehow agreed upon, it will be natural to consider the will as a name for impulses which have somehow become habitual. That either should be accompanied by a sensation of personal effort, which we feel called upon to make, and which seems efficacious, is a psychological fact, which may or may not be capable of explanation, but at any rate cannot affect the scientific conclusion.

On the other hand, if we throw overboard our logic rather than admit that moral truths and principles are merely relative to us, and that to another order of intelligences justice and mercy may mean something quite different, we may as well make the same sacrifice in behalf of intellectual truth. In both directions the difficulty which victorious analysis encounters is the same, viz., that when her work is done, and she has the parts, the constituent materials and forces in her hand, they do not make a *whole*, and yet it is just this *wholeness* that is implied in anything deserving the name of action or of knowledge. But if we start with assuming that it does not exist, we shall never find it.

* "Mechanism in Thought and Morals. An Address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, June 29, 1870. With Notes and Afterthoughts. By Oliver Wendell Holmes." Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

PROCTOR'S OTHER WORLDS THAN OURS.*

In this interesting little book, the latest discoveries in astronomy and physics are applied to the partial solution of a question which is neither so hopelessly insoluble nor so unimportant to science as some writers affect to consider it. That we should ever become enabled to pronounce upon the habitability of worlds other than our own may indeed seem incredible to persons unacquainted with the actual state of our knowledge of the solar system, just as uneducated persons find it difficult to realize that we can measure and weigh the heavenly bodies, and even ascertain to some extent the chemical elements which exist upon their surfaces. Indeed, so long as we knew nothing at all about the physical condition of our neighbor planets, and were reduced to the vague guesses that God might have peopled this or that world with creatures very different from those which inhabit the earth—salamanders able to support furnace-heat, and ice-maidens capable of dwelling amid frozen carbonic acid—so long as our knowledge was in this chaotic state, the question of the plurality of worlds might well have been condemned as lying quite outside the pale of science.

Now, however, we are somewhat better off. The question lies no longer on the plane of pure guess-work: it has been raised to the level of legitimate hypothesis. Now that the spectroscope has shown that the planets are all members of a common family, and composed, so far as observation has gone, of the same materials, it becomes perfectly legitimate to enquire whether the rearrangement of materials has gone on in all the planets in such a way as to admit of the existence of organisms upon their surface. When we see, for example, that our next outer neighbor, Mars, possesses continents undulating with mountain-chains and valleys, oceans made of water, polar ice-masses which increase and diminish with the changes of the seasons, and an atmosphere in which aqueous clouds are collected and dispersed; when we recollect, besides, that the inclination of his axis is such as to cause seasons like our own, and that the ellipticity of his orbit is but little greater than that of the earth's in very recent geologic epochs, we are justified in accepting, provisionally, the hypothesis that the surface of Mars is adapted to the support of organic life.

In the case of the moon, a very different conclusion may be more dogmatically maintained. The question of the present habitability of the moon's surface by anything like terrestrial organisms is at once settled by the proved fact that neither air nor water exists in any appreciable quantity upon that surface. But it is by no means a necessary inference that the moon never possessed air and water, or that air and water do not now exist there, either frozen or sunk out of sight in vast abysms. The lunar surface is now covered by extinct volcanoes, a clear proof that forces were once at work in the moon's interior which have long since been dissipated. Let us consider what would happen if the earth were by-and-by to lose by radiation so much of its proper heat as to put an end for ever to all volcanic and seismic activity. Obviously, so extensive a cooling would cause an enormous shrinkage of the earth's crust upon its retreating nucleus; and abysms would be formed large enough to contain all the air and water now resting upon the surface of our planet. Besides which, the cold would be so great as to freeze the oceans, and freeze or liquefy the atmosphere; and no matter how fierce might be the solar heat received each summer, the sun's rays would be powerless to thaw the frozen mass, from lack of a vaporous atmosphere to absorb and retain them. Such, according to Mr. Proctor, is now the condition of the moon. Its heat is clean gone—radiated off into space; and it has arrived at a state of almost complete solidity.

In Jupiter and Saturn, we find just the reverse state of affairs. On those great planets the most stupendous convulsions are going on before our eyes. The sudden changes of appearance in Jupiter's belts bear witness to the occurrence of cyclones like those observed on the surface of the sun. And the curious phenomenon known as the "square-shouldered" aspect of Saturn is a fact with like implications. Besides which, recent calculations have rendered it almost certain that both planets shine partly by light of their own. If this be the case, it follows that their atmospheres must contain substances in a state of incandescence; so that they are no better fitted than the moon for the support of anything which can, by any legitimate use of language, be brought within the category of organic life.

The moon, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn are the only foreign planets about whose physical condition we have any satisfactory knowledge derived from direct observation. Yet, according to Mr. Proctor's results, we have here three classes of planets. There are planets, like the earth and probably Mars, which are fitted for the support of organic life; while others, as the moon, are too cold, and the third class, of which Jupiter and Saturn are examples, are too hot for life to exist upon their surfaces.

These results are just what might be expected, if we accept the theory of the nebular origin of our planetary system. If all the planets were originally gaseous, and have been for long ages losing heat by radiation, it follows that the smallest ones must now be the coldest. As a drop of tea cools more rapidly than a pint, we may expect to find small bodies, like the moon, frozen solid, while great bodies, like Saturn and Jupiter, are still boiling hot—the enormous sun being immeasurably hotter than any of his attendant planets. But why, it may be asked, is not Mars very much colder than the earth?—since it is much smaller; since, on the nebular theory, it is much older; and since it receives but four-ninths as much heat from the sun. To this we may answer, first, that Mars may be much colder than the earth, and still be warm enough to support life, so long as its summer heat is able partially to melt its polar ice-caps and keep its oceans liquid. And, secondly, we may note that, on the nebular theory, the older a planet, the hotter it must have been at the outset. When the sun's mass filled the orbit of Mars, it was necessarily much hotter than after it had shrunk to the dimensions of the earth's orbit; and the detached planet must have partaken of this higher temperature. So that Mars may be, after all, not very much colder than the earth. And, by a similar inference, we may suspect that even the distant Uranus and Neptune may not be the arctic planets which they are usually assumed to be. The old writers on this subject, who took it for granted that a planet remote from the sun must of course be colder than one near the sun, were very wide of the mark.

Among the satellites of the planets, it is quite likely that some are less inhospitable places than our own moon. The third satellite of Jupiter, and the eighth of Saturn, are as large as Mercury, and the sixth of Saturn is larger than Mars. These secondary planets have started with a vast supply of heat, and having been constantly warmed by their gigantic primaries, may possibly be still fitted for the support of life. On the sky of his third satellite, Jupiter would show an apparent disc 200 times the size of our moon's; while to any possible inhabitants of the satellite Titan, the central planet, with his great disc thirteen times as large as our moon's, and his encircling rings, must present a magnificent spectacle.

Those who have ever read the favorite speculations of theologians concerning the "plurality of worlds," will doubtless remember how strikingly the divine goodness is illustrated in the law that the remotest planets have the greatest number of satellites. This law is explicable by the nebular theory; but here, as in many cases, observes Mr. Proctor, "the scheme of the Creator is not so obvious to human reasoning as some have complacently supposed." The contrivances for lighting Saturn are by no means what they should be, according to the hypothesis. The lighting power of our moon is sixteen times greater than that of all the eight moons of Saturn combined; while if that planet were habitable, his rings would prove a terrible nuisance. In latitudes corresponding to that of New York, they cause total eclipses of the sun, which last seven years at a time. We ought to be truly thankful that our own cosy little planet has no such troublesome appendages.

The War Correspondence of the [London] *Daily News*, 1870; edited, with Notes and Comments, forming a Continuous Narrative of the War between Germany and France. With Maps. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.)—"The special value of letters from camps and battle-fields," the preface justly states, "consists in the vividness with which they reproduce the life and spirit of the scenes and transactions in the midst of which they are written." And no less true is the further remark: "In the letters which have appeared in the *Daily News* since the Franco-Prussian war, the public has recognized this quality as present in an eminent degree." "In a most eminent degree," we are inclined to substitute for the last words, after having perused this collection of correspondences in a quiet, retrospective way, different from the eager news-hunting and result-scrutinizing perusal which we bestowed on most of them when they were first received in this country. Their intrinsic value, too, as a trustworthy record of the events of the most memorable war of the century, we can now more fully appreciate than we could as long as the accuracy of the single statements and the candor of the writers in general could naturally be doubted. Of course, the collection consists only of those contributions to the London *Daily News* which the editors' subsequent better knowledge of events did not find unworthy of republication in book-form; but, as far as our recollection allows us to judge,

* "Othe Worlds than Ours. The Plurality of Worlds Studied under the Light of Recent Scientific Researches. By Richard A. Proctor, B.A., F.R.A.S." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1871.

comparatively few of the larger reports originally presented to the readers of that paper have been condemned as either incorrect or otherwise poor.

Be this as it may, the volume before us, consisting of letters from various unnamed correspondents with both contending armies, and of introductory and completing notices by an able but equally anonymous editor, presents a most graphic and varied, and at the same time astonishingly correct, sketch of the war, from its first mutterings in July to the simultaneous issues of the great sortie from Paris and the protracted battle before Orléans, in the first days of December. It is, it is true, neither a military nor, in any other sense, a complete history of the great struggle, but it is a comprehensive and striking picture of it, the product of keen observation, artistic delineation, and excellent grouping. The main effort of the correspondents obviously consisted in vividly and fully reproducing impressions which could not fail to be both varied and powerful, though most of them evidently lacked neither the necessary military information nor decision of judgment—witness the following from Paris (Sept. 4):

"In my opinion, the change in the form of government from an Empire to a Republic will not enable the French nation, after having lost the flower of its army, to resist the disciplined and hitherto victorious invaders. . . . I am afraid that rivers of blood must yet flow before the impulsive French people become alive to this truth. . . . They have intense belief in 'France rising in its might,' and fancy that the thousands of civilians now walking about the streets with guns in their hands will do better than the trained soldiers who have been beaten under the best generals that France could produce. And yet, when these men, whose trade is war, and who, from training and *esprit de corps*, will run risks of life which are to civilians incomprehensible, yield to stern necessity, and surrender rather than die, the deluded citizens of Paris imagine that men having no military qualities or habits at all will die to the last man on the Paris fortifications, rather than allow the serried legions of the Red Prince to parade the streets of Paris. . . ."

This is, however, a poor specimen of the style in which most of the letters are written, a style full of color and animation. Many of the letters equal in descriptive execution the finest delineations of a similar character in novels, or, say, in Carlyle's "Frederick the Great." Thus we read of the Prussian march through Lorraine:

"More than a hundred and fifty thousand men, full of confidence, flushed with victory, and splendidly organized, are about to beat up the quarters of the French. Three or four columns are marching abreast on some of the roads. Two go by the road itself, and in some cases two more move through the fields to right and left. . . . Great are the 'blocks' and crushes, tremendous the swearing at critical corners. . . . Wheels are rumbling and whips are cracking along many a road. Columns are halted to rest in some places, and there may be seen the bright bivouac fire twinkling in the fields, or long lines of horses standing silently at supper. Though many columns are halted, others are moving on. The road is still alive with military preparation. . . . It is a pretty sight to see the Lancers or Dragoons who lead the invasion trotting over hill and dale, with every nerve strained to detect the possible foe. There is an impressive force about the advance of the dusty and tired infantry—the murmur of many voices, and tramp of many feet, passing forward like a storm sighing in the woods. Even the weight and slowness of the guns has its own peculiar dignity. They are deadly weapons in charge of determined fighting men. But the innumerable columns of supply, the baggage and ammunition, the food and provender, are very prosaic, though very necessary. There are miles of hay wagons—a good omen for cavalry horses. Farther on are other miles of bread wagons, of bacon and beef wagons. Horned cattle are led along by the score to become beef in due time; clothes and equipments, medicines and blankets, are brought rumbling on into France. If the people were astonished at the earlier stages of the journey, they are now simply bewildered, beyond all power of recovery. An avalanche has fallen upon them."

The accounts of the siege of Metz, which are the fullest, particularly abound in what we might call war-sketches after nature. The description of the battle of Sedan is a masterpiece, probably well known to most of our readers. It is to be regretted that the book has received no better revision than that generally bestowed upon collections of a merely ephemeral value. Thus we find "600,000 troops" for 80,000 (p. viii.); "Seventh Corps" for Second Corps (p. 337); "Voigths" (p. 272), "Voigts Rhetz" (277), and "Voight Rhetz" (p. 413), for Voigt-Rhetz; "Mars-le Tours" for Mars-la-Tour (p. 62); "Franseyks" for Fransecky (p. 420); "Fourmichon;" "Podbrelski;" and such barbarous German as the following: *militaire zug; gefangenzug; du wunderschön stadt; Frederick Carl; in himmel.*

Love and Life in Norway. Translated from the Norwegian of Björnstjerne Björnsen, by the Hon. Augusta Bethell and Augusta Plesner. With illustrations. (New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 1870.)—*The Flying Mail.* By M. Goldschmidt.—*Old Olaf.* By Magdalene Thoresen.—*The Railroad and the Churchyard.* By Björnstjerne Björnsen. Translated by Carl Larsen. (Boston: Sever, Francis & Co. 1870.)—Readers whose admiration for Björnsen, kindled by the charming story of "Arne," was perhaps a little cooled by what seemed the inferior merit of the "Fisher-Maiden," will be glad to find in "Love and Life in Norway" a work which is nearly as delightful as "Arne" itself. Of its two translators, one shared with Mr. Power in the labor of rendering "Arne" into English. That translation was an almost perfect piece of literary workmanship, in which the English-speaking reader lost none of the meaning, and wonderfully little of the beauty and vigor, of the original. Apparently Miss Plesner has not been so fortunate this time in the choice of her co-worker. The story of "Synnöre Solbakken," or, as the translators for some incomprehensible reason have renamed it, "Love and Life in Norway," is in itself so charming that nothing but the clumsiest manipulation could have made it less than attractive, and to such a charge this translation is by no means open. It lacks, however, the delicacy and finish which distinguished the joint work of Mr. Power and Miss Plesner; the poems are by no means so well rendered, and there are here and there errors in translation which look like carelessness. Passing over that on page 15, by which the word "kvaern," or mill, is translated "queen" (perhaps a proof-reader's error for "quern"), so that we read of a *queen* who grinds salt at the bottom of the sea, we have on page 48 "syglinge," saplings, translated by *weaklings*, and one rather absurd blunder is perpetrated on page 114, where Ingrid tells Synnöre that Thorbjörn lies on his back in bed, continually turning his eyes to "the little picture of St. John you once gave him," which hangs in the window. The original says that he lies with his eyes turned to the window, where "the little toy you once gave him on St. Hans's day" (midsummer-day) "hangs turning round and round." As a whole, however, the translation must be called a good one, and the story itself, for beauty and picturesqueness, hardly suffers by comparison with "Arne." Synnöre is perhaps hardly so charming as Eli Baardsdatter, and there is no scene in this book that makes so unique an impression as that in which Arne's mother displays to Eli her son's hidden treasures, and with timid maternal cunning tries to secure for him a prize that is already his without his knowing it. In this story the interest centres on the hero, Thorbjörn, whose impetuous temper, a little aggravated by the mistaken harshness of a father who still loves him passionately, is finally brought under control by the great influence which his love for Synnöre has over him. It is the way in which the story is told, and the beauty of isolated scenes, such as that in which Thorbjörn and his father come to Synnöre's parents to beg for her hand, or that in which the pair of lovers first acknowledge their passion, which make the book so charming. In the first chapter, too, the passage which describes Thorbjörn's state of mind while he is expecting his father to punish him for breaking a window, is worth quoting for its felicitous fidelity to nature:

"But Thorbjörn felt considerably smaller when Aslak was gone. He felt frightfully bad in his stomach, and his hands were so clammy, that they stuck to the book when he touched it. Oh! if only mother would not tell father when he came home! but as for begging her not to tell, that he could not bring himself to do. Everything around him looked strange, and the house-clock said 'stick, stick—stick, stick!' He must get up at the window and look over at Solbakken. This alone was unchanged, as it lay there, calm as ever, covered with snow sparkling in the sunshine, and laughing with all its windows—and certainly there was not one of them broken. The smoke curled up from the chimney-pots pertly and merrily, and he felt sure that there, too, they were cooking for the church-goers. And Synnöre? ah! she, no doubt, was looking out for her father too, and for her there would be no thrashing. He did not know what to do with himself, and suddenly became so loving to his sisters that there seemed no end to it. To Ingrid he was so kind that he gave her the shining button which Aslak had given him. She threw her arms round his neck, and he threw his arms round hers.

"'Dear, darling Ingrid, art thou angry with me?'

"'No, Thorbjörn, dear; you may throw the snow at me just as much as you like.'

"But now somebody was heard in the porch, knocking and stamping the snow off his feet. It was the father, sure enough, and he seemed gentle and kind, which made it all the worse.

"'Well!' he said, looking round, and it was wonderful that the clock did not come rattling down. The mother set out the dinner.

"'How are you getting on here?' he asked, sitting down and taking up a spoon. Thorbjörn looked at his mother till the tears came into his eyes.

"'Oh! pretty well,' she answered, but oh! so slowly! and she had a mind to say more, that he could plainly see. 'I gave Aslak leave to go out,' she added.

"'That's all well so far,' thought Thorbjörn, and took to playing with Ingrid as if he had no thought for anything else in the whole world. Surely, never before had his father been so long at dinner. Thorbjörn began at last to count every mouthful, but when he came to the fourth, he wished to see how much he could reckon up between that and the fifth mouthful, and so the account broke. At length the father

rose and went out. 'The panes! the panes!' tinkled in h ɛ ears, and he looked up to see if those in the room were unbroken. Yes, they were all whole. And now the mother also left the room. Thorbjörn took little Ingrid in his arms, and said in a voice so soft that she stared at him in amazement:

"'We two will play Gold Queen in the meadow, won't we?'

"That she would willingly do, and he began to sing, his legs trembling under him the while. . . . The play was at its height when the father came in, and fixed his eyes on the boy, who pressed Ingrid closer in his arms, and did not tumble off the chair. The father turned away and said nothing; half an hour passed, and he had still said nothing. Thorbjörn was half-inclined, and yet did not dare, to feel easy. He did not at all know what to think when at bedtime father himself helped to undress him, and again he began to tremble a little. Then the father patted his head and stroked his cheek; he had not done such a thing for ever so long; and the boy grew so warm at heart and all over him that his fears melted away like ice before the sunbeams. He got into bed—he hardly knew how—and since he could not give vent to his joy by singing and shouting, he crossed his hands quietly on his breast, said the Lord's Prayer backwards and forwards six times softly to himself, and felt, as he dropped asleep, that after all there was no one on God's green earth he loved so dearly as that father of his."

In the collection of stories translated by Mr. Larsen, there are two or three by Björnsen which are all pleasant and characteristic, but not specially noticeable. "The Flying Mail," by M. Goldschmidt, is a story marked by the imaginative Scandinavian sentimentality, but gives no adequate impression of its author's real power. Mrs. Thoresen's "Old Olaf" might be readily mistaken for a story by Björnsen himself. Its author has won a good deal of reputation in Scandinavian literary circles as a writer of dramatic criticisms. The drama holds an extremely high place in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, and much of the current literature attaches itself in one way or another to the stage. It is for this reason, probably, that the "Fisher-Maiden" has been more highly rated at home than abroad. The long discussion about the theatre, which in the opinion of Björnsen's foreign critics rather marred the book, was felt at home to increase its value greatly.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1871.

The Week.

THERE was tacked on to the Civil Service Appropriation Bill, in the very last hour of the Forty-first Congress, a section which authorizes the President to make rules prescribing the qualifications of Government employees, and providing the means of testing the fitness of candidates and regulating the nature and length of their tenure of office. This imposes on the President a serious responsibility, which he is bound not to shirk, and which he can use to purify the service to a considerable extent. Mr. Jenckes, who has worked so hard in this cause, may be cordially congratulated on having witnessed this triumph of his ideas at the close of his Congressional term.

The report of the Congressional Committee appointed to investigate the affairs of the New York Custom-house has been published during the week. It is impossible to enumerate here the various abuses discovered, or the special remedies proposed for them. Collector Murphy managed to deny that he made many appointments in obedience to the applications of senators or representatives, but this he has never been charged with. What he is charged with is having undertaken the management of the Custom-house, not mainly with a view to the efficient, economical collection of the public revenue, but to the bolstering up of the Republican party in this city, and with having made appointments and dismissals with reference to men's political activity rather than to their honesty and ability; and this he will hardly venture to deny. The committee say "they have discovered some pernicious practices affecting the integrity of employees. There are chronic evils which have come down through many years, and are so thoroughly intrenched in the practice of the Custom-house as to impress the committee with the belief that though they may be partially removed by an able and honest Administration, they cannot be wholly eradicated until public offices shall cease to be administered in the interests of politics, and men shall be appointed to office on account of their integrity and capacity to fulfil the duties devolving upon them in public business. In the view of the committee, the Custom-house of New York, as well as all other departments of the Government, should be administered on the same principles upon which private business is conducted."

To conduct public business on the same principles on which private business is conducted is, however, just the thing politicians do not want to do. Mr. Boutwell wishes to use the Government offices in the Treasury to help young men to get an education for the ministry, or for medicine, or for the bar, and others wish to use them to reward faithful electioneering service; others, again, to nourish "enthusiasm" for the party in power. Nearly all Congressmen want to use them to help them in retaining their own seats, and a considerable portion of the public, which takes no interest in politics, would fain treat Government offices as charitable institutions to furnish refuges to the old or infirm or unsuccessful. The hopeless view which the politicians are disposed to take of fraud and incompetency in the public service is very amusing to those who have seen the same persons pouring out their souls on the stump about the grand destiny of man on this continent. Mr. Boutwell thinks examinations would be of no use, because they would not prevent young men from giving way to the temptation offered by the chance of sudden wealth. Mr. Murphy, being asked what he thought as to the remedy for certain frauds in the Custom-house, answered vaguely and sadly, "that we should have to go back to Adam and make man perfect to prevent them altogether." Nothing that will not make a clean sweep of sin will satisfy these purists. But Mr. Grinnell testified that "the only true and economical way to prosecute the public business" was to prosecute it "on the same principles as private business." Mr. Palmer, the appraiser, thought the same thing, and acknowledged that removing employees on account of their political opinions was injurious to the service—was "not in keeping with the genius of our institutions," as being a species of persecution "tending to destroy liberty of political action." It ought to be mentioned that all attempts made in the course of the investigation, even in the Leet case, to connect the President either with corrupt practices or the use of his influence to have anybody employed in the Custom-house who was accused of corrupt practices, failed.

The murderer of a negro was recently taken from jail in Kentucky by an armed band, and set at liberty. So Judge Pryor, in charging the Grand Jury of Frankfort County, in which the outrage took place, took occasion to explain the matter. There is a Kentucky statute which prohibits the reception of negro testimony, but when negro testimony is refused by the State courts, the Federal courts take hold of the case; and it was to prevent the trial of this murderer by the Federal courts after the State Grand Jury had thrown out the bill against him, that the rescue took place. Judge Pryor, while strongly condemning the State legislation which excludes negro testimony, lays down some curious doctrine as to the political character of the act of giving evidence. He says it is no right at all, but a duty or obligation imposed by the State; and if the State does not ask him to perform it, or refuses to let him, he has no more reason to complain than, we suppose, if it refused to let him pay his taxes. So that if a man punches your head, and you offer to bear witness against him, nobody else having been by, the District-Attorney releases you from a burden by not letting you appear. The only person in this case, Judge Pryor says, who is deprived of any right, or threatened with the deprival of any right, is the murderer, inasmuch as he is entitled to be tried by the State courts; so that the mob, in carrying him off, were defending the State constitution from Federal encroachments.

Indeed, the Kentucky mind seems to be a good deal confused just now on the whole subject of rights and duties, inasmuch as the State is overrun by bodies of Ku-klux, who apparently suppose themselves to be engaged in the administration of an improved system of jurisprudence, which, however, must differ widely from that of the rest of the civilized world, as it permits robbery and murder and the stoppage of the mails. Indeed, the right or duty, whichever it is, of the mail-carrier to carry the mails, is so seriously questioned by these jurists that the Postmaster-General has been obliged to suspend the line between Louisville and Lexington, and the people along this route are now dependent on expresses for their means of communication. Of course the Governor is not likely to call for Federal assistance in keeping the peace, but we presume that when the mails are stopped, the President can see to it that order is restored without asking the Governor's leave. If things do not soon change for the better in some of the Southern States, we fear that the Spanish-American type will begin to show itself among their politicians, and that is one degree worse than even the New York City type.

The financial markets have witnessed an eventful week. The Treasury debt statement, showing a decrease for the month of over seven millions of dollars, promptly followed the announcement of the intended heavy bond purchases and sales of gold. The evident desire of the Secretary to keep money easy, and to advance the price of bonds, in order to aid his funding schemes, was taken advantage of by the speculative fraternity to run up the prices of stocks of every description, and even the outside public was induced by it to become heavy buyers, at a great and rapid advance in values. The Secretary's gigantic funding machinery has, however, as far as American markets are concerned, proved a failure. The rise in the Bank of England rate, though probably more due to uneasiness concerning cotton

speculations, is said to be partly intended to frustrate the scheme for the European markets as well. The Alabama railroad interest, in spite of a great flourish, has not been paid as yet; and the State of Missouri seems bound to follow Louisiana and all the other reckless States, by issuing fresh loans of seven or eight millions to new railroad enterprises.

Trade, during the week, has been quiet, steady, and small, the prominent feature of all business being indisposition to buy more than required by immediate needs. The receipts of cotton, although necessarily declining, continue large, and the exports for the week reach the high figure of 140,000 bales, worth about ten millions of dollars. But under the pressure of heavy stocks, and owing to the failure of the speculation based upon peace, prices have again sharply declined, and are now lower than at any time since 1861. Breadstuffs continue firm, both abroad and here, and with the opening of the canals we may witness an active revival of shipments, since we have, what has not occurred for years, a surplus of both wheat and corn for export. Cured meats are lower, and fresh meat again considerably lower—in fact, much below prices of any time since 1863, and lower in spite of comparatively small stock, a very significant indication of the condition of general prosperity. The knowledge of this great decline does not, however, appear to have reached the ears of the retailers. Sugar has been lower, but other groceries continue firm. Real estate is feverish, and weak holders are anxious, but there is no visible pressure to sell.

We have given elsewhere the principal points of a letter touching the professional conduct of the Erie counsel which General F. C. Barlow has addressed to the New York *Tribune*, in advance of the action of the Bar Association, of which he is a prominent member. We commend it to the careful perusal of all men and women in this State who own any property, even if they care nothing for public morals and for the credit of the bench and bar. We hope, too, all ministers and teachers will read it, and explain to everybody under their influence what a shameful story it is, and what a disgrace to the community is the state of things it reveals." We trust they will also thank General Barlow for taking on himself a duty from which so many of his brethren shrink, and which is in its very nature disagreeable to the last degree. There is a strong disposition at the bar to wait for judicial corruption to be put down by a windmill, or hydraulic ram, or some other self-acting machine; and we are, therefore, all under deep obligations to any man who offers "to pay with his person." General Barlow has done this before now on bloodier, but, we say it in all sincerity, hardly more important, fields.

In South Carolina things grow no better. Governor Scott, in asking for assistance, says the Ku-klux have a regular organization, with staff and line officers and gradations of rank, and act as a regular military force; and he declares that the legislature had to have the roads to the capital picketed, while they were sitting recently, to prevent themselves from being "gobbled up." This is all horrible, but we have no hesitation in saying that it is the not unnatural consequence of the caricature on government which has been kept up in that State for the last four years. Nothing can well justify mob law, but when a civilized community finds itself subjected to the rule of its most ignorant members, aided or managed by knavish adventurers, all rational men know that mob law is not unlikely to result. Society in the South is in an unnatural state, and it is kept in an unnatural state by a policy of proscription which has long ceased to have any excuse. The proper men to legislate for the South are those in whom the community has most confidence, and as long as they are prevented we shall have trouble. The weak point of the complaints which come from some of the States about the Ku-klux is that those who make them have all along declared that proscription was necessary to their protection. It now appears, however, that it is no protection at all.

The territories ceded by France to Germany, as specified in a special despatch to the London *Telegraph* purporting to give the text of the preliminaries of peace signed at Versailles, are, with the only important exception of Belfort and its environs, the same which the conquerors, months ago, marked out to form the "Gouvernement" of Alsace, and have since separately governed. The line of demarcation begins on the southern border of Luxemburg, west of the Moselle, and runs to the vicinity of Briey; thence, with considerable windings, to Gorze; skirts the southern boundary of the Department of Moselle; divides the Department of Meurthe into two unequal parts, running southeast to the neighborhood of Schirmeck, on the borders of Meurthe, Vosges, Haut-Rhin, and Bas-Rhin; follows the Vosges Mountains and the western boundary of Alsace until it reaches the Canton of Belfort, whence it passes diagonally to the Canton of Delle, and terminates south of Delle, reaching the Swiss frontier. This line gives to Germany the whole of Alsace—the Departments of Haut-Rhin and Bas-Rhin—with the exception of Belfort in the southwestern corner of it; three out of the four arrondissements of the Lotharingian Department of Moselle—Thionville, Metz, and Sarreguemines, France retaining Briey with the fortress of Longwy; and two out of the five arrondissements of the Lotharingian Department of Meurthe—Château-Salins and Sarrebourg, France retaining Lunéville, Nancy, and Toul. The ceded territory embraces about six thousand English square miles—that is, about one-thirty-fifth of the area of France, not including Algeria—and contains about one million six hundred thousand inhabitants—that is, about one-twenty-fifth of her population.

Immediately after the ratification of the preliminaries by the French National Assembly, and in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty, the Germans began the evacuation of the Departments of Calvados, Orne, Sarthe, Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher, Eure-et-Loir, Loiret, and Yonne, and of all portions of Eure, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, and Aube lying south of the Seine. They also surrender the Paris forts on the north bank of the Seine, and the French capital, thus entirely freed of the presence of the invaders, is to be garrisoned by forty thousand French, the remainder of the French forces retiring south of the Loire, or holding the northern fortresses, until the definitive declaration of peace. The Germans are gradually to abandon the territories occupied north of the Seine, on the payment by France of at least five hundred million francs of the indemnity. After the payment of $400,000,000, their temporary occupation is to be restricted to the Departments of Marne, Ardennes, Meuse, Meurthe, and Vosges, in Champagne and French Lorraine, and after the payment of another $400,000,000, their army in France is not to exceed fifty thousand men. The whole indemnity of $1,000,000,000 is to be paid within three years. The army of occupation is to be supported by the French Government. The departments occupied will be governed by French officials, under the control of the German commanders. The inhabitants of the ceded territories are to enjoy the benefit of favorable arrangements, if determined to emigrate into France. Measures are taken for the speedy return of the French prisoners and interned soldiers from Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland.

The conditions of the German entry into Paris formed an incidental part of the peace stipulations agreed upon at Versailles, and took place in perfect conformity with them. The Germans entered Paris early on the morning of Wednesday, March 1, in two columns, numbering together thirty thousand men, and advancing in converging lines from the Porte de Neuilly and Point du Jour, respectively, to the Place de la Concorde—the one marching through the Avenue de la Grande Armée, the Place de l'Étoile, and the Avenue des Champs Elysées, and the other along the northern banks of the Seine. The triangle formed by these two lines and that portion of the *enceinte* extending from the Porte de Neuilly to Point du Jour was all that was allotted by the terms of the convention to be occupied by the triumphant forces. All approaches to it from the rest of Paris were guarded by French troops, and partly barricaded, in order to prevent a collision between the less cautious portions of the populace and of the invaders. The appearance and the discipline of the Germans were such as might be expected on so grand an occasion, and the Parisians, exhorted to be calm and dig-

nified, by proclamations from Thiers and Vinoy, as well as by the journals of all shades, submitted to the humiliation with good grace. The Emperor William, Moltke, and Bismarck shone by their absence on one side, and the journals of Paris by their non-appearance on the other. The speedy ratification of the preliminaries of peace by the Bordeaux Assembly fortunately soon delivered both the conquerors and the conquered of the annoyance and tedium of the strained position in which they were placed by the strange fortunes of war. Copies of the ratified treaty having been signed and exchanged on Friday, the 3d, the evacuation of Paris by the Germans was begun on the evening of that day, and completed on the morning of the following.

Whether intended to have that effect or not, the occupation of Paris undoubtedly hastened the ratification of the preliminaries in Bordeaux. Thiers laid the treaty before the Assembly on the last of February, declaring that himself and his colleagues had gone to the limit of their responsibility, and that the representatives of the people must be accountable for the rest; none of them should abstain from voting; nor should there be any delay, for delay might be disastrous to Paris and the country. The vote on the treaty took place on the following day, after the hearing of a report by the Consultative Committee, recommending the adoption, and after a stormy debate, during which a resolution decreeing the fall of the Empire, and stigmatizing Napoleon III. as the author of the calamities of France, was adopted by enthusiastic acclamation. The result, as reported by the Cable, was: five hundred and forty-six votes for, and one hundred and seven against, the ratification. The aggregate of these votes, however, being short by exactly one hundred of the whole number of the members of the Assembly, it remains to be seen whether the difference is owing to so many absences and abstentions from voting, or to the dropping by error of a hundred yeas or nays. During the debate, the Assembly was guarded by troops. In a subsequent sitting, Rochefort and some other representatives resigned their seats, protesting against the cession of Alsace and East Lorraine as illegal, while Félix Pyat declared that he did not resign, but that he would never enter the Assembly until the cession was rescinded. Soon after, we hear, several Radical members left for Paris, probably to receive the ovation due to self-imposed martyrdom, and to prepare a different kind of reception for their ratifying colleagues, should they dare to transfer the seat of the Assembly to the Radical capital, which is a question under debâte.

England is occupied thoroughly with the discussion of the Army Reform Bill, but the renewal of the disturbances in Ireland, in spite of the admirable working of the Land Act, is driving the Ministry into asking Parliament for fresh powers of repression. Hitherto it has been only jurors who had anything to fear from malcontents, now the lives of the judges going the circuit are threatened. The disease is somewhat similar in character to that by which another branch of the same family of politicians is afflicted in Paris. When deputies resign their seats in the French Assembly, as some of them have done, because the majority decided contrary to their wishes, and the National Guard hoists the black flag, and retires gloriously to the heights of Montmartre with its mitrailleuses, after the treaty of peace is signed, and the Prussians, whom they never could be got to attack while the war was raging, are walking about the streets of the capital, they are afflicted with much the same malady as the Fenians—impracticability, which may be called the small-pox of politics.

It can hardly be said that the future is any more promising than it was a week ago. The Paris papers, even the most sensible, talk of "vengeance" as one of the great objects for which the French nation is now to live and labor, which means, of course, the continued devotion of the national mind to military preparations, and the continued exaltation of the military ideal. After the catastrophe of 1815, to "venger Waterloo" became the great object of French ambition; and forty years' talking, writing, and singing about this at last made possible the *coup d'état* of 1851. It is greatly to be feared that we are now about to witness a similar process with a similar result. A nation which lives for "vengeance" cannot wreak it. To be able to take its revenge, it has to give up all thoughts of it, and turn its mind to industry and peace, for it is through industry and peace that strength comes. The free-traders are probably about to suffer the consequences of accepting a free-trade policy from an arbitrary imperial decree, Thiers, who is a rabid protectionist, having appointed his old ally in the Corps Législatif, Pouyer-Quertier, Minister of Finance, and they will probably make short work of the treaty with England.

The full reports by mail of the debates in the Italian Chamber of Deputies indicate a great division of sentiment, and a singular weakness on the part of the Ministry in regard to the settlement to be made with the Pope. There was first the Government bill indicating the general policy which the Government had marked out for itself. This was referred to a committee, which reported another bill as an amendment, and on the latter the debates were conducted, the Government yielding on minor points of principle, and generally on the phraseology, and resisting where they saw proper. The difference in the two measures was on the whole considerable, the Government feeling hampered by its international obligations and pledges, and conceding the extreme of immunity and independence to the Pope, while the committee has sought to mitigate the anomaly of a double sovereignty in a constitutional state. Navigation under these conditions among bigoted Papists, enlightened Catholics, Protestants, and free-thinkers of all shades, has naturally not been of the easiest. The majority favored the committee's plan rather than the Ministers', but was not to be counted upon by either. It turned on both when it declined, as the committee proposed, making an open question of the ownership of the Vatican and Lateran, with their art-galleries and library, and declared them national property outright; and it was immediately arrayed against the committee, and in favor of the right of asylum for the Pope's quarters, when the Ministers, who had equally shared the previous discomfiture, determined to make a Cabinet question of this article. We are yet without the details of the Senate's amendments to the patchwork of the Deputies, and only know that the Pope scornfully rejects the guarantees *in toto*, as well he may, considering that the next Parliament may undo what this one has done.

A striking illustration of the wide ramifications of all great commercial and political movements is furnished at this moment by the condition of the bullion markets of the world. The war of secession deprived England of her usual supply of American cotton, and induced her to foster and force the production of this staple in India, the only other important source of supply. The first requisite for its production was capital, which was sent principally in the shape of gold and silver coin and bullion, and this coin and bullion was drawn chiefly from the United States, the only country at that time able to spare it, in consequence of having suspended specie payments. In the first years of the war a large amount of gold and silver was sent from New York to England, and then transshipped to the East; later on, the bulk was sent from San Francisco direct by the Pacific mail steamers. But our two last cotton crops have again become large enough to supply England's wants the same as in former years, and her importation of Eastern cotton is diminishing. As a natural consequence, the flow of bullion is likewise changed. Little, if any, is being sent to India from San Francisco, while large amounts are returning to England direct, both in silver and gold, and we should not be surprised to see at an early day the strange sight of California becoming the recipient of coin shipments *from* India and China, followed by fresh crises, panics, commercial and political disturbances throughout the East, where monetary derangements disorganize society with a rapidity, vehemence, and fatality of which we can scarcely form a conception. The derangement in the food supply, brought about by the increased area of land devoted to cotton, cost hundreds of thousands of lives—a famine whose horrors make those of Ireland of 1846 and '47 seem insignificant. A monetary derangement brought on by a drain of specie, might produce results even more widespread.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

We print elsewhere two letters from two different observers, looking on from different points of view, which, put together, give a tolerably accurate notion of the state of things at Washington. One of them deals more particularly with the prospects of the Republican party, which, it must be admitted, are not bright. Indeed, the peculiar control of affairs which the party has exercised ever since 1861 ceased on Saturday last with the loss of the two-thirds vote. Its majority, too, is so torn with dissensions that it may safely be said that the only questions on which it could be depended on with certainty are questions not likely to come up. The matters which now excite most interest are matters on which the party, as such, cannot be said to have any policy or any unity of sentiment, and first and foremost amongst these are the position and prospects of the Administration. Indeed, it would be difficult to point out a single question now occupying, or likely to occupy, the public mind which Congress is not likely to debate with reference mainly to its influence on the political fortunes of General Grant. This is true of the *Alabama* question; it is true of the San Domingo question and of the civil service question, and, though in a less degree, of the financial question. Of course, it may be said that this is a state of things which comes about towards the close of every Presidential term when the President is known to be a candidate for renomination, and to have some chance of getting it. But the peculiarity of General Grant's case is that he has managed to excite an amount of hostility among Congressmen for which there is nothing in the state of feeling about him out-of-doors to account. Indeed, none of the attacks made on him have seriously damaged him in the estimation of the country at large. The popular faith in his honesty is still very strong, and honesty, in the popular estimation, very naturally and very properly, is allowed to cover a multitude of sins. His mistakes have been of a kind which wear a trifling appearance at a distance, but which, to those who are in official contact with him, are exasperating; and hence it is that, since the first year of his Administration, he has not had any strong following in Congress.

The country expected from him, of all things, administrative reforms and indifference to "political" considerations, in the technical sense of the term. In the beginning, he set about satisfying these expectations; but, finding himself pertinaciously resisted, he lost heart, and, instead of appealing to the people for support, which would have been enthusiastically afforded him, he abandoned the *rôle* of a reformer and took up that of a regular politician, for which he was totally unfitted both by nature and experience. He got rid of such of his immediate adherents as the party managers found most obnoxious, and took into his confidence such men as Cameron and Forney and Butler. He had apparently given up all interest in the very thing for which the public looked to him with most confidence—civil service reform—but, being alarmed by the fuss made about Cox's resignation, threw a tub to the whale by a recommendation in its favor in his Message. How little meaning this had, however, was shown by "Tom Murphy's" appointment as collector of this port—Mr. Murphy being a man for whom no reformed service could possibly provide a place.

Finding the field of internal administration so very thorny, and his unpopularity seeming to gain ground, he turned his attention to foreign affairs. He is far too honest a man and too good a soldier to stir up a war wantonly to help him out of party difficulties. So he turned his attention first to the annexation of San Domingo, and, more recently, to the settlement of the *Alabama* question. We do not need to discuss the merits of the San Domingo scheme. Whether it be good or bad, it is safe to say that it is about the last thing the country expected the Administration to give its whole energies to. If, in 1868, the voters could have been asked what they expected Grant's Administration to do for the country, some would have said they expected him to get us back to specie payments; others, to fund the national debt at a lower rate of interest; others, to pacify the South; others, to reform the tariff and the internal taxes; and others, to reform the civil service; and others, again, to settle our disputes with England; but we venture to say that nobody would ever have guessed that the great work of the Administration was to be the annexation of one end of the island of San Domingo, and that to this everything else was to be subordinated; or, if he had, he would have been laughed at. The whole thing has been a perfect surprise to the country, and the sending out of the Commission, though it has helped to vindicate the President's motives, has done so at considerable cost to his reputation for good sense. The *Alabama* matter, too, he has not grappled with. The Administration contented itself for two years with repeating once more the arguments which Adams, Bemis, and Sumner had worn threadbare, but left the matter exactly where it was, declining to state what it wanted as satisfaction, and the approaches which have brought about the sitting of the Commission at Washington have come from England. Upon no point in that vast subject known as the financial question has the President taken any decided ground whatever, or, indeed, does he seem to have any strong opinions. On the income tax, he is said to differ completely from the Secretary of the Treasury, and his views on the nature of foreign trade, as revealed in his San Domingo messages, made it plain that to this field of knowledge he had given but little attention.

We shall probably have some decided action from the new Congress with regard to the tariff, but its action upon all other subjects is very likely to be influenced by the approach of a new Presidential term, which is the same thing as saying that the President is not likely to carry anything in which he shows a strong interest. We shall be only too thankful if this does not affect the result of the labors of the High Commission. A successful—that is, a satisfactory—settlement would be something for the Administration to carry into the canvass, and that it needs something is undeniable.

The great need of the country now is the appearance in the Executive chair of somebody able to give weight and dignity to, or, in short, to make an issue of, some one of the great reforms which are awaiting popular attention. Parties are evidently getting into a state of disorganization, and need remarshalling on new lines and for the work of *general* legislation. It is melancholy, but true, as a correspondent remarked in writing to us the other day, that the national legislature shows itself incapable or unwilling to deal thoroughly with a single great evil except slavery, and it was rather forced into dealing with that by the outrageous behavior of the slaveholders than by a settled conviction of its own that it had to be dealt with. Ever since slavery passed out of the political arena, Congress has been occupied in passing special acts or providing privileges for special interests. Not one of the great problems by which the public mind is vexed has it attempted to solve, and no serious attempt has been made by the Executive to push it up to its work; and this we hold to be one of the most important duties of the Executive in the present state of things. A commissioner having been appointed to supply information with regard to the industrial resources of the country, so as to furnish a basis for a new and revised system of taxation adapted to the wants of American society, the President dismissed him as soon as his reports began to excite interest, and has never given any sign of a desire to have a real *system* of taxation framed. The questions of the railroad monopolies, of the condition of the civil service, and of the currency have been put by with the same air of indifference, and in the meantime the confusion grows greater, and the uncertainty as to what position the party in power will eventually take up continues. We cannot help doubting whether, when people come to ask themselves why they re-elect General Grant, they will be completely satisfied with the answer that he means well and does not steal. This is a standpoint which every great nation speedily passes by. There is nothing more needed at Washington than the appearance of some influence strong enough to force a great reform on Congressional attention, and keep Congress pegging away at it till it is disposed of; and one great reform at a time is as much as the public is competent to deal with.

THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE COAL TROUBLE.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE COMPANIES.

For twenty years prior to 1862 the price of coal ruled with remarkable steadiness in the neighborhood of $3 60 per ton, the regular wholesale price of Schuylkill coal at the wharf of Philadelphia never, during that period—with the exception of parts of 1854, '55, and '56—averag-

ing above $3 90 nor below $3 20. During the whole of that period the mine-owners and mine-operators were never weary of assuring their friends and the public that their business was always unprofitable, and frequently disastrous. Nevertheless, strange as it may seem, fresh mines were being constantly opened, new companies being formed in rapid succession, additional railroad connections projected and built, and the production of coal increased year by year, *without one single interruption*, from one million tons in 1842 to five millions in 1852, and eight millions in 1862, while it is close upon seventeen millions in 1870. Lest some ingenuous person thoughtlessly accuse the coal-miners of those days of injudiciously sacrificing their interests to the public welfare, it will be necessary to explain how a large and important industry, although wretchedly unprofitable, can nevertheless be expanded and increased year by year.

All loose and reckless assertion to the contrary notwithstanding, the area of the anthracite coal-beds is so large that many years will elapse before they are fully taken up. Twenty years ago, mile after mile of the prettiest farms and wildest mountain forests in the United States covered the most important coal-mines, and were then worth from fifty cents to fifty dollars an acre. The gradual increase in the demand for coal would naturally have advanced the value of these lands, but not for many years to anything like their present prices. Indeed, the *bona-fide* owner of such property never received more than a very small portion of the price paid by the purchaser. Generally the property was nominally sold at a moderate advance over its farm value to some speculator, who, precisely as has been at all times the practice of gold and silver-mine speculators, got up a stock company in Philadelphia, New York, or elsewhere, and sold the property to the company at an enormous figure, frequently ten or twenty times the real cost. The profit thus realized by these speculators and their confederates was for years the main incentive to the creation of new companies and the opening of new mines, during the very time when older companies were earning nominal dividends, actually losing money, or in a state of chronic bankruptcy. Of course, each new company, in order to justify its directors in paying enormous prices for valuable mines, was obliged to work the mines and show how productive they were, and to turn out, if not large dividends to gladden the hearts of the stockholders, at least large piles of coal to blind their judgments; and thus, at the very time when the company should have been getting a high price for coal in order to earn dividends on the fictitious capital invested in the pockets of the projectors and confederate directors, it was necessarily ruining its own market and depressing the price by a steady production in excess of the wants of the community. Of course, coal-mining, though steadily increasing, was not over-profitable to the *bona-fide* stockholders, though rather more than profitable to the projectors and directors aforesaid.

It is evident that under these circumstances the hired laborers of these companies could not prosper greatly; they were truly crushed between the upper and nether millstone, and prior to 1863 they were about the worst-paid class of workmen in the United States. But as the companies themselves were not making money, but were continually becoming involved, and as besides the coal regions offered many other advantages of cheap sustenance and varied employment, the working miners were, though a rough lot, not specially nor permanently troublesome. The first serious trouble in the coal regions arose from an entirely different cause.

As soon as communication with the mining regions furnished a new opening for railroad enterprises, the railroad schemes were taken in hand by the same men, or the same class of men, who had acquired experience, skill, and money by their manipulations of the mining companies; and similar tactics were employed to make money out of new roads. Of course the value of the mines and the price of coal depended largely upon the means of getting it to market, so that every one interested in the mines became an eager promoter of the roads, and if the roads were only set running, no one enquired too scrupulously how the thing was done. Roads were thus built, costing in reality but one-half or three-quarters of the first mortgage bonds issued against them, and were then saddled with an additional stock capital equal to the bonds, making the nominal cost of the road three or four times as large as its real cost, the difference being but an indifferent reward for the self-sacrificing projectors and their confederates in the board of directors. Of course, the road was expected to earn dividends on the twenty-five dollars of real cost, as well as on the seventy-five dollars of fictitious cost—and the result necessarily was precisely the same as with the mines: more roads were built than were needed; there was not coal enough carried on any of them to pay dividends on real cost, much less on the fictitious cost; yet the roads must be kept running—reckless competition ensued, the companies at one time carrying freight very low, and then again desperately charging exorbitant rates, and entirely refusing to carry coal when the mine-owners were unwilling to submit. Hence incessant quarrels between the railroad companies and the mining companies, first the one striking, then the other striking; one suspending work at the mines to force down freights, the other stopping all trains to compel the mine-owners to come to terms. The result was inevitable. Coal companies broke down, and their property was gradually absorbed by rival companies. Railroad companies broke down, and their roads passed into the hands of large consolidated companies in New York and elsewhere.

The ruin of the railroads was naturally attributed to the quarrels with the mine-owners. To make the railroads independent of the mine-owners, it was decided that the roads must own their own coal-mines, must mine coal enough to be fully employed without carrying a ton for the old mine-owners, their long-time enemies. The great railroad companies became the chief buyers of coal-mines near their existing roads, and built new branches to every point at which they could secure desirable mines or lands. The relations between the two parties, however, did not improve in consequence. On the contrary, the struggle became more and more embittered, the railroads becoming more exacting as they became more independent of the old mine-owners, and the latter being almost ruined in their business by the obstacles thrown in their way by the carrying companies, through whom alone they could get their coal to market. The old mine-owners speedily became obliged, in the very struggle for existence, to open new outlets for their coal by becoming themselves builders and owners of railroads, independent of the original railroad companies. Thus, in the struggle to get possession of the carrying trade of the coal regions, the excessive competition for which had caused the ruin of the existing roads, fresh roads were built, necessarily doubling and trebling the ruinous competition for a traffic which was not large enough to keep even the old roads profitably employed. And since each fresh competition diminished the amount which each could get to carry, each road was necessarily forced to open up new mines and more mines, and to bring more coal to market to keep their roads employed. But before these quarrels and all their consequences had fully developed, the war broke out, and with the war came the first complication with the workingmen.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE COMPANIES AND MINERS.

During the general depression preceding the outbreak of the war, the price of coal sank to a lower point than ever before in thirty years; the monthly average for April and May of that year standing at $2 78 for the long ton (of 2,240 lbs.) for the best Schuylkill coal at the wharf in Philadelphia. At these prices even the most favorably situated mines could probably only work at a loss, and production fell off slightly—very slightly; indeed, it is noticeable that 1861 and 1862 are the only years in the entire history of the coal trade in which the production did not exceed that of their immediate predecessors—so steady and uninterrupted has been the growth of this important industry. But with the progress of the war, with the suddenly added demand for the United States navy, and the general increase in business activity everywhere, coming upon a diminished stock and insufficient means, owing to enlistments, etc., to increase the production, the price rapidly advanced. In less than six months it doubled; in fifteen months it quadrupled. From $2 78 in May, 1862, the price rose to $10 75 in August, 1864; and for once every operator, and mine-owner, and

carrying company made money to his heart's content; for once every company declared dividends even on imaginary capital, and such dividends, too, that they were almost ashamed to let them be known, but handed them to their stockholders in various disguises. Of course, the companies and mine-owners, taking into consideration the increased prices of the necessaries of life, and their own increased earnings, immediately raised, doubled, and quadrupled the wages of their workmen. Not exactly! They never once raised the wages of their own accord. In every instance they compelled the men to strike, or to threaten a strike, before they yielded the advance. How just and necessary some advance was no one need be told. Whether the miners exceeded justice in their demands is not now in issue. The fact is, that no advance was yielded to them, except upon compulsion. And from this time dates the present complication with the men. As each strike was made the basis of a fresh advance in the price, and as the mine-owners and operators were making enormous profits, they did not object so much to the rise in the wages as to what they called "the dictation" of the men; and this was especially felt by the great consolidated companies who are at one and the same time miners, carriers, and sellers of coal.

So long as the duty of nine dollars gold a ton on pig-iron put heavy profits into the pockets of the iron-smelters, and steadily increased the number of furnaces at work, the coal trade continued active and the smouldering fire of war between the men and the great companies was not allowed to break into open flames. But when all these powerful stimulants were no longer able to keep consumption up to the level of incessantly increasing production, the struggle recommenced. The markets became glutted, and in the spring of 1868 prices fell as low as they had ever been since 1844, with the sole exception of the temporary panic at the outbreak of the war. If at that time the coal-mining business had been, as it was ten years before, in the hands of a number of smaller operators, the result would have been perfectly simple and natural. The weakest operators, or those whose mines were least favorably situated, would have been obliged to stop producing. Their workmen would have sought other employments, as far as they could, and by a gradual process the trade would have regulated itself.

But among the great companies there were no weak operators. Their mines were all alike favorably situated as far as their traffic was concerned. They all had large capitals invested, large roads to be kept in repair, an immense amount of rolling-stock to be kept running. None of these great companies could or would suspend any part of their works. But meanwhile the wages of the miners must be reduced. In the first place, it was just and proper that they should bear their part of the burden of an unprofitable trade. In the second place, now was the time to show the working miners the hopelessness of their struggle against the great companies. The men argued that a reduction of their wages would not stop the glut of coal; that as long as all the companies continued to work all existing mines and continued to open new ones, there would be an incessant glut, and they would not be able to find a market for their coal, even if the workmen consented to work *without wages*. The workmen did twice submit to reductions, but each time urged the folly of continuing to overload the market, which must end in still further reducing wages to a point at which existence would be impossible. But the companies were determined, and the history of 1868 was a succession of strikes, suspensions, agreements, resumption, and again suspension, accompanied by violent fluctuations in price, and at one time an advance to the very highest figures of war times. The public was duly informed by the companies of all the wickedness of the working miners which had led to this advance. But the public was not informed that the great Pennsylvania companies were, at that time, charging more than double the freight at which the Ohio and Baltimore were carrying bituminous coal over their steep grades and costly bridges, and were daily urging the latter company to "put on at least another dollar a ton," so as to enable all the other companies to get that additional advance. On the twice and thrice watered capitals of these companies, even double freights might not suffice to pay dividends, and what was wanting must be wrung from the consumer at one end of the road or from the working miner at the other. The Baltimore and Ohio refused to accede, to become a party to the conspiracy, and, in the spring of 1860, production, in spite of the long and frequent suspensions in 1869, had again so far outrun consumption that coal had become almost unsalable at the lowest figures known; wages had got down—all the counter-assertions of the companies to the contrary notwithstanding—to an unreasonably low figure, and a complete deadlock was again in prospect.

After vain efforts of the companies to agree among themselves upon a *pro rata* reduction of their traffic, the miners, with great shrewdness, offered a voluntary suspension of thirty days, to enable the companies to work off their accumulated stocks. The offer was accepted, and, *under pretence of this so-called strike*, the companies increased the freight charges over their roads nearly one-half, ran up the price of coal to very high figures, and reaped small fortunes from the suspension. When the thirty days had expired, the companies expected the men to go to work at the old wages; but the men declared, not without an appearance of justice, that if the market price of coal was to depend upon their suspending and resuming work, they were certainly entitled to some portion of the advantages of their action, and they demanded that a price of wages should be fixed at the lowest price for coal, and that, if coal advanced beyond that price, their wages were to advance in proportion, on precisely the same principle on which the companies had invariably enforced a reduction of wages the moment the selling price of coal declined. This was called the "basis system," the supposed lowest price of coal being taken as the basis of wages.

It must be evident to every one that, as between laborer and employer, this basis system had great merit; but it became not only valueless but mischievous when it was to be employed as a regulator of production. The great companies indignantly rejected it. Some submitted after a long struggle. Some have never submitted to this day, preferring to pay the men higher wages rather than recognize the hated basis. But although, in consequence, the strike continued far beyond the original thirty days, averaging, probably, three months for the whole mining regions, the supply for the year was again in excess of the demand; and as soon as work started in the spring of 1870, prices again began to decline, and threatened to go lower than ever. The Reading Railroad Company, which controls the coal trade of the Schuylkill region, refused to abide by its agreement of the previous fall, and demanded that the wages should go lower than the lowest price agreed upon. The men refused at first, but after a four months' strike consented, and resumed work, having exhausted their means. In spite, however, of the four months' suspension of the region which furnishes nearly one-third of the total stock, the supply throughout the year 1870 again continued in excess of the demand, and the price continued to decline, until towards the close of the year the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western, by a reduction of wages, brought about a complete strike throughout the coal regions, the men declaring that there is no hope of peace until all the regions work upon the same basis, and do not directly compete or conflict with one another. They again and again urged the necessity of diminished production as the sole remedy to the present evils, continued production at the present rate being an impossibility. But the companies were unwilling to diminish their production. Their first step, therefore, was to starve the miners into submission. They not only refused to commence work themselves, but in order to prevent all others from working who did not control complete railroad connection with the sea-shore, they repeated their tactics of 1869, *trebled the freights* over all their lines, and cut off from two or three millions of people all supply of coal, in the midst of winter, creating incalculable disturbance to industry, throwing thousands out of employment, and inflicting untold suffering upon tens of thousands of the helpless poor.

The true nature of the evil is this: The country needs to-day about fifteen million tons of anthracite coal per annum. Half-a-dozen companies own mines enough and railroad facilities enough to bring twenty-five million tons to market. In order to earn dividends on their watered railroad stocks and the fictitious values of their mines, they are each one trying to do the whole of the business.

CURIOUS LEGAL INFORMATION FOR THE "ALBANY LAW JOURNAL."

WE recommend that innocent paper, the Albany *Law Journal*—which makes a business of watching, discussing, and reporting the proceedings of the courts of this State, and has reached the conclusion that there is no better foundation for the charges of corruption and misconduct against New York judges than "common report" which the *Nation* has "helped to create and circulate"—to read a letter from General Barlow in the New York *Tribune* of March 7. That letter is the first of a series apparently, and probably before this reaches our readers will have been followed by others. General Barlow takes up the challenge which Mr. D. D. Field gave Mr. Bowles—and which Mr. Bowles, for want of professional acquaintance with the facts, was unable to take up—on the point whether he (Mr. Field) "was consulted beforehand about any transaction whatever of these gentlemen (Fisk, Gould & Co.) to which any exception had been taken." The *Law Journal* will be surprised to hear that General Barlow, taking for his authority the evidence and judgment in the Fisk and Ramsey suit, tried before Judge Smith at Rochester, in November, 1869, makes the following statements:

1. That on a complaint, of which the material allegations were not sworn to, Judge Barnard appointed Mr. W. J. A. Fuller, formerly a clerk in Mr. Field's office, receiver of 3,000 shares of Albany and Susquehanna Railroad stock, belonging to one Groesbeck and others, on the ground that they had been illegally issued by Ramsey, the president of the road, and were therefore invalid, and that on this stock, so declared invalid, the said Fuller went and voted, by direction of Mr. T. G. Shearman, Mr. Field's partner, at an election of directors, at which Fisk was trying to get possession of the road. That order Judge Smith pronounced "in clear conflict with the laws and the settled practice of the court."

2. That in another suit of a similar character, Judge Barnard, on the application of the same counsel, on a complaint of which the material allegations were again not sworn to, granted an *ex-parte* order, enjoining Ramsey from acting as an officer of the company.

3. That in another similar suit, also on a complaint of which the material allegations were not sworn to, the same judge, by another *ex-parte* order, on the application of the same counsel, removed Ramsey from the office of president of the road, and appointed Charles Courter and James Fisk, Jr., receivers—that is, sought to put Fisk, Jr., in possession of the stockholders' property.

4. That in order to grant this injunction, Barnard left his mother very sick at Poughkeepsie, and in response to a telegram came to New York on the evening of August 6, 1869, and, reaching the city at 10.20 P.M., signed the order at the house of a "Mrs. Mansfield Lawlor," in Twenty-third street, frequented by Fisk, within ten minutes afterwards, the order having been sent to him by Messrs. Field & Shearman, through one of their clerks.

5. That immediately after receiving this order, Mr. Fisk, Jr., Mr. T. G. Shearman, Mr. Field, and Mr. Courter started together in a carriage for the Hudson River station, Fisk and Courter going on to Albany to take possession of the road; that, on reaching Albany, they found Mr. Pruyn in possession as receiver appointed by the court at Albany; that Fisk, Jr., thereupon telegraphed to Mr. T. G. Shearman in New York, announcing the fact that Pruyn was in possession; and Mr. Shearman thereupon went before Judge Barnard, and on an affidavit alleging that he had received certain information by telegraph, *obtained from the Judge another injunction, forbidding Pruyn to act as receiver*, or to "make any application, petition, demand, or request about his alleged receivership, except to that court in that action"—that is, except to Barnard himself—the courts at Albany, be it remembered, having already jurisdiction of the case, and the judges being men of unblemished character.

6. That Mr. Shearman actually telegraphed this injunction and "a writ of assistance" to the sheriff at Albany, and the sheriff attempted to execute them *on the telegram*, hours before the documents themselves, with the judge's signature, reached the city—a proceeding which has probably had no parallel in civilized jurisprudence.

7. That the court at Albany granted a stay of the telegraphic proceedings, but Barnard again set aside the stay, or ordered the sheriff to go on and take possession, and there was every prospect of an armed and bloody conflict, when the Governor called out the militia and took possession of the road.

8. That Judge Barnard granted an order arresting Mr. Ramsey, the president, Mr. Phelps, the treasurer, and Mr. Smith, the counsel of the Susquehanna Road, which Judge Smith declares "was procured to be used and was used on the day of election of directors, in aid of the fraudulent purposes of Mr. Fisk and his associates"—namely, to remove these gentlemen from the room, so that they could not be present at the election at which Fisk and his associates were trying to get the Susquehanna road into their hands. They *were* arrested and removed a few minutes before the meeting, but were luckily able to get bail in time to be present.

9. That at this election, at which Fisk and his counsel were present the room was, immediately after their arrival, densely packed, fifty or sixty of those present being, to use Judge Smith's words, "roughs and fighting men" brought from New York by Fisk for the purpose, and furnished with proxies that they might vote and keep the regular stockholders out of the room. It was due to "the vigilance of the Albany police," according to Judge Smith, "that this meeting did not end in violence and bloodshed."

All this—we may mention for the guidance of the *Law Journal* in case it desires to make enquiries—in the State of New York, United States of America, and in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1871.

THE inexorable Ides (or rather Kalends) of March roll on alike over successful schemes and disappointed hopes. The Forty-first Congress, having added its unit to history, it is natural to compare its weight with that of its predecessors. The impetus acquired during the war, and which has shot the Republican party over the six succeeding years, is manifestly slackening, and the party lines are getting very loose. Gen. Butler diagnosed the case accurately when he said that the party could not hold together on any internal question, because it was too thoroughly divided in itself upon all of them. His logical attempt to supply the defect by getting up a foreign war, collapsed with a shock rather more severe than its author perhaps anticipated. He has been coquetting with the female-suffrage movement, but apparently finds it an insufficient basis for a Presidential run, if there be truth in the report that this astute politician is about to seek solace and retirement in the Governorship of Massachusetts. It is a striking fact that legislation has been almost all special instead of general. There are a plenty of bills to establish railways, but none to regulate railways as a whole; bills authorizing the establishment of banks, but none to regulate the system of currency; bills to remove disabilities and afford relief to classes and individuals, but none treating these subjects in a general and comprehensive manner. This follows naturally from the fact that representation is wholly special, not general. Every man in Congress represents a local and distinct constituency, and there is nobody to represent the sentiment and interest of the nation. Even the most public-spirited members are obliged, when questions come up affecting their own localities, to support them, and are thus estopped from blaming others who do the same thing in their turn. This was well illustrated in the debate last night in the Senate on the Sundry Civil Service Bill. The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations urged senators not to make any amendments, or, if any were proposed, to vote them down. Mr. Buckingham, however, secured an appropriation for a building in Hartford, on the ground that the city was ready to donate a valuable lot for the purpose. In an instant a dozen senators were on their feet, and within fifteen minutes amendments were adopted giving nearly a million for buildings in all parts of the Union. It is true that these amendments were afterwards laid on the table in a body, but this only shows, what must be allowed to this Congress, a negative virtue. There has been a determined opposition to private schemes, but of actual progress on the great questions of finance, education, and the reform of the civil and diplomatic services, the record has been very small.

In finance, the country is looking on with some curiosity to see by what process Mr. Boutwell is going to sell five per cents at par, when he is offered every week twice as many six per cent. bonds at a discount as he can buy. The first note of financial trouble abroad has come in the advance of the Bank of England rate of interest to three per cent., while exchange here, in the height of the cotton season, is at the full shipping point for gold coin. France has to pay two hundred millions of dollars this year, and four hundred millions in each of the years 1872 and 1873. If Mr. Boutwell attempts to control the gold market by increasing his sales, he is likely to get some financial experience which will be altogether new to him.

In the civil service, Mr. Trumbull has secured an amendment to the

Omnibus Bill authorizing the President to institute an enquiry into an adequate method of reform. With the pressure, however, to which he is subjected by members of Congress, it is safe to say that any plan he may devise will be one of those "particular" ones which is not available. The ardor of the President for this reform expressed in his last Message is said by good authority to have been a sop thrown, after the Congressional manner, to the public wrath at the retirement of the late Secretary of the Interior. The latest instance of the way gangrene is eating into the body-politic is in the appointment of the Professor of French at West Point. The office of United States Marshal at Boston was wanted for another partisan, and so the incumbent was transferred to the other post. Perhaps the linguistic acquirements of the pupils are of minor importance, but what is to prevent the military professorships from going the same road, with consequences to be developed in the next war as similar ones have been lately in France?

The vote for the choice of Speaker stood at 126 against 93, an index of the threatened change. The Democrats are open in their manifestations of glee, but the country may fear whether it does not point to confusion worse confounded. The Speaker, in his brief address, dwelt on the advantages of opposition in a free government. He omitted, however, to notice the fact, that in ours the efforts of opposition are almost wholly neutralized. Mr. Bayard, in his speech against time on the Enforcement Bill, stated the point when he said that his party could not obtain any information from the Executive against the wishes of the majority. Provided the majority and the Executive are in accord, the latter is completely shielded from responsibility behind the phalanx of the former. For this protection, however, it must be admitted that the majority amply indemnifies itself against the Executive by absorbing the lion's share of its power. This preponderance of the majority is further eked out by the element of secrecy. No bill of importance is submitted to the Houses until it has passed through a committee—that is, a board—which deliberates in secret, and the seal of whose approval is the basis of votes in the main body. The gag upon debate of the previous question has been found necessary in the House on account of the vast amount of business which claims equal rights of consideration, but it tends to increase the objectionable element commented upon. In the Senate, the check upon debate has not been carried so far, but the interminable length to which discussion of private matters is carried has kept the Senate much in arrear as compared with the House, and threatens to close up this last gap. As the committees of the two bodies may not come to the same conclusions, the conference committee holds the final secret session—trades upon the differences, and smooths the way to a final passage. In all this there is a provision for reconciling the separate interests in Congress, but the interest of the public at large seems to be of minor consideration.

The House voted to-day to adjourn *sine die* on the 8th of March, if the Senate concur. By many this is regarded as a piece of bunkum, relying upon the non-concurrence of the Senate. It may, however, indicate a desire to escape the San Domingo question, which it is said the President intends to press immediately upon the return of the Commissioners; and this trepidation may be increased by the understood intention of Senator Sumner to make a furious onslaught upon the Administration, in this connection, at an early day. As you have well pointed out, it is a cardinal error of Mr. Sumner to transfer the question to the point whether annexation is desirable for the inhabitants of the island. The speech of Senator Schurz pointing out the effect upon the United States seems to have been much more statesmanlike as well as effective.

FROM ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT.

March 5, 1871.

CONGRESS remained in session from 11 A.M. on Friday till nearly daylight on Saturday. I left the Senate at midnight on Friday, unable to await so interesting a scene as the taking of the vote on the reduction of the coal duty, because of the weariness of listening to perpetual amendments to the Civil and Miscellaneous Appropriation Bill. Several senators absorbed the few remaining hours of the session in offering amendments donating petty sums to charities, and giving appropriations to victims of the war, which were as regularly tabled as offered. The last words I heard, on leaving the Senate Chamber at midnight, were eloquent pleadings for five thousand dollars to repair a bridge over the Potomac, and the first, on re-entering the chamber a quarter of an hour before the expiration of the session, were similar words from Senator Howe. "These Sisters of Charity," said the senator, "have passed their whole lives in doing good, which we have not, therefore I appeal to you to give them what they ask." But even an appeal based on so obvious a truth failed. As the hammer fell, Howard of Michigan was still setting forth the virtues of Sisters of Charity just as if the session and his career as a senator were not about to terminate. The Coal Bill was considered during the night, and although it was defeated by the filibustering of its opponents, the revenue reformers nevertheless won a handsome victory on the test motion to table the bill. The vote stood 35 against it to 15 for it. Only two New England senators voted with the protectionists—Hamlin and Sprague, while five voted with the revenue reformers—Edmunds, Buckingham, Wilson, Anthony, and Paterson. Sherman of Ohio proclaimed himself still a bigoted protectionist by voting for the motion to table the bill. This vote of 2 to 1 in the Senate for a practical measure of revenue reform, coming immediately after a similar vote of 3 to 1 in the House, will tend still further to increase the demoralization of the protectionists, already shown to be great by the action of the Ways and Means Committee in authorizing McCarthy to report a bill to reduce the duty on pig-iron to $5 per ton, that on lumber to 10 per cent., and to lower the tax on salt one-third. When the Forty-first Congress met, it was admitted on all sides to be more wedded to protection than any which had ever before assembled, and now, in its closing hours, the protectionists themselves voluntarily propose wholesale reductions of the tariff. It may safely be said that there has seldom been so rapid a change of opinion on any subject in any Congress. Next to the trial of strength on the Coal Bill, the most exciting topic under discussion is the constitution of the Ways and Means Committee of the Forty-second Congress. There has been, within a few days, an influx of the leaders of both revenue reformers and protectionists—the editors of the Chicago *Tribune*, New York *Post*, Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, and the officers of the Free Trade League appearing for the former, while Horace Greeley alone abundantly represents the latter. The protectionists have abandoned all hope of controlling the committee, and are ready to compromise upon Dawes for chairman; but the revenue reformers claim that their strength in the House entitles them both to the chairman and a majority of the members. Their candidate will probably be Garfield, while they expect to see such advanced reformers as Finkelnburg of Missouri, and Burchard of Illinois, put upon the committee, together with three radical free-trade Democrats like Brooks, Kerr, and Eldridge. It is understood that Speaker Blaine intends to satisfy the revenue reformers; indeed, he could not well do otherwise in view of their strength when acting with the Democrats. Competent judges estimate their united majority at forty votes, while their numbers are certain to be increased by defections from the ranks of the protectionists of those who have been deprived of protection to their special interests. It is thought that the freeing of coal would make ten votes for free lumber, and that free lumber would give at least a dozen voices for free iron. To the great surprise of most persons, the House voted yesterday to adjourn on the 8th. The Western men, who desire a reapportionment, are very angry. It is not certain that the Senate will concur, as the prospect of having to maintain Baez in power by the navy of the United States till next winter is somewhat alarming to Administration senators.

The latest reports are to the effect that Congress will not adjourn this week, the revenue reformers insisting upon the passage of the Coal Bill and Western men upon reapportionment. If the latter can be carried, there will probably be no appointment of committees till next winter. The chairmanship of the Ways and Means now lies between Garfield, Dawes, and Shellabarger. If reapportionment should be carried, Allison would return to Congress, and would then be the first choice of the revenue reformers for this important position. Speaker Blaine is anxious to postpone the naming of the committees till autumn, and thus relieve himself for a time of an embarrassing duty.

ENGLAND.

LONDON, February 17, 1871.

PARLIAMENT is now in full swing, and the Ministry appear to have begun work with creditable energy. Several important measures have already been proposed, and there seems to be a fair prospect for the session. The University Tests Bill has passed its second reading, and will speedily be sent up to the House of Lords, where I hope that it will reach some kind of settlement. A bill has been introduced for the regulation of trades-unions, which seems to be conceived in a fair spirit, and which will probably meet with general acceptance. I need not as yet speak at present of other promised measures. Last night witnessed the most exciting one which has hitherto taken place; and the entertainment may be said

to have consisted of a serious entertainment, followed by a farce. To deal with the last first, Mr. P. A. Taylor, an ardent democrat, redeemed the pledge which he had given to his constituents of opposing the Princess Louise's dowry. He made the regular comparison between the comparative cheapness of a queen and a president, and plodded through his task with little encouragement from an unsympathetic House. His motion was seconded by Sir C. W. Dilke, whose name may be familiar to some of your readers from his work on "Greater Britain." According to practice, the mover and seconder of the motion were tellers in the division which followed. The long procession of ayes filed into the lobby and back into the House during some twenty minutes, and men gazed with some curiosity for the appearance of the noes. At last, Mr. Taylor made his appearance, leading into the House his one faithful supporter, Professor Fawcett, and was welcomed by an inextinguishable outburst of merriment. The result of the division (in which "tellers" are not reckoned) was therefore 350 to 1; and the Princess has received her dowry with even more unanimity than had been anticipated. The three gallant members of the minority will perhaps receive the thanks of grateful constituents; but I fear the general sense was more nearly expressed by the growls of some of the majority, who muttered audibly: "You ought to be ashamed of yourselves." I am rather of that opinion myself, not because I am a particularly loyal supporter of the monarchy, but because I confess to thinking that such republican sentiment as exists in the country ought not to make itself ridiculous by taking up a paltry and rather personal question of this kind. In short, the whole affair was absurd, and does little credit to the judgment of its contrivers.

Meanwhile, another piece of business of more importance had been transacted. Mr. Cardwell had introduced the measure which will more than any other occupy the attention of Parliament during the coming session—that is, the bill for army reform. Mr. Cardwell is not a man of very imposing presence, and, as a general rule, is received rather with respect than enthusiasm. He is one of the last representatives of the Peelite school; he was distinguished at Oxford; and has developed into a steady official, with a little too much red-tape in his composition. Nobody expected any great eloquence in his exposition of the new measure, nor did he appear to be a fitting organ for the introduction of any sweeping reform. On the whole, however, he did his duty well, and even ended amidst something that might be called enthusiasm. Without dragging you into complex details, which, to say the truth, I do not for the present understand very perfectly myself, I will endeavor to indicate the main points of the scheme to be introduced. The first question concerned the adoption of some form of conscription. Government, however, has shrunk from so strong a proposal; and indeed, rightly or wrongly, our English prejudices are so unequivocally opposed to any compulsion in the matter, that the imitation of Continental policy in this respect is simply out of the question. We shall continue, as heretofore, to depend upon voluntary recruiting. The next point concerns the system of appointment of officers. As you know, the officers in the regular army are allowed, as a general rule, to purchase their commissions. In what are called the scientific services—that is, in the engineers and artillery—commissions are gained by competitive examinations. The officers of the militia and volunteers are appointed by the lord-lieutenants of counties. It will require no proof in writing to any one whose mind has not been reconciled to such an anomaly by long custom, that the purchase of commissions is an utter absurdity. Like all old-established abuses, however, which have worked themselves thoroughly into the constitution of the country, it has no want of ardent defenders. It was a question till lately whether Government would venture to deal with it boldly and finally. I am glad to say that they have had the courage requisite for the task, and that purchase is to be abolished. The main difficulty was the expense; and you will probably be surprised to hear that it will cost no less than forty million dollars to extinguish the vested interests of officers. This large sum will not be paid at once; but as officers retire, their commissions will be bought by the country instead of their successors. This reform will undoubtedly remove the main obstacle to all serious reform. The question remains, What is to be put in its place? In order to secure a due flow of promotion, commissions will be granted for five years only, and subsequent promotion will be made by selection; officers, therefore, who do not give satisfaction will be quietly extinguished when they find that they are not wanted. The first appointment to commissions in the regular army will be made by competitive examination, as a general rule, though certain other paths into the service will also be open, as, for example, the men who have held commissions in the militia, or have deserved promotion from the ranks. This change, too, will be accepted as a great step in advance by the main body of reformers. I am not at all disposed to deny that it is an improvement on the previous system of patronage.

I may venture, however, to make one remark upon this head which may not be quite irrelevant. I see that your reformers in America are advocating the introduction, on a large scale, of the principle of competitive examination; and there, too, I have no doubt that such a system is infinitely preferable to allowing public officers to be used as means of political influence. From another point of view, however, the result cannot be regarded with unqualified satisfaction. We, in England, seem to be pushing the system of competition to an extreme; and it exerts a questionable influence in two ways. In the first place, there can be no doubt that an honest official could apply far better tests than an examination. No merchant or lawyer, for example, would select his clerks by such means when he could have the choice of putting them through a short probationary course. In short, you limit a man to choose by a certain definite mechanical process, in order to prevent him from making a corrupt choice. Examination is better than bribery; but it is not so good as the free personal discussion of an intelligent and honest man. Choice by merit is the ideal, and that is by no means the same thing as choice by results of answering a few questions on paper. But the other defect is more marked and deleterious. The abundance of competitive examinations exercises a most unhealthy effect upon our educational system. The proper theory of education is, as I take it, to develop all a man's faculties, and to apply as much labor to raising the average standard as to cultivating the talents of a few. The marked tendency of the present day is for schoolmasters to select a few promising pupils, and to cram them with those special kinds of knowledge which are most likely to win prizes. The effect at Cambridge, where the system has been carried out for years, is the narrowing of the whole education of the university, and forcing a few prodigies of special, and often useless, knowledge at the expense of the great mass, who are left to pick up dry fragments of information from an inferior class of men. The system of appointments to the Indian Civil Service and to the open branches of the army in England, has generated a whole profession of "crammers"—men who are the very antithesis of good teachers, whose efforts are steadily and successfully directed to the invention of contrivances for defeating the skill of examiners. These are very serious evils, and, I fear, they will receive an additional stimulus from the proposed change, though I believe that, on the whole, the new order of things will contrast favorably with the old.

To return, however, to Mr. Cardwell's measure: the next great object is to bring about a closer connection between the regular army and the reserve forces. To effect this, it is proposed, in the first place, to "localize" the various regiments. Every regiment, that is to say, will be attached to a particular district; it will be recruited from a fixed point; and the officer in command of the regiment will also have the command of the various reserve forces in the same place. Various subordinate measures are proposed for bringing the regular army and the reserves into closer connection, and for enforcing severer tests of efficiency upon the militia and volunteers. The recruits for the militia, for example, will be trained with those of the regular army, and the volunteers will be subject to the Mutiny Act when on service. Moreover, short periods of service will be adopted, so that a considerable reserve may ultimately be formed from men who have passed through the ranks of the army. The result of the whole system will be, according to Mr. Cardwell, that we shall have available for home defence an army of 470,000 men. Of these, however, it must be observed that the regular army will be a small minority. The volunteers, for example, count for 170,000 in the total, and the militia for about 140,000. The regular army would only amount to about 100,000 men. The value, therefore, of the measures now proposed will depend materially upon the degree of reliance which we are disposed to place upon the militia and volunteers. Upon that point I am not competent to express an opinion. The great and palpable defect of both forces is the absence of any adequate supply of trained officers; nor can I see that any sufficient means have been provided for remedying this serious defect. On the whole, however, I suppose that we ought to be satisfied when we consider the slow and tentative process by which reforms are always effected in England. We shall have got rid of the one gross and palpable abuse of the sale of commissions, and we may hope that other reforms will gradually follow, as the presence of new blood begins to make itself felt. That evil stopped the way so long to any serious reform that its mere removal must give a great impetus to improvement in other directions. I don't know whether I shall live long enough to see the day, but I cer-

tainly expect that, in course of time, England will have enough trained soldiers under arms to feel tolerably secure from invasion in the event of a foreign war, even though our great line of defence—the navy—were to be broken by some unforeseen catastrophe. But there are many steps to be taken, and many weary discussions to be plodded through, before any decisive change will have been brought about.

Notes.

WE have received the prospectus of an *American Archæological Review and Historical Register*, to be devoted to archæology, anthropology, and history, with especial reference to this country. The editor offers as a guarantee of his ability for the task his "thorough and systematic researches in the vast mound-field of the Mississippi Valley," and promises "besides original contributions, a comprehensive résumé of the latest foreign enquiries and research, a condensed sketch of the progress of discovery in all parts of the globe," together with "critical reviews and bibliographical notices of new publications on archæology, ethnology," etc. There can be no doubt that such a publication is needed in the United States. The *Review* will appear quarterly or monthly, according to the support it receives, and the subscription price is fixed at five dollars. Mr. Wills de Hass, editor and proprietor, may be addressed at Box 2759, N. Y. P. O.——Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, have in press "Fisher's Patent Reports," the author being Mr. W. H. Fisher, law partner of the late Commissioner of Patents, and the reports those of cases which have been decided in the United States Supreme and Circuit Courts since 1850. The price will be $15 per volume for two or more, of a limited edition to match Hon. S. S. Fisher's "Patent Cases," published by the same house. They have also in preparation Saunders's "Law of Negligence," with Notes by Samuel R. Matthews.——Messrs. Hurd & Houghton, having undertaken to publish the works of the American Social Science Association, are about issuing the third number of that Society's *Journal*, which will compare favorably in value with the two that have preceded it; and a pamphlet whose title explains its object, which is a strictly practical one: "Free Public Libraries: Suggestions on their Foundation and Management." The "Handbook for Immigrants to the United States" is well advanced towards completion. On its own account, the firm will publish "The Lost Knight," translated from the German of Anastasius Grün.——The March announcements of Messrs. Roberts Bros. are: "Swinburne's Songs before Sunrise," more of Mme. Sand's novels, and "The Forest House and Catharine's Lovers" of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian.——The fourth series of verbatim reports of Mr. Beecher's sermons, from March to September, 1870, will be published immediately by Messrs. J. B. Ford & Co.——A memorial window has been thought a suitable monument for the late Alice Cary, to be placed in the Church of the Strangers in this city, which she was in the habit of attending, and from which she was buried. Contributions, however small (and the more numerous, the richer the window), may be sent to the leading booksellers in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, or to the pastor, Rev. Dr. Deems, 4 Winthrop Place.——Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co. have in press Bunsen's "God in History;" "The Coast of Norway," scenes among its fjords and islands, from Christiania to Hammerfest, by Elijah Walton, whose "Flowers from the Upper Alps" was a very charming work; and "The History of Florida," by G. R. Fairbanks.

—The Young Men's Christian Association of this city proposes to contribute $10,000 towards purchasing the library of the late Mr. Thomas P. Barton, if it can obtain $40,000 additional for that purpose, with the understanding that the 16,000 volumes thus secured shall be added to the 3,000 now constituting the library of the Association, and the whole be thrown open freely to the public, both day and evening. There will still remain shelf-room for 20,000 volumes, with ample accommodations for readers, and the directors hope in this way to found a public library comparable with those of Boston and Philadelphia. The valuation set upon the Barton library appears to be below its market value. It is strong in works upon natural history, philology and criticism, bibliography, literary history, and belles-lettres; has a fair collection of the best French, Italian, and Spanish authors, and in Shakesperiana "is unsurpassed in this country, and only equalled in some of the public libraries of Europe." The Association announces that a gift of $1,000 will entitle the giver to an honorary membership of the Association in perpetuity, and of $500 to a life-membership.

—The activity manifested just now, as our readers are well aware, in building up the libraries of the country by accessions from all quarters, is one of the healthiest symptoms of the times. As it is displayed almost entirely at the North, we are perhaps in danger of forgetting in what a slough of ignorance the South still lies, and how prompt should be our sympathy and aid in raising her out of it, both by creating the means of education where they do not exist, and by encouraging those already established but lacking in vigor. We lately called attention to the deserts of the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, and we are incited to say something for the University of North Carolina, after having read a very forlorn account of the condition of its library. Of the general prosperity of this institution we are not informed. It was chartered in 1789, but first opened to students in 1795, and its library is said to be still, in all probability, what it has been, the largest in the State. In one sense this "speaks volumes" for the State; in another, quite the reverse. The total number of volumes in the University library is about seven thousand. Two thousand of these were added in 1859, being the first purchases made by the trustees since 1824. A large part of the remainder consists of State and United States documents—say another 2,000; and "furthermore," says the document before us, "the library has been enlarged by the deposit of some disused college text-books." This will suffice to give an idea of the state of learning in North Carolina, and as it is a disgrace not to that community alone but to the country, we trust the benevolent will remember in their gifts the library of the University, which, by the way, is situated at Chapel Hill.

— Dr. Seguin, in a very suggestive communication to the *Medical Record* of this city for March 1, brings to the life insurance discussion a criticism which may not have all the weight he would assign to it, but, nevertheless, has weight, and deserves consideration. Before all else, he attributes the insecurity of the companies to the mismanagement of the medical department, "due to a profound ignorance of the resources offered them by the recent progress of vital diagnosis." To illustrate his meaning, he cites two cases that recently came under his observation:

"A man of sixty-five, after an attack of apoplexy, followed by a slight paraplegia, had his life insured, and died within a year. The other, not over forty, but completely exhausted and worn out, came to me boasting that a company had insured his life, notwithstanding that I had told him that I would not give two cents for it; within six months, he had a pneumonia that he had not the vitality to carry to the seventh day. . . . In the former case, the sphygmographic traces would have been blunted by senile calcification, and otherwise distorted by the irregularity of the waves of the circulation. In the latter case, thermometry would have shown evening rises of temperature of more than two degrees—both pathological signs forbidding or invalidating any contract of insurance."

The so-called conjectural, rational, or physical diagnosis (by inspection, auscultation, percussion, etc.) is well adapted to detect actual or acute disease, which naturally, however, seldom presents itself for examination; but the conclusions derived from it can never be stated precisely, nor in the same terms by different examiners. "Positive" diagnosis, on the contrary, enables the physician to forecast the probable vitality, by means of indications absolutely correct and uniformly intelligible. Dr. Seguin urges elevating the medical officers of insurance companies to the highest rank, and abolishing fees and even salaries for them, securing the best talent by giving it an interest in the profits of the company; requiring them to possess and to know how to use all the instruments necessary for modern pathological investigations; and finally (when thus prepared), refusing no application for a policy, but insuring "not only upon a graduated scale of age, but mostly upon categories of probable vitality founded on physical and positive diagnosis."

—It is not a question that it is necessary to settle, or indeed possible to settle, which of the discoverers and inventors in which our time has been so fruitful has conferred upon his fellow-creatures the greatest benefits; but perhaps that one of their company to whom the rest would most willingly concede the highest place is the man who first introduced into medicine and surgery the use of ether. When we think for a moment and in the most general way of the enormous mass of suffering and extreme misery which ether has alleviated, and the enormous mass that has been prevented; and when we think particularly and in our own cases of the thankfulness that we have all at some time or another felt, to know that some life dear to us has been wholly preserved, or has been disburdened of useless torture, by means of this most blessed of medicines, we readily perceive that we should begrudge its discoverer almost no degree of gratitude and honor. We are sorry to say that it is at the present moment very desirable that this gratitude which every one must feel should find expression in benefactions to the widow and children of one of the claimants to the distinction in question; and we are glad to say that the necessity is recognized by certain gentlemen of Boston, who are acting as

a committee to collect a sum of money which shall raise the family to a modest distance above want. As our readers know, there has been a violent controversy as to which of two medical men should have the credit of being "the discoverer of ether," to put it roughly. This is not the time or place in which to reopen the discussion, even were we sufficiently acquainted with the facts and arguments, which we are not; and we refer to it only because it is necessary to say—what we think we hazard nothing in saying—that whether Dr. Jackson or Dr. Morton first discovered the value of ether as an anæsthetic medicine, we all owe very much to Dr. Morton for the energy and persistency with which he urged the use of the new agent upon the medical profession, and the courage with which he administered it despite the opposition of so many of his brethren. There can be no doubt, we take it, that the following letter of the late Dr. John C. Warren's establishes Dr. Morton's claim on the gratitude of the country, and indeed of the civilized world at large. Dr. Warren was the first physician to employ ether in a capital operation, and some two months after having done so—namely, in January, 1847—he speaks as follows: "I hereby declare and certify to the best of my knowledge and recollection that I never heard of the use of sulphuric ether by inhalation, as a means of preventing the pain of surgical operations, until it was suggested by Dr. William T. G. Morton, in the latter part of October, 1846." In this instance, Dr. Morton, being firmly convinced of its value, took all the responsibility of administering the ether, and did administer it in this case, and other cases, at first in spite of the protests of physicians in various other cities as well as Boston. We are of opinion that this, at all events, may be truly said of him, that we owe to Morton the first great proof of the safety and utility of etherization in surgical operations; and, further, that he was the chief and most enthusiastic advocate of etherization, and was such in spite of an opposition which might have daunted a more cautious man. Mrs. Morton and her children are, as we have said, now in narrow circumstances, and a certain number of Bostonians have set on foot a movement for their relief. Among the names on this committee are those of Dr. Jacob Bigelow, Dr. J. Ingersoll Bowditch, Dr. C. G. Putnam, Hon. William Whiting, J. J. May, Samuel Kneeland, Dr. Luther Parks, Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, Dr. R. M. Hodges, Dr. George Hayward, Dr. J. C. Warren, and Dr. Francis Minot. Dr. Minot, whose address is "No. 7 Charles street, Boston," will receive subscriptions. A national testimonial the committee would like to make it, and they ask for small sums as well as large; the least offering will be gladly received, from the poorest man or woman to whom relief has been brought by "the medicine before whose advent"—to quote, with a difference, the words of the committee—"in all time, surgery was agony; by which pain in surgery is averted and annulled; since whose advent science has controlled pain." As the committee suggest, Massachusetts might well ameliorate the "straitened circumstances" of the widow of a man whose labors have reflected honor on the State; and the testimonial might properly be national as being a reward bestowed by the national legislature for a discovery which was greatly to the honor of the whole country.

— Mr. G. P. Marsh, in his articles in the last volume of the *Nation* on the proposed revision of the English version of the Bible, pointed out some glaring defects in the means proposed for the attainment of the desired end. In the first place, the movement originated with, and has thus far been confined to, the Anglican Church—or, in other words, a single sect of the English-speaking Protestant community. In the second place, it is not supported by even the whole of that church. The province of York has refused to have anything to do with it, and it is wholly in the hands of the province of Canterbury. Worse, however, remains. The two "companies" charged with the revision of the Old and New Testaments respectively were directed to call in the aid of other scholars, no matter to what nation or denomination they belonged. But, in spite of the fact that America contains some thirty millions of Bible-reading Protestants, they called in no American; in spite of the fact that the greatest Hebraists of the day are Germans and Jews, they called in neither German nor Jew. But in a moment of liberality, they did call in a Unitarian, a scholar of high and well-earned repute, Mr. Vance Smith, and he is so little of a rationalist that at the first meeting he took the communion with them. Now, however, they have grown sorry for letting even him in, and at the late meeting of the convocation of the province of Canterbury a resolution was passed in the Upper House which declared it expedient that nobody should take part in the revision of the Scriptures who "denied the Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ," and directed Mr. Vance Smith's expulsion. This resolution was carried by ten to four. Dean Stanley in the Lower House gave them a severe castigation, charging them with trying "to honor the Saviour's name by a distinct breach of faith." The Bishop of St. David's, perhaps the ablest man in the Upper House, has resigned his place in the companies of revision in sheer disgust. The new version would have had but slender authority as matters stood; now it will have hardly any.

—Mr. Hain Friswell's "Modern Men of Letters Honestly Criticised" has just cost his publishers the sum of $2,500, which it is difficult to imagine they can ever recover from the sale of the wretched book itself. The author, among other stupid, ungrammatical, and more or less malignant "criticisms," had exposed Mr. Sala to public contumely as a Bohemian, "a driveller of tipsy, high-flown nonsense," a genius in the hands of the Jews, "often drunken, always in debt, sometimes in prison, and totally disreputable," with much amplification of these charges. The *Daily Telegraph*, with which Mr. Sala has been connected for fifteen years, also came under Mr. Friswell's tomahawk, and the result of Mr. Sala's taking counsel with the proprietors was a suit for libel with the result just mentioned, the defence calling no witnesses, and making a very lame appearance in court. This is not, however, the first time that Mr. Friswell has been arraigned and convicted, though in a different forum. Many of our readers will recall his "honest" appropriation of Mr. Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations," and that the magnitude of the theft was only matched by the clumsiness of it on the one hand, and the impudence on the other; for (see the *Nation* of Feb. 7, 1867), in his preface to the first edition, he stated: "It is believed that no other work exists in the English language at once so copious and exact," and to the second: "Its merit is recognized as being the work of a man of letters, as distinguished from that of a mere book-maker." From piracy to libel is, for such a character, but a step.

—Most noticeable among recent English publications and announcements are the following. In history: "Robert Emmet: the Cause of his Rebellion;" "Notices of the Jews by Classic Writers of Antiquity," by John Gill; "The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain" (*i. e.*, from 1852), by Robert Peddie; "Records of the Reformation—the Divorce 1527–1533," collected and arranged by Nicholas Pocock from MSS. in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Venetian Archives, and other libraries; "The Fall of Metz," by G. T. Robinson; "The Siege of Paris," by Professor Nathan Sheppard, who has been the constant and very able correspondent "par ballon monté" of the Cincinnati *Gazette* and (less fully) of the *Examiner and Chronicle* of this city. With the foregoing may be classified: "The Church and the Churches in Southern India," being a review of the Portuguese missions thither in the sixteenth century, by Joseph Albert Lobley: "Keshub Chunder Sen's English Visit," edited by Sophia Dobson Collet; and "The Dictionary of Biographical Reference," by Lawrence B. Phillips—a work which contains over 100,000 names, filling 1,000 pages medium octavo (Sampson Low & Co.) In travels, we note only Mrs. W. A. Tollemache's "Spanish Towns and Spanish Pictures," though an old traveller turns up in "England Rendered Impregnable," by the Old Shekarry, who, if heaps of slain are all that is needed, is certainly qualified to render England or any other country impregnable. "The Great Duel, its True Meaning and Uses," is by W. R. Greg, who has been a very staunch defender of Germany in the late war. The three works which follow complete our list: Dante's "Divina Commedia" translated into English verse and *terza rima* by James Ford, and not the least worthy attempt of the kind; "On the Eve," a rather imperfect translation of a novel by Turgeneff; and "Shakespeare's Hard Words," by Professor Baynes, of St. Andrews—originally printed in the *Edinburgh Review*.

—In the course of some operations at the workhouse of St. Martin's recently, the laborers opened one of the "plague pits" of the Great Plague in London. The bones have been removed (*vasta moles*) to consecrated ground. At the bottom were found remains which had been buried in coffins—one of lead, the others of wood; but as the plague progressed no time was given for boxing the bodies in any manner, and the deposits of the later date were a medley of skulls of all growths and of inarticulated bones. The discovery has been kept secret, owing to the prevailing small-pox panic, and to a general belief that on a former occasion, when one of these pits was opened, the severity of the cholera then raging was in a great degree due to this cause.

—Mr. Frederick May's "London Press Dictionary and Advertisers' Handbook (1871)" is a very complete source of information in regard to the publications of the metropolis—their times of issue, office address, price, opinions, specialties, etc.; and a guide also to the organs of "each interest, profession, trade, religious denomination, science, etc., represented in the British and Irish press." It is a compact and handy volume of

some 60 pages, that sells on the other side for a shilling. From the statistics in the preface it appears that 316 newspapers are published in London, of which 21 are dailies. New York, according to the last Directory, publishes 255, and we reckon nearly or quite as many dailies as in London, which has three times the resident population of this island. In periodical publications, magazines, reviews, and the like, we naturally fall far short of London, which, intellectually considered, is Great Britain much as Paris is France. Here the total number is 473, against 109 in New York. We lack the data for a more detailed comparison, but the following table establishes the curious fact that New York is the more cosmopolitan city of the two:

	London.	New York.
Newspapers published in French	5	4
German	2	21
Spanish	1	2
Portuguese	1	1
Italian	0	2
Scandinavian	0	1
Total	9	31

The most striking disparity is in the number of German papers, and we have even left out of count some Hebrew journals, which are printed partly in German and partly in English.

—A correspondent sends us a timely extract from the "Agreable Companion," a rare book published in France in 1745, which runs thus:

"The French Tyrant [Louis XIV.], in a vain glorious Boast, caused the following Verses to be inscribed on a Marble pillar at Versailles, to tell the Greatness of his Actions to future Ages, viz.:

"*Una Dies* Lotheros, Burgundos *Hebdomas una*,
Una domat Batavos *Luna; Quid Annus agat?*"

In English thus:

"Lorain *a Day, a Week* Burgundy *won*,
Flanders *a Month; what wou'd a Year have done?*

Which being seen by the Lord Wilmot, the late ingenious Earl of Rochester, he presently writ underneath:

"Lorain *you stole;* by *Fraud you got* Burgundy;
Flanders *you bought; but Gad you'll pay for't one Day.*"

—This is good for prophecy. Now for a parallel between the besieged capitals of the ancient and modern Cæsars. In a lecture on the Roman Catacombs, delivered by Mommsen before the Berlin Unionsverein in January, the historian, dating the disuse of the catacombs from the Gothic capture of Rome, "thought fit," as the *Academy* remarks, "to point his narrative with a series of allusions, thus":

"In spite of the enormous circumference of the walls, the twelve gates were all beset, commerce on the Tiber was stopped; the pressure of hunger began, they began to ration out the bread. . . . . The government resided far away in Ravenna, inaccessible and impregnable among its swamps; it sent armies to raise the siege, but they never reached, and were separately crushed. The Goth did his best to bring about a peace: his demand was for contributions in money and kind, and the cession of Venetia, Noricum, and Dalmatia. They offered him gold and silver as much as he would, but beyond that nothing was to be got," etc.

—In support of the view entertained by M. Erckmann, the novelist, of the dangers which threaten France from the hostility of the North and South, Dr. Edward Boehmer, in his "Provenzalische Poesie der Gegenwart," brings out the fact that the revival of Provençal poetry in our day has a political significance, so far as it asserts the distinct race and language of the Provençals and seeks to resuscitate the latter, and to cherish the pride of origin in those who speak it in its modern and mutilated form. The number of these non-French-speaking Frenchmen (since Provençal cannot be admitted to be a patois) is estimated at ten million; and if to these be added a million and a half Basques and Celts, and as many Germans in Alsace and Lorraine, more than a third of the population of France before the war had no *national* unity with the rest. The war has not, however, if the poets may be trusted, strengthened the separatist feeling in Provençal; and the anti-northern feeling of poems like "The Countess," which Professor Boehmer has collected, yields in the present crisis to the patriotic sentiment. The latter is strongly manifested in the *Almana provencau* for 1871.

—The rumor that negotiations are on foot to transfer the seat of the Papacy from Italy to Belgium are doubtless as baseless as most of the reports so industriously flashed across the Cable, and yet they serve to remind us of the extreme ultramontanism of a powerful party in modern Flanders—the enduring work of Alva and of Philip II. The historical battle-ground of Europe is still the scene of a stubborn fight between mediævalism and modern thought, and the champions of the latter some two years ago established an "organ" which deserves a more cordial recognition than it has hitherto received on this side of the Atlantic. The *Revue de Belgique* is a monthly magazine, in which politics, history, and belles-lettres are cleverly mingled. The writing is good, and the spirit which pervades the whole is one of thoughtful progress, and those who desire to watch the development of a struggle which is sure to come in Belgium might do worse than add it to their list of periodicals. In two recent numbers now before us, we have been particularly pleased with a biographical essay by Charles Rahlenbeek, displaying much original research, on Cassiodoro de Reyna, one of the Spanish reformers who were driven out by Philip II., and who spent their weary but useful lives in wandering between England and Switzerland. It is a curious chapter of the unwritten history of that tumultuous time, which will probably never be fully brought to light for lack of materials. Some verses by Charles Potvin are not without point:

"Peuples, quand un César détale,
Ne craignez point de mauvais jours:
Une couronne impériale
Cela se ramasse toujours,"

—a prophecy already fulfilled, though when it was written the fallen Napoleonic diadem had not been replaced as yet by the Germanic.

——Das also war des Pudels Kern!
Ein fahrender Scolast?

A quaint document, bearing date 20th October, 1540, "Geben und gescheen zu Heydelberg uff mitwoch nach Galli, anno funffzehenhundert unnd viertzig," has just been unearthed from the Baden archives, and printed by Dr. Maurice Gmelin. It is a decision of Louis V., Elector Palatine, in a dispute between the Burgomaster and Council of the city of Spires on the one part, and the ecclesiastical authorities of the "Dhumb"—*i.e.*, the Dom or Cathedral—the churches of St. Germanus's, St. Guy's ("sant Guidon," also called in the same paper "Quidon"), All Saints', and the clergy of Spires at large, on the other part. The matter at issue is a *res parua dictu*, but magnified by party spirit into an exceeding great strife, and the document is not without interest as throwing a gleam of light on a very dark subject, the "*Currende.*" It has always been known that from remote times "poure scolers" had the prescriptive right in many towns of Germany of going about the streets singing and asking alms. But what the exact nature and organization of the Currende was, and its relation to the university, to the charity funds, and to the general system of education, is not at all clearly known. The literature on the subject is wonderfully scanty. While the history of education as a whole has been pretty thoroughly worked out in Germany, the humble Currende has been overlooked. It is rather doubtful whether the work of Schaarschmidt, "Geschichte der Currende," said to have been published—Leipsic, 1807—ever saw the light. At any rate, a work published in 1807 would not be of much value in 1871. The encyclopædias generally dodge the word. Even the peerless dictionary of the Grimms gives a definition not only meagre and unsatisfactory, but—if the words are pressed—positively wrong: "Currende: *das laufchor, pueri cantando per plateas stipem erogantes*"—unsatisfactory, because it leaves out the scholastic feature of the Currende; wrong, because "*stipem erogantes*" means not *asking* but *distributing* alms. Still, the Grimms' meaning is plain enough, though their Latin is bad. At Spires, it seems, a great many well-conditioned, able-bodied men (vill vermöglicher starcker leut) regularly abused this charitable provision. They decked their children out as scholars (hingen innen schulsecklin und schreybzeuglin an), and sent them round the town crying "Bread, a Goddes name, *panem propter deum.*" Two evils ensued from this: the bread was taken out of the mouth of the real scholars, and it became quite hard to get laborers in Spires. To put a stop to such impositions, it was ordained by the city authorities that no scholar call for almesse (umb das almusen), by song or otherwise, unless furnished with a token to show that he was what he claimed to be. Hereat Dean and Chapter waxed wroth. The question of privilege came up, and the united clergy blazed out with an indignant protest. "It was an infringement on their liberties, contrary to usage; in short, an innovation." This troubles the good Landesvater sorely; he is afraid that further ill-will and "onpleasantness" (weytter widerwill und onfreuntlich nachpurschafft) may follow. After looking the matter over carefully, he decides, and rather, it would seem, on the side of the Burgomaster: Namely and imprimis (nemblich und zuerst), that the Burgomaster and Council are to provide a certain number of tokens or badges "die nit uber eins batzen grosz sein, mit sant Katherinen bildnus," no bigger than a groat, and stamped with the head of St. Catharine; said badges are to be turned over to the ecclesiastical dignitaries, who are to distribute them to the scholars. The scholars, when crying alms, are always to wear or bear

the badges, but they are not required to have them about their person at any other time. How the decision of the Elector was relished by the clergy we are not informed.

—An unquestionable vestige of the Currende still exists at Tübingen. Regularly, on a Thursday morning, the *pauperes*, led off by a lively sort of Mayor of Garrat, with his voice turning again toward childish treble, go about the town, singing the old, old songs. Every window flies open, and the tattered choir is greeted with a perfect storm of bravoes, and pelted with morsels of food by the gay-hearted *ciues academici*. It is to be hoped that the publication of this document may provoke some inquisitive German to write a thick book on the Currende. To do it as it should be done is not an easy thing. It requires an intimate familiarity with school and university usages, with church history, with out-of-the-way folk-lore; some acquaintance with the manners and customs of Street Bands, though perhaps not that exhaustive knowledge which a life-long study of this specialty has given the venerable Charles Babbage; and a mind illuminated with a poetic mediæval fervor, quick to catch and cunning to delineate the subtle humor and pathos in the lot of these obscure strugglers. Neither can it be well done without a minute knowledge of local German history. Very little help, as we have already said, could be got from printed books. But surely, in the vast piles of archives amassed by those methodical and easy-writing Germans, there must be material enough to enable a duly qualified mouser to make a very entertaining and withal a very instructive work. Where are all the Learned Societies? What Royal Academy steps out first with a prize of a hundred thalers in gold for the best "Kurzgefaszte Geschichte der Currende, nach den Quellen bearbeitet," no dissertation to exceed a thousand pages in length? For the present the "poure scolers," with their plaintive *panem propter deum*, have vanished—no token left—"nit uber eins batzen grosz, mit sant Katherinen bildnus"—to show what manner of men they once were. And the Currende seems to have drifted out into some of Mr. Carlyle's favorite Limbos.

—We had something to say a month or two ago about the considerations by which we should be governed in the matter of publishing to the world such works and words of great men as they themselves had for one reason or another seen fit to leave unpublished. What we said was said in contemplation of the fact that the *Williams Review* was then on the point of publishing some old Commencement Parts by Hawthorne, the late Senator Fessenden, and others—exercises done in college while these men, who afterwards reached distinction, were still boys, and unthoughtful of the public which afterward they strove to please and instruct. We expressed ourselves as inclined to think the publication unjustifiable, or at least in but doubtful taste. Upon this we were asked by the managers of the *Review* to tell them why we thought this action of theirs one of doubtful propriety; and, further, to lay down any rule on the subject which had it been adhered to would not have worked injury to the world by depriving it of truer views of its great men and taking from it much valuable literature. We cannot say that we have been able, after pondering the matter some time, to see our way clear to framing any such rule; though, certainly, we have not changed our mind as to the special case which called out our remark, nor come to any other than our former conclusion as to our own unwillingness to take the responsibility of doing what the *Review* did. It would seem, on the one hand, to be for the general good that everything possible should be known of the men who stand out above their fellow-men conspicuous in the intellectual history of the race; well for our future progress that, so far from cultivating the habit of looking on the wonders of literature and life as mere miracles to be stared at, we should seek from all sources all kinds of information, however distasteful to us or however trivial, that may assist us to discover their true nature and other genesis; well, in short, for man, and in the end for each of us individually, that the driest light of truth should be thrown on everything. Pope's brilliant wit and his literary skill are among the intellectual glories of his age, and a part of the inheritance which ours gratefully receives; but need "Atticus," for example, or Mr. Cibber, or Lady Mary feel that human nature is degraded and the world made worse because Mr. Elwin comes forward and proves that the immortal to whom we are so much indebted was one of the most unscrupulous and pitiful of falsifiers and maligners? Was no service done when Sheridan's biographer published the manuscript *variæ lectiones* of the impromptu jokes of that wit? Lady Mary and "Atticus" and the Anne-Augustan dunces and some of the Georgian believers in solid work and sound morals, discredited by the shining parts of the brilliant orator, might feel themselves justified in praising the fullest truth as the only justice, the only thing always profitable to all. Or, again, how shall a rule be laid down and accepted that would have deprived us of the Johnson of Boswell, or any part of him, though we can imagine what the expurgating pen of the Doctor would have done had his young friend's manuscript once been submitted to it; and though, too, none of us who are fondest of the matchless biography could have blamed the Doctor had he made tremendous slashes in the portrait as we see it drawn.

—But, on the other hand, does it not peculiarly become us, as having been made partakers in the free benefactions of great men, to accord them the privacy which we demand as our right? Should they not be permitted to give what they choose and withhold what of theirs they choose to withhold? Are we not losers rather than gainers when in our eagerness searching everywhere, we learn, whatever else we learn, be it much or little worth, that our idol's feet are clay, and that our sometime demigod is no more than man? Apparently we must take sides against our former position; so far, at any rate, as to concede that probably this sort of offences needs must come; and that we all find it pleasant enough to have them come. But one has a feeling, too, that one would hardly like to be the man by whom very many of them do come; and that the rule, that it is well everything that is known about personages in whom the world has an interest should be told, is a rule which, practically, is often not binding upon us without many limitations—indeed, is a rule upon which, not seldom, it is unpermissible to act. Taste must often settle the matter; often it must be settled by considerations of justice and right feeling, considerations so impalpable as to be near akin to considerations of taste. Perhaps the intending collector of *ana* could do no better for himself—however he might for the world—than to bear constantly in mind Swift's remark about certain books: that there are books which we read with a lively pleasure, while at the same time we conceive for their authors a sincere contempt. Trelawney told us about Byron something that it was well enough to know when he told us that on the death of the poet he stripped his lower limbs of their covering and found that their deformity was caused by their being withered from the knee downward; but also he told us at the same time something worse of another person.

AN ENGLISH GOVERNESS IN SIAM.*

Mrs. Leonowens was fortunate in her opportunity of authorship. For several reasons, which it is not difficult to discover, the people of the Western world have known much less about Siam than about other oriental countries not more important nor more interesting. It lies somewhat on one side from the great highway of commerce; and the great gulf on which it borders, and through which it must be approached by the commerce of the outer world, is liable to sudden and perilous squalls, which make navigation unpleasant, if not difficult. Moreover, the anchorage at the head of the gulf is nothing but an open roadstead, with a dangerous bar obstructing the river, except for vessels of small tonnage. Any one who has ever tossed for three days in a gale of wind in this exposed position, waiting for a chance to cross the bar even in a small boat, will not wonder that commerce has busied itself with other fields which, though not in all respects richer, are more easily and directly accessible; and that Siam has had to wait its turn till India and China had been first explored. Within a few years a carrying trade in foreign vessels has been created between Siam and China; and a rice famine in the latter country was on one occasion averted, or greatly alleviated, by the surplus of the crop from the rich valleys of Siam.

Concerning some of the neighboring countries, a good deal of popular information has been given to the Christian world by reason of the great success which has attended the efforts of missionaries—notably the efforts of American missionaries in Birmah, of whom Judson was chief. But in Siam, although intelligent and zealous missionaries have been at work for years, they have hardly been able to show any success of the sort that appears in statistics of missionary societies. They have, indeed, been very useful in introducing a knowledge of the arts and sciences of Christian civilization; and in this part of their work, which is both a considerable and a legitimate part, they have received an almost unexampled patronage from the Government—a patronage intelligent and liberal. But, though we see to-day, as the result of their labors, the strange spectacle of Christian science and art flourishing in the palaces of Buddhist kings and princes; though we find that one of the American missions has for years

* "The English Governess at the Siamese Court. Being Recollections of Six Years in the Royal Palace at Bangkok. By Anna Harriette Leonowens." With illustrations from photographs presented to the author by the King of Siam. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1870.

been self-sustaining, chiefly through its printing-press, yet there has always been, on the part of the Government, a jealousy of religious proselytism, and an opposition to the introduction of Christian doctrine, against which the missionaries have found it impossible to make much headway; so that the Siamese missions have not been popular at home, and popular information concerning the country in which they are planted has not been called for, as it has been in regard to countries where the converts are numerous and the churches flourishing. If we except the work of Bishop Pallegoix, for years the esteemed head of the Roman Catholic mission, and the two volumes of Sir John Bowring, who negotiated the existing treaty with Great Britain, there has been nothing to awaken or to satisfy popular interest in Siam, except occasional sketches in magazines, missionary reports, and stories of voyages; so that Mrs. Leonowens had the fairest possible field and the best of opportunities for book-making.

The letter from the supreme King of Siam, which is given in her preface, and which was her commission as governess to the royal children, whose name is Legion, is very interesting, as illustrating what we have said concerning the attitude of the Government toward Christian nations. It is an autograph letter, such as his Majesty was fond of writing on the smallest provocation, and in his funniest style. The governess is warned (we quote) "that, in doing your education on us and on our children (whom English call inhabitants of benighted land), you will do your best endeavor for knowledge of English language, science, and literature, and not for conversion to Christianity, as the followers of Buddha are mostly aware of the powerfulness of truth and virtue, as well as the followers of Christ, and are desirous to have facility of English language and literature more than new religions." The eager desire for learning, the jealousy of religious influence, the sensitiveness to the opinions of the outside world, the patriotic self-respect, and the affectation of dignity thus oddly combined and expressed, are very characteristic of the King. And it must have begun to be apparent to Mrs. Leonowens, from the very terms of her commission, that to "do her education" on a royal family, with such a touchy and dictatorial pupil at its head, was to be a task of no small difficulty.

So, indeed, it proved. If the King would have let her alone, she would have had little trouble with his wives and children, who were docile and manageable enough. Indeed, the little children of her charge won her heart at once by their characteristic beauty and amiableness—qualities upon which other travellers and writers have also remarked. But this mature pupil of sixty, to whom the new governess was expected to make herself generally useful (as she discovered, to her great dismay), presently made her life a burden to her. This is from the description of her first introduction to the palace:

"'I have sixty-seven children,' said his Majesty, when we had returned to the audience-hall. 'You shall educate them, and as many of my wives, likewise, as may wish to learn English; and I have much correspondence in which you must assist me. And, moreover, I have much difficulty for reading and translating French letters; for French are fond of using gloomily deceiving terms. You must undertake; and you shall make all their murky sentences and gloomily-deceiving propositions clear to me. And, furthermore, I have by every mail foreign letters whose writing is not easily read by me. You shall copy on round-hand, for my readily perusal thereof.'"

To this general programme his Majesty adhered with great fidelity, and the unhappy governess had a hard time, compelled to yield to the most unreasonable caprices, and sometimes expected to assist in correspondence which went against her conscience by its untruthfulness. Probably, however, she was at no time in peril of her life or liberty, as she imagines herself to have been; for the King and all his court were too mindful of the good opinion of the foreign powers, and too well aware of the prompt energy with which any ill-treatment of a British subject would be resented, to venture on any violence or injustice. The work which Mrs. Leonowens had undertaken must often have proved disagreeable enough; but it was probably never dangerous, and the excitement of terror and distress into which she seems to have fallen not infrequently was scarcely justified.

Whenever the author is occupied with the story of her intercourse with the royal family, she is very lively and every way admirable. Her first interview with the King (from which we have quoted), bears evident marks of accuracy, as minute and perfect as if it had been reported at the moment by a stenographer. And she appreciates keenly enough the humor—sometimes unconscious and sometimes intentional—which marked his Majesty's conversation and correspondence. On the whole, her estimate of his character is not unfair, and when we remember how often and how seriously she must have been provoked by his caprice and shocked by his cruelty to the various members of his household (very seldom to his children, let it be remembered in his favor), she leans rather to the side of charity in her judgment. Her sketch of the Second King, with whom she seems to have had no personal acquaintance, is excellent. So is her estimate of the Prime Minister. And she has a kindly mention of that most jovial, most corpulent, and most hospitable of princes (whom every visitor to Siam must think of with esteem), Krom Luang Wongse, the King's half-brother.

No doubt, Mrs. Leonowens has done well to occupy herself chiefly with what occurred behind the scenes, and in the domestic life which no writer but herself has been permitted to observe. What she has told about the King, and what she saw in the process of "doing her education" on his household, is so interesting that we cannot help wishing she had recorded it more in detail. But one whose employments were so various, and from whom such unreasonable duties were exacted, may be excused for having left undone much which she would otherwise have gladly done. As it is, the book is half-filled up with geographical, historical, and other padding, not very skilfully inserted, and very disorderly in its arrangement. Indeed, when the author comes outside of the palace gates, and away from the immediate care of her pupils, she grows uninteresting. Her description of Bangkok is very incomplete, and nothing can well be more unsatisfactory than the account of her visit to the Naghkon Watt. The illustrations are good so far as they go, but are not the most characteristic that might have been chosen. Apparently, the writing of this book was an afterthought; and when at last it was undertaken, the author was obliged to use what material she had, and not what she might have had if she had been making notes and collecting material from the beginning. It is a book of recollections simply, or rather of recollections and padding.

But when we have said this, we have still left room to say that it is one of the most entertaining of recent books of travel, and that it will serve to introduce multitudes of readers to a country of wonderful wealth and beauty; to a court in some respects the most interesting in the world, and to a people with whom an increasing commercial intercourse, and the introduction among them of a Christian civilization, must make us more and more familiar.

THE MAGAZINES FOR MARCH.

READING Mr. Thurlow Weed's recollections of Winfield Scott, published in *Harper's* for March, one recalls the depth of veneration with which the boys who had rejoiced over Lundy's Lane and Chippewa and the geography-books' pictures of Perry's victory on Lake Erie, used to regard our old-time American heroes. It is curious to see that it never occurred to Mr. Weed, when he was honored by being a passenger on the same steamer which carried the Lieutenant-General across, that he was in all ways quite as worthy of respect as the rather pompous officer in whose presence he was anxiously respectful. The main business of the essay is to tell how Mr. Dayton, Mr. John Bigelow, Mr. Weed, and Archbishop Hughes met at Mr. Dayton's house in Paris, and decided that in order to allay the storm of excitement caused in France and England by Wilkes's seizure of Mason and Slidell, a letter from the Lieutenant-General ought forthwith to appear in the London and Paris journals. But the General's right hand was known to be swollen with gout, so that he was physically incapable of writing; yet, as he was "fastidiously careful of his literary reputation," how to get his name appended to a letter containing not only the phraseology of another man, but another man's punctuation also—"in regard to which he was particularly tenacious and sensitive"—was something that puzzled the counsellors extremely. However, Mr. Weed went to him and begged for a letter; the General agreed that such a letter was eminently necessary, and did not deny that he was the man to write it, but pointed to his swollen hand and said nothing could be done. Thereupon Mr. Weed remarked that if the General would only talk to him and give him his views, they should be embodied in words by somebody outside, and afterwards submitted to the author for revision. The General gave consent, and Mr. Weed went back to the Legation and astonished them by the story of his success. Meantime, Mr. John Bigelow had been at work for three hours preparing a letter in his well-known style, and this Mr. Weed shortly afterwards presented to its putative author, who "expressed his warm approval of every sentiment, and his admiration of its style and tone, and attached his large bold autograph" to it without altering a word or erasing so much as a comma.

Mr. Curtis's remarks about Jefferson's Rip Van Winkle and the chat about the trials of lecturers in far-off towns is in his more successful vein. For the rest, there is nothing out of the usual course in this month's *Har-*

per's, except, perhaps, a more than usually feeble sensational story called "Wed in the Morning, Dead at Night," which is far below the level of the love stories in which this magazine is so prolific. Persons desirous of reading about Florida may find in this number of *Harper's* a not very bad though not at all good account of the everglades and their fish, fowl, and beasts.

The *Atlantic* contains nothing particularly noticeable unless it be the beginning of Mr. Henry James's story of "A Passionate Pilgrim," which bids fair to develop several kinds of passion, but which in this instalment is largely devoted to the passion of affection, to call it so, which is inspired in many American hearts by the charm of the old country—the England of the literature of poetry and fiction and history which has been dreamed over for many years, and is now seen as the England whose meadows, and green lanes, and ancient castles and cathedrals, and farm-houses perhaps as ancient could alone without the poet or the romancer charm the heart as well as delight the eye.

"Ups and Downs of the Bourbons and Bonapartes," by a writer old enough to remember having paid civil attentions to Charles the Tenth when he fled from France, will be found pleasant enough reading; and still more so will be found the discursive notice of Miss Julia Wedgwood's recent biography of John Wesley. The book is not an adequate treatment of the subject of it; nor is the essay so good as, considering its subject, it ought to be, but both may be commended for perusal. The latter is worth looking at if only for the sake of this picture of the state of discipline among the Wesley children. As soon as they were "turned of a year" "they were taught to fear the rod, *and to cry softly*." Or if only for the sake of this hint of the condition of the English country clergyman of small means only a hundred and fifty years ago: a certain clergyman being in a house where, as in many houses, the chaplain was expected to retire from the board before the second course came on, was one day so temerarious as to help himself to a jelly. He himself is the narrator of the story, and he remarks that "the lady of the house, *though otherwise a devout woman*, told me that it did not become a man of my cloth to delight in such frivolous food."

"Shoddy" is a printed lecture of the somewhat rhetorical sort by Mr. E. P. Whipple, and has for its contents some of the things which the title will suggest to the lecture-goer, and some writing of the kind which also is known to the lecture-goer. "Kate Beaumont" has been a rather vulgar story from the beginning, but it has throughout had some clever surface sketches of the Southerner as he used to be, and perhaps will be when made into a book worth the attention of most readers who are still interested in that field of fiction. "Woman's Rights in Ancient Athens" is some account of a couple of the comedies of Aristophanes, in which the author is bold enough to present the argument that when men become entirely useless in war and likewise in debate, women if properly led may surpass them.

The poetry of the number is at its best in "Marguerite," by Mr. Whittier. It is a love story—in metre of bad example by the way—about a girl whom he describes rather queerly in the third verse:

> "Sick in an alien household the poor French neutral lay"

—as if she had been a brigantine or schooner. But it is a touching little story, full of feeling and affection. Mr. Longfellow we believe it is who writes out a Jewish legend which will command wide approval; Mr. Taylor gives us a translation of the prelude to "Helena"; and Mr. Howells some pleasing stanzas, done some years ago perhaps, called "The Mulberries."

The *Galaxy* has nothing more noticeable than a much-heralded article on the San Domingo question—an article understood to be, if not inspired from high quarters in Washington, at least written by some one conversant with the plans of the Administration, and well supplied with such information as the Administration has to give. We wish it joy of its advocate. A Congressional committee reporting on a contested election case could not be more feebly and obviously one-sided and committed to a foregone conclusion. There is a specimen of the author's style which may be taken also as evidence of his mental calibre, for we have not space to go into remarks on his statements of fact and his inferences. He is talking about Mr. Sumner's opposition to the passage of a resolution which authorized the sending out of a commission—an opposition characterized by more than the usual degree of overbearing rashness and insulting laxness of speech which have so often neutralized the good effects of Mr. Sumner's hardest and best-intentioned work. After he had finished a certain speech, says our author, "as suddenly as rose the warriors of Clan Alpine an army of giants in debate sprang to the defence of an insulted chief. That chamber has seen many a bitter strife, but it has generally been between man and man, or the encounter of opposing parties. Now it witnessed the sight of nearly all the speaking talent of the party drawn up against one who professed the same political faith. One after the other swords were drawn by men trained to cut and thrust, and who had tierce and carte at their fingers' ends. There was Morton with his clear logic and ready powers of debate; Nye with his keen satire; Chandler with his sledge-hammer blows and 'pungent but not unparliamentary' speech; Conkling with his towering eloquence and crushing invective, whose friends thought he had 'struck his best gait that night.'" Better even than this last touch is the conception of Mr. Chandler as dealing death-blows or using language more pungent than handfuls of mud.

An article not so bad as the one just mentioned, but about equally unworthy of a place in a magazine of the *Galaxy's* pretensions, is that entitled "The Higher Education in America," a matter which would seem to form just now the care of people who would have done better to get what education this country affords before dealing so roundly with us as to our American lack of such universities as Germany got when she was ready for them, and as we shall have in due time, and, indeed, are now nearer having than the writer before us knows. Not that he has not some sensible things to say, or that his article is not worth the attention of such as have not listened to the current arguments on this much-discussed topic. But the presumption is not strong in favor of any higher education in a man who comes to us to reason with us as to our need of culture, and begins by referring us to "that matchless book," "The Reveries of a Bachelor."

Old and New has some more about the "Porter-Humphreys-Hardin" swindler, and a historical review, not ill-done, from the standpoint of a Unitarian, of the last few decades of the English "church as by law established"—a form of words that ought to strike somewhat strangely on the ears of people who have another conception of "the church" than that it is the state as engaged in the function of teaching ninety-nine different doctrines as to the relations of man to God, Christ, heaven, and hell. From a Unitarian point of view, too, is written the article which talks of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, and of its being celebrated by the delivery of an oration in a Unitarian church, the auditors being people of all shades of religious belief and of no religious belief in particular, and the orator being a sound Episcopalian—as some Episcopalians count soundness. Yet still, as the writer well quotes, the Rev. John Robinson's parting words to the Pilgrims were such as these: "The Lord hath more truth yet to break forth out of his Holy Word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches who are come to a period in religion, and will at present go no further than the instruments of their reformation. Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times; yet they penetrated not the whole counsel of God. I beseech you remember it." For the rest, *Old and New* has some more of Mrs. Stowe's story of "Pink and White Tyranny," which offers direct encouragement to plain girls, and has brought the pretty girl of the story to reading French novels, which the husband, however, gently but firmly takes away from her; the beginning of a Dickens-like story by Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney; some inferior poetry; some book-notices, none of which is successful; and certain other matter.

Story-readers will be pleased with "The Blood-Seedling," by Mr. John Hay, which appears in this month's *Lippincott's*. It will not bear reading twice, for there is not much of it except the surprise at the end of it; but that is well managed. Better than anything else in the magazine—which has a story by "Ouida," and an unpractical essay by Mr. Amasa Walker, on "The Moral of the Franco-Prussian War"—is some account of Mr. Robert Walsh's mission to San Domingo and Hayti just twenty years ago. He was sent out by Fillmore and Webster to act in conjunction with commissioners from France and England, who were to try if they could not prevail on the Haytians and Dominicans to refrain from cutting each other's throats as soon as the rainy season had so far passed as to give them a chance at each other. We advise any one who thinks he has a good reason for annexing these gentlemen to us to turn to Mr. Walsh's account of them. Mr. Chandler's plea, or whosesoever it was, that by the annexation of an island with the climate of San Domingo we should raise the average temperature of the United States, and thus benefit the poor man, and break down the coal monopoly, is the only reason upon which to fall back that we see remaining.

Of the *Catholic World* not much is to be said. There, too, "The

Higher Education" gets some attention, and the writer states clearly his belief and that of the church as regards any and all education—namely, that the church it is which shall say what is to be taught and who is to teach it. The writer of the articles on Mr. S. Baring-Gould's "Origin and Development of Religious Belief" appears to be still bothered to make out what Mr. Gould's point of view is, and talks of him as if he were some sort of lost metaphysician. He has his excuse for being in a confused state of mind as to Mr. Gould, for that gentleman has been "in pretty tall grass," as they say in New England, ever since he undertook philosophizing on religion; but as he is an out-and-out Ritualist Episcopalian, who, in writing this last book of his, was attempting, or pretending to put himself in the attitude of, free enquiry, whence he was to proceed to put Christianity on a basis of philosophy, the shortest way for our reviewer, and the least wearisome to all concerned, would be to employ the usual method which Roman Catholics adopt in the case of people who believe in the earlier church, and do not believe exclusively in the Roman one of the three fragments into which the earlier church has been split. There is nothing to prevent his being told that it is illogical in him to stay where he is, and that he must eventually come over to Rome.

"Early Missions in Acadia" will be found interesting, and any one who wishes to see a bad form of the historical novel mixed with the religious novel, in one of its more disagreeable forms, may see it in these chapters before us of "Dion and the Sibyls." Though, for that matter, to be sure, one might say that there is so little of the novel about the performance that one is at liberty to look upon it as a sort of historical study of certain personages, and an attempt, like Becker's, say, to reproduce for us certain details of a daily life of classical times. Perhaps the worst of the matter is that, except very reverent or very sceptical persons, almost everybody not very coarse in taste will be more or less disgusted by the introduction of Jesus into the story.

Life and Nature under the Tropics; or, Sketches of Travels among the Andes, and on the Orinoco, Rio Negro, and Amazons. By H. M. and P. V. N. Myers. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1871. 12mo, pp. 330, with several full-page illustrations and a map.)—The expedition to tropical America, of which this little volume is an account, was sent out by the Lyceum of Natural History of Williams College. This most successful of all our college natural-history societies, and which, we may say in passing, has had no inconsiderable influence in promoting science in this country, has already sent exploring parties to Florida, Labrador, and Greenland, besides regions nearer home. The spirit of adventure and discovery seems to have culminated in the expedition to South America, which has resulted in two of perhaps as readable and useful accounts of foreign travel as our literature has produced for several years.

The party divided at New York, one party sailing by way of Panama to Guayaquil, the other taking passage in a trading vessel to Caracas, or rather its seaport town, La Guaira. With the doings of the latter division of the expedition we shall chiefly concern ourselves. Professor Orton has already given us an account of the expedition from Quito over the Andes, down the Napo River to the mouth of the Amazons, a second account of which occupies the last half of the present volume, and which is mainly a repetition of Orton's narrative. The line of travel of the Caracas and Orinoco party was from that city southward to the Orinoco, up a portion of that river to San Francisco, thence southward still up the Atabapo River, down the Rio Negro, and homewards by way of the Amazons. The route from San Francisco to the Rio Negro had not previously been traversed by Americans, and the whole trip, with its dangers and difficulties, both from the physical obstacles of the route and the delays occasioned in procuring guides and boats, called for an unusual amount of pluck and perseverance in the three young men that composed the small party. Moreover, the story of their hardships and dangers is told in a "boyish way" that is certainly very attractive. Much good judgment has been exercised in the treatment of the different topics, and the whole book is a compact, well-balanced narrative, leaving on the mind vivid and clear views of the physical features of the vast region passed over, with the more salient points in its natural history, geology, and ethnography.

The authors are not *savants*, or they would not have called "fossil specimens of the marine fauna" what were simply fossil marine animals. They would not have called the maniti, or sea-cow, a cetacean, for "this herbivorous cetacea" is no cetacean at all, but a true ruminant, with a whale's physiognomy; hence no wonder that its fat is "void of that odor peculiar to cetaceous oil generally." Neither is a shark, though monstrous enough morally, a "cetaceous monster," as certainly as a whale is not a fish. "It seems strange to speak of grasses as forming forest," but hardly less so than to refer to the Bambusa as "that arboreal gramina," when arboreal grass is meant.

This book gives us, however, the only account we have in our own language of the country about the head-waters of the Orinoco, except the "Travels" of Humboldt. In physical geography, we have here presented a fresh account of the *terra calienta* of the coast; the cool and beautiful Valley of Caracas, that would be a paradise were it not for the memories of the terrific earthquake of 1812; with fresh descriptions of the vast internal seas that cover the llanos during the rainy season, when broad rivers are obliterated, and the canoesmen steer by the sun across river basins and over forests, while floating caimans fill the place of sharks in these illimitable fresh-water seas, which, like the mid-Atlantic, have their regions of perpetual calm. In matters of more human interest, we have sketches of the honest, simple, indolent Indians, as harmless as they are degraded. Reference is made to the tribe which live like monkeys in trees, as described by Humboldt, but our travellers do not seem to have met with them. The Amazonians evidently never penetrated into the highlands of Venezuela, if we may credit our authors' statements that "for the first and only time while in the country we saw a woman seat herself at the table in company with men. Among the better class of Venezuelans it is customary for ladies to take their meals in their rooms, having them brought by servants; while among the middle and lower classes the women wait until their lords have eaten, when they take possession of the table with what may be left, or, as is more commonly the case, they crouch with the children upon the ground in the corner, where, from the iron pots, they take their food."

In geological matters, brief reference is made to the gold regions of Venezuelan Guiana—the veritable "El Dorado"—which "embrace the broken mountain-ranges lying about one hundred miles south of the Orinoco, in the eastern portion of Venezuela, between the rivers Essequibo and Caroni." But these rich and promising gold-fields are two hundred miles from the Atlantic coast, and far out of the line of travel of our party, though at the time of their temporary sojourn at Urbana" on the Orinoco, the inhabitants were suffering from an attack of the gold-fever. Any information concerning the subject of the former existence of an Amazonian glacier is acceptable, but no additional facts of importance seem to have been observed either for or against the theory, though both sides of the case are presented with fairness. The authors lean to the opinion that there was an intertropical winter—at least, such a reduction of the temperature as to cause a lowering of the snow-line upon the Andes, and the formation of local glaciers among the serras of Brazil. This most geologists are probably willing to admit, but it is quite a different thing from a continental glacier, filling the Amazons valley one or more thousand feet in thickness, and loading the Atlantic with icebergs, such as Agassiz has suggested in his remarkable theory.

Nomina Geographica. Versuch einer allgemeinen geographischen Onomatologie. Von Dr. J. J. Egli. Erste Lieferung. (Leipzig: Fr. Brandstetter; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1871.)—This dictionary of "Geographical Names," which is also, as we remarked the other day, to embrace a treatise on the principles underlying geographical onomatology, promises to add one more to the many shining monuments of German erudition. The lexicon proper, of which we have the letter A and the beginning of B before us, is to contain seventeen thousand names—belonging to all divisions of the globe and all languages, as well as to all classes of geographical objects—lexicographically arranged, and accompanied by etymological explanations showing not only the meaning, but also the natural or historical reason, of every appellation. Names bestowed upon localities by discoverers, concerning which the original reports of travel give authentic information, will form more than half of the collective matter, while those for which there is no plausible derivation will be ignored. The authorities which serve the author as guides in this vast and checkered work are—as the introductory list of them and almost every page of the text show—not only correspondingly rich and varied, but of the highest critical value. The following notices—taken from one page—which we translate in a somewhat abridged form, may serve as specimens of the work:

"ALMADEN, the mine, Arabic name of a Spanish town renowned for the rich quicksilver mines in its vicinity. The same word, properly *el-Ma'aden*, appears in the name of Fort Almada, opposite Lisbon, 'ainsi nommé parce qu'en effet la mer jette des paillettes d'or pur sur le rivage.

Durant l'hiver les habitants de la contrée vont auprès du fort â la recherche de ce métal . .' Edrisi, translated by Jaubert, ii. 26."

"ALMADEN, NEW, name of an important quicksilver mining locality in California, called after the Spanish Almaden. *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, 1856, p. 9."

"ALMALY—Turkish—apple-place, a village southwest of Sivas, in Asia Minor. Tchihatcheff, 'Reisen in Kleinasien und Armenien,' p. 13."

"ALMANNAGJA, all men's chasm—from *al*, many or all, *manna*, gen. plur. of *madur*, man, and *gjà*, chasm—name of a grand mountain gorge in Iceland, in which, during and after the time of the Icelandic Republic, 927–1800, the Althing, the people's court or general assembly, was held. Preyer and Zirkel, 'Reise nach Island,' p. 80."

"ALMATCHINSKIY, from the Kirghizian *almat*, apple, the name of a Russian fort in the Kirghiz country, signifying the Almataian, that is, situated on the river Almatâ. Old Chinese maps have at this place Gurban Almatu, meaning: three rivers with apple-trees, three apple-rivers. Humboldt, 'Asie Centrale,' iii. 226; Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1858, xvi. 497."

"ALMEJAS, GOLFO DE LAS, shell-fish bay, name of a bay on the west coast of the Californian peninsula. Duflos de Mofras, 'Exploration du territoire de l'Orégon, des Californies, etc.,' i. 231."

"'ALMON—Hebrew—seclusion, a place belonging to the tribe of Benjamin. Josh. xxi. 18. Gesenius, 'Hebrew Lexicon.' Present name 'Almith. Robinson, 'Neuere biblische Forschungen,' 376."

"ALMÓRA, from *almóri*, a kind of sorrel—*Rumex hastatus*—abounding in the vicinity, Hindí name of a place in Kamáon, Hindostan. Schlagintweit, 'Geographical Glossary,' p. 169."

The unusual correctness of the numerous quotations contained in the work, from the original of books written in a large number of languages both ancient and modern, may be considered a guaranty of the trustworthiness of the references, which so considerably enhance the value of this dictionary. In Hebrew characters alone we discover here and there a slight oversight. Thus we find *Adillam*, for *Adullam* (p. 6), *Ay Khappe tor*, for *Iy Caphtor* (p. 7); and *Anakh*, for *Anab*—a mistake which has led the author to the erroneous substitution of an article "Anak" for "Anab." We are also surprised to find the Semitic "Ammon" omitted, while the Egyptian and its derivatives are given. In the same way we find "Arabah," but no article explanatory of "Arabia;" and Mount "Araxos," but no river "Araxes"—though the derivations given of the names Arabah and Araxos are perfectly applicable to the names omitted. A graver omission is that of both "Babel" and "Babylon." "Ægates" is wrongly referred to "Gader," instead of to "Ægades," as the latter article shows; and the explanation of "Argos" can be found only under "Argon Pedion." Some notices omitted at their proper place are given in a brief supplement to the letter A, and we hope the author will add a general list of corrections at the end of the whole work. He calls his production a *Versuch*, and as such it is certainly excellent, in spite of its defects.

Lectures and Essays. By J. R. Seeley, M. A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1870.)—Perhaps the most striking characteristic of this volume, containing ten papers on almost as many subjects, is that it should be the production of a Cambridge professor, and especially of a professor of history there. In contrast with the labored and solemn lucubrations of Sir James Stephen on French history, and in still stronger contrast with the spasmodic sentimentalism of Mr. Kingsley, the plain, straightforward, sturdy English in which Mr. Seeley speaks to Cambridge men of their political duties, to English teachers of theirs, to clergymen of theirs, is in wholesome evidence of the great advance made by the best class of English talkers in the art of talking to the purpose, and in the business of having a purpose in their talk. Mr. Seeley represents at Cambridge very much the direction taken by Goldwin Smith at Oxford, and by Matthew Arnold in even a wider field—that of all English-reading scholars. All three are masters of style, in a way that at times tempts them, Arnold most of all, into phrases that really outrun their meaning, but at least they never begin to speak or to write until they have a set purpose, and their plain intention is to bring others, and particularly younger persons, to their way of thinking, or at best to such a consideration of their thoughts as shall not give hearers or readers the excuse of never having been asked to think about the matter in hand. It is this plain earnestness of speech that makes the writings of such Englishmen as Mr. Seeley so attractive and so useful, both in themselves and as examples of what the modern English standard of scholastic style is, or ought to be, in the foremost masters of it both abroad and at home.

If we had a hand in securing an American reprint of this volume, we would put first and foremost the lecture which is the last in the English edition, that on "The Teaching of Politics," as much for the vigorous, simple phrases of the introductory remarks as for the sound sense which pervades it. Next to it should come the lecture on "English in Schools," for if our schoolboys get less Latin and Greek than their English fellows, they get quite as little English, and that little very bad, whereas a decent discipline in their native language would give us men with sounder thoughts and more precision in the expression of them than we now find in most of our public writers and talkers. Next in interest, originality, and value are the papers on Milton's political opinions and on his poetry, and, taken together, they form a capital commentary on the place now assigned him in modern English literature—a far safer one than that claimed for him by his extravagant eulogists, and more likely, too, to win him readers.

Of the articles specially technical, such as those on "Liberal Education in Universities" and "The Church as a Teacher of Morality," the interest is mainly English, though the thoughts are often of more than local application. For instance, Mr. Seeley's advice to clergymen to preach politics might well be heeded in our American pulpits. The business of an English university is so different from that of our colleges, that the paper on that subject, and the frequent recurrence to it in almost all the studies on cognate topics, commend themselves rather to those in search of information than to the general reader. The lectures on "Roman Imperialism" were reprinted, at least in part, in *Littell*, and have thus already made a large circle of readers in this country familiar with a capital example of Mr. Seeley at his best in the matter of style, while investing an old and familiar subject with new phrases even where there was little room for original ideas. The paper on "Elementary Principles in Art" is rather a mild specimen of padding. Altogether, however, the series has a value and importance beyond that of the immediate subjects under treatment, as showing how broad a field is cultivated by the men who are acknowledged leaders in current or rather contemporary English literature; and we cannot but reget that similar essays by American scholars whom we certainly should not rate below Professor Seeley, require, or are thought by publishers to require, a fanciful title to propitiate readers among their countrymen.

The Middle Kingdom. By S. Wells Williams. Fourth edition. 2 vols. (New York: John Wiley & Son. 1871.)—The reissue of this standard work evinces the interest felt by Americans in all matters pertaining to China and the Chinese. Few publications of a similar nature have achieved a more merited and widespread popularity than "The Middle Kingdom," it being accepted, both in this country and in Europe, as the best authority upon Chinese matters extant. The copy before us presents a marked improvement over previous editions in mechanical finish, both as regards letterpress and illustrations. We must, however, enter a protest against the words "fourth edition" on the title-page, as, however technically correct, they are calculated to mislead the public. The words "new edition" so generally imply a revision and emendation of previous issues, that one feels inclined to resent their application to a bare reprint, as is the case in this instance. How literally the old text has been adhered to may be easily seen. Thus (vol. ii., p. 594) we read: "From the close of the year 1844 to the present period, nothing has occurred to disturb the amicable relations existing, in general, between China and other nations except the opposition of the citizens of Canton, etc." And again, p. 599: "They (the Chinese) are afraid to act against the opium vessels on the coast, most of which sail under English colors, lest the Governor of Hong Kong demand reparation, etc." Nothing is said of the disturbances which have so lamentably signalized the history of foreign intercourse with China during the past decade, or of the treaties which legalized the opium traffic, and thereby added considerably to the income of the Chinese exchequer. We have taken these examples at random from pages which, accurate enough when first written, stand grievously in need of revision now that twenty-seven years have elapsed since their original publication. Had the retention of these pages been accompanied by an explanatory note, but little need have been said in the way of criticism. But the "preface to a new edition" only brings matters up to 1860, with the very briefest mention at that; leading the uninformed reader to infer that no event worth recording in the history of foreign intercourse had occurred since the signing of the Tientsing treaty.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Williams will, before long, undertake the revision of his second volume, and thus render the work under notice not merely our best authority on all that relates to Chinese geography, ethnology, manners, and customs, etc., but complete also as a history of foreign intercourse with that remarkable people. Meanwhile, despite the grave omission we deem it a duty to point out, "The Middle Kingdom" remains the most perfect compilation relating to China yet published in any European language.

Tertullian. Vols. II. and III. Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Edited by the Rev. A. Roberts, D.D., and Jas. Donaldson, LL.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Chas. Scribner & Co.)—In noticing the first volume of "Tertullian," against "Marcion," a general estimate was given of the value of this father, and the characteristics of his style were indicated, especially in contrast with the Apostolic writings. Vol. II. contains other controversial essays and theological disquisitions, chiefly upon the humanity of Christ, the resurrection of the flesh—which is pressed to a bald literalness—and the nature and destiny of the soul. Vol. III. contains essays singularly adapted to these times, upon such topics as monogamy, chastity, modesty, and the veiling of virgins. The counsels to the virgins would be specially distasteful to a class of advocates of the publicity of women; and it must be admitted that some of Tertullian's phraseology is hardly more modest than the demonstrations at which his satire is aimed. Clearly enough, the contest between feminine forwardness and womanly reserve is not a fruit of the light and progress of the nineteenth century. Even Paul and Peter had an inkling of it, and, in Tertullian's time, it had assumed formidable proportions. "Put on," said he, "the panoply of modesty, surround yourself with the stockade of bashfulness, rear a rampart for your sex which must neither allow your own eyes egress nor ingress to other people's."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1871.

The Week.

THE great event of the week in politics has been the removal of Mr. Sumner from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which was carried by a large majority—many of the Republican members who were opposed to it abstaining from voting, being unwilling to act in opposition to the decision of the caucus, and yet being determined not to aid actively in carrying it out. We have discussed the matter elsewhere. The general impression, as indicated by the newspapers at all events, seems to be that it is, as regards the fortunes of the Administration, a fatal blunder, and it has drawn forth a great many flattering expressions of feeling about Mr. Sumner. His friends, who are just now engaged in praising him, and claiming indulgence for his faults of temper and his mistakes, on account of his past services to the country, would do well to remember that General Grant has some claims of the same nature to indulgence and forbearance. It may be that he owes his place in the White House in some degree to Mr. Sumner's fidelity to the principles of the Republican party; but it is equally safe to say that Mr. Sumner owes his place in the Senate in some degree to General Grant. The question whether there should be any Senate for Mr. Sumner to sit in was very hotly debated about six years ago, and we believe the stout manner in which General Grant maintained the affirmative had much to do with the result. We are as fully alive to Grant's official faults as anybody, but when his claims to national gratitude come to be compared with those of any other man, we honestly confess we are rather overpowered by the display he makes. As our Washington correspondent points out, the orators have just now the advantage of him, but he has stood in places where he was worth more to the country than ten thousand orators.

There can be little doubt that the quarrel will give a fatal blow to the San Domingo scheme, no matter what the report of the Commissioners may be. It has never taken any firm hold of public opinion, and would have needed under ordinary circumstances all the Commission could say in favor of it to give it a chance of success. Having furnished its opponents with a distinguished martyr, the President may as well give up the struggle. This result has indeed been so apparent from the beginning, that it is difficult to believe that the President did not foresee it, and that his desire to have Mr. Sumner removed is not due to other things than the Senator's hostility to the San Domingo scheme. The report that a desire for his removal from the chairmanship had been expressed by the English members of the High Commission was always a silly one, but it has now been formally contradicted by Mr. Fish.

Four, three, and even two years ago, when the protectionists had everything their own way in the House, they were warned again and again, even by those who had no great partiality for free-trade, that their performances were more than any community would long submit to; and that, if they wished the aid they were getting from the country to be permanent, they should be moderate in their demands, and learn to let well enough alone; that is, stop tinkering the tariff, and calling attention every winter to the amount of their requirements, and, above all, stop asking incessantly for more; or, in other words, to consider themselves lucky dogs, and keep still. They scorned this ignoble *rôle*, however, and persisted in acting as apostles of a new gospel, and openly proclaimed their belief that, if they could shut out all foreign goods, they would consider it a good thing, and would do it. Nearly a year ago (April 14, 1870), we pointed out in the *Nation* the impossibility of trying the protectionist system thoroughly under a popular government, or any government controlled by public opinion. We said that "the trial of an experiment requiring an indefinite period of time for its completion, and inflicting on the community during the whole time a present and perceptible loss, as the price of a remote and invisible good, it was useless to expect from a large popular assembly like the American Congress, the composition of which almost completely changes in the course of eight or ten years, and which every two years receives from its constituents a fresh set of mental and moral impressions."

All this was an easy deduction from the history of the American tariff; but we now have a fresh proof of its soundness in what is passing at this moment in Congress. The protectionist forces in the House have apparently dwindled down to about fifty votes all told. Mr. Kelley, who during the last ten years has been loud, truculent, implacable, and insatiable, is wailing like a beggar; or, as Mr. Cox says, is talking like Jeremiah where he so lately talked like Isaiah. The revenue reformers are in such a majority as to be positively reckless, and have gone to work at the tariff, even in advance of the organization of the committees, in a style that seems to make its total abolition a possibility. They swept away the salt duty on Monday; they then swept away the duty on bituminous coal; and then the Pennsylvania protectionists, in the bitterness of despair, proposed attacking the duties on tea and coffee also, and a general rush followed, overthrowing these also by 141 to 49. There is nothing on the list less objectionable than the duties on tea and coffee, and nothing which brings more for the revenue at less cost of collection, and there is some danger that the reformers will be led in their enthusiasm into doing more than the revenue will stand. It is desirable now to pull up and wait for the forming of some programme. This mode of cutting down tariffs is nearly as objectionable as the protectionists' mode of putting them up, because it fills the land with uncertainty and anxiety. Let us now have a decent and even tolerably scientific system of taxation. There is a letter in the *Tribune* of Tuesday from a frightened "Republican" in Washington, evidently a protectionist, which is entertaining reading, calling for "a carefully revised tariff bill, so wisely drawn," and "so thoroughly sustained by facts and figures," that the party can go before the country with it in the Presidential canvass; otherwise he fears the tariff quarrel will split the party up. A little of this sort of talk from this quarter last year would have been serviceable, but none was heard, and anybody who supplied "facts and figures" which the high tariff men did not like was denounced as a knave.

The Senate Republican caucus has resolved, in spite of the general desire to go home, to prolong the session of Congress until some legislation can be effected for the protection of life and property at the South. Something to protect life and property at the South is sorely needed, but one cannot help wondering at the persistence with which the faith in coercive acts is kept up in Washington. It is not for want of laws that men are murdered and whipped, and their houses burned, at the South, but for want of the means of executing them. There are laws against murder, arson, and mayhem, and assault and battery, in every State in the South; the existing trouble arises out of the fact that in every State there are large bodies of persons who refuse to obey them. There are two ways of having laws obeyed: one is enlisting the majority of the community heartily and actively in their support; the other is providing force enough to compel people to obey them whether they like them or not. The first of these is not attainable by legislation; it is the result of religion, education, intelligence, industry, prosperity. Does Congress really mean to provide the other, or is it simply going to let Mr. Butler, or somebody like him, bring in a loud, resounding, penal enactment, which will throw dust in the eyes of the public, and leave things at the South precisely as they were before? It is time that this farce of "protecting life and property at the South" by mere threats came to an end. If Congress means to protect it really by force, it must provide the soldiers for the work, and the people must be prepared to pay the bills. If they are not ready to do this, the pacification must be left to time and education. But its present

condition of the South is terrible, and the disease from which it is suffering is moral, not political—if indeed there be any political disease which is not also moral.

The majority report of the Senate Committee to investigate Southern disorders relates exclusively to North Carolina. This State lay nearest to hand, and has been perhaps as conspicuous as any other for the outrages committed on blacks and whites by Ku-klux organizations. The fact that, by the impeachment of Gov. Holden, the State was in a sense itself trying the question of the reality of these outrages, and of the necessity of employing extra-judicial means to suppress them, might have suggested the propriety of examining first some other community. But the charge that the committee was purposely acting in the interest of Gov. Holden would not seem to be established by the arguments of the minority of the committee (Senators Bayard and Blair), or by the mode in which the investigation was conducted. Fifty-two witnesses were summoned, including all whose testimony was desired by the minority, and while twenty-nine of these were Republicans, twenty-one were Democrats or Conservatives, and six were confessedly members of the Ku-klux. The greatest latitude was allowed in questioning, and the whole policy of the State, financial as well as political, appears to have been freely explored. It was proved beyond question that the Ku-klux is a secret political order of white men, all Democrats, and many of them ex-Confederate soldiers, and that in certain districts in North Carolina they have perpetrated such and so numerous atrocities as o make life and property there totally insecure for a certain class of the population: further, that no conviction in any court has ever followed upon any one of them, while colored marauders who have occasionally adopted the Ku-klux disguise have been, on discovery, apprehended, and made to pay the penalty of the law. The minority report is very irrelevant, and makes no point of any weight, except that the alleged disorders have occurred in less than one in ten of the eighty-seven counties into which North Carolina is divided.

Senator Fenton has made a speech in support of his bill for the reform of the Custom-house, describing the abuses of the institution at considerable length, and they are due, in the last analysis, we need hardly say, to the incompetency and dishonesty of the officers. Mr. Fenton said "that the whole matter points towards civil-service reform;" that the use of the Government patronage for party purposes was highly injurious to the country; that this patronage has become too vast, and the offices to be filled too numerous, to permit the application of the maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils," any longer; and he has accordingly added a section to his bill, providing that all officers of the customs whose appointment needs the confirmation of the Senate shall hold office for four years, and not be removable except for cause, and after a fair trial. Coming from such a quarter, this proposition is enough to fill one with amazement; and it shows what rapid progress the cause of civil-service reform is making, though we have our doubts "whether this particular measure is just what is needed," etc., etc.

New Hampshire has gone Democratic by a vote which completely reverses the political character of the State, and takes from the heretofore dominant party the entire Congressional delegation. The event is one which may well give concern to the Republican leaders, and it renders still more evident the reaction which has already cost the protectionists their control of the national revenues.

We have given elsewhere a summary of Mr. D. D. Field's letter in reply to General Barlow. There is one passage in it which deserves, however, a separate mention, and that is Mr. Field's report of what he was told of the origin of the Church and Ramsey suits. He says: "The Board of Directors of the Susquehanna Company was divided into two parties, one of which supported Ramsey, the then President, making six in all, while the other consisted of the Vice-President Herrick and seven other directors, making eight in all, who disapproved of the management of Ramsey as injurious to the road, *extravagant*, and *corrupt*. These eight directors, for the purpose of securing a majority of the stock at the approaching election to be held on the 7th of September, had sought the aid of Gould and Fisk in the purchase of the stock." We think this is the one comic passage in the controversy, and it is made all the more so by Mr. Field's feeling, which he shows throughout, that in pursuing Ramsey he was pursuing the villain of the drama, and owed him no mercy. Railroad reformers who are so disgusted with "the extravagance and corruption" of the president of a road that they call in the aid of Fisk and Gould to oust him, and appoint Fisk receiver the very first thing, could certainly not be matched as impudent wags, or could only be matched by a congregation who, being disgusted by the immoralities of their pastor, should send to the penitentiary in search of a "stated supply." Mr. Field's indignation at the tricks by which Ramsey sought to hide the books from these worthies may be justifiable, but on the surface, and to a benighted public, it seems as if it might be better expended. We are bound to say that, on any ordinary view of human affairs, Ramsey was entitled, even when stowing away his books in a graveyard, to the sympathy of honest men.

The upright Fisk, who was called on by "the Church party" to help them to purify the administration of the affairs of the Susquehanna Railroad, seems to be at last getting into a corner where Barnard cannot help him. The English stockholders sent an agent over here last winter to represent them, who endeavored to get their stock transferred on the books of the company, so as to enable their representatives here to vote on it. The scrip—60,055 shares—was accordingly sent up to the office, to enable the transfer to be effected; but Fisk, hearing what was going on, seized the stock, and got Judge Barnard to appoint one of his confederates, James H. Coleman, "receiver" of it. In other words, he stole the shares, and set the stockholders at defiance, and commenced a sham suit against them before Barnard. This suit has, however, been moved into the United States District Court, and as soon as the confederates found there was no escape, they discontinued it, and tried to make off with the spoil. But Judge Blatchford appointed another receiver, and ordered Coleman to hand the property over to him. Whereupon the confederates have now got another order from Barnard, directing Coleman to hand the stock over to a new receiver, one Charles Robinson, who now holds it. How long this little game can be carried on remains to be seen. But can there be a greater disgrace to a civilized community than having to sit still helplessly while two scoundrels like Fisk and Barnard perform these thimblerigging operations before its eyes?

The Woman Question seems to acquire additional complexity every month, and the increasing difficulty of dealing with it, we are afraid, will cause many men to give in their adhesion to the sentiments of that "noble old Roman," Metellus Macedonicus, who, haranguing the senate, exhorted his colleagues to bear with their wives "manfully," as they could not "get rid of the infliction," and "it was their duty to look more to the permanent conservation of the state than to their own transient satisfaction." The world is vexing itself almost to distraction over woman's health, woman's education, woman's rights, woman's work; and now the news is going the round of the papers that drinking among women of the better classes is becoming fearfully common. This assertion was started the other day by the *Saturday Review* of English women; the medical journals took it up and said it was "too true;" now it has made its way over to this country, and the *Tribune* says it is "too true" of American women also. The female upper classes are, it appears, all going astray in the matter of stimulants. Some take opium; others champagne; others fancy drinks; deaths from delirium tremens, we are informed, "have occurred this winter among young, generous, and lovable girls," and there are ever so many female lunatics in asylums, brought there by "alcoholism," which is the new name for drunkenness. Then we have the well-known explanations about love of excitement, jaded nerves, feeling of "goneness," low tone, lack of stamina, late hours, wicked physicians, little brandy, more brandy, secret brandy in restaurants, mania-à-potu, insane retreat, ruined home, awful warning, afflicted husband, poor little children, hereditary tendency, and-so-on.

To the best of our belief, this story has gone abroad about the women of England and America regularly once every four or five years since the temperance movement first began. We neither admit nor deny its truth. But we do say, that, if true, it amazes us that there should be a really sober woman in either country, or in fact, to speak plainly, any woman who is not the drunken daughter of a drunken mother. We are glad to say that this is one of the subjects connected with women on which a certain class of writers love to exaggerate; and on which exaggeration is easy, because of course the story-teller is always bound to "suppress names." He can't decently tell who the ladies were he saw last week reeling about their own drawing-rooms, and you can't urge him to do it; so he shakes his head and goes off with a dismal, mysterious look, leaving you with awful suspicions about all "the generous, lovable girls" of your acquaintance. The writer who has treated the subject in the *Tribune* has apparently had a horrible social experience, for he talks of "the belle of the ball-room whirling half-naked in an immodest dance; her face unnaturally red, and the smell of liquor on her breath—pah!" We must say "pah" strikes us as a very mild form of condemnation of such a spectacle. If we saw a belle behaving in that way in a ball-room, we should censure her much more severely.

Most decent people supposed the proposal to erect a statue to Tweed was a huge joke, got up by ward politicians, till the publication of the names of the promoters of the movement, the other day, revealed the fact that amongst them were serious and even respectable men, and that it really was likely to result in setting up, in some public place in this great commercial city, a monument to the most notorious rogue of the day. Tweed himself, in a manly and sensible letter, which, it is to be hoped, will make some of those who signed the address to him wish themselves dead and, for the sake of their relatives, buried in some obscure graveyard, repudiates the whole thing, and declines the honor, and says significantly that, "though much abused, he is not wanting in common sense."

Mercantile business has been fairly active, but with transactions on a moderate scale. Imports continue large, but buyers act with caution. There have been several heavy failures, but none of any special significance. The cotton receipts continue on an extraordinary scale, and all accounts agree that there is a large portion of the crop yet to come. Prices have again declined, but the export continues heavy, and the English markets, though lower, show no signs of panic. Breadstuffs are firm, and the exports continue on a fair scale. The statistics of trade from the Custom-house appear to have now fallen into hopeless confusion, but nothing less was to be expected. Real estate has been dull and discouraging; even the most persevering believers in higher prices appear now to have given up hope; rents show strong signs of weakening, but the landlords, as a general thing, keep firm, not recognizing as yet the positive inability of people to pay the prevailing rates. There is nothing new from the coal regions. Matters there are drifting into a very dangerous condition indeed, but on this, as on all other subjects, the public seems incapable of alarm, anxiety, or even indignation.

The report comes that the London Conference has agreed on a treaty of peace, the terms of which are very much what was anticipated. The neutrality of the Black Sea is abolished, so that Russia may keep as many ships-of-war in it as she pleases; but the Porte is, on the other hand, allowed to exercise its discretion as to the admission of armed vessels through the Dardanelles. That is, in case the Sultan thinks things look threatening in the Black Sea, he can call up assistance without waiting for an actual outbreak of hostilities. The present treaty provides for the "solidarity" of the co-signataries. No one can withdraw without the consent of all the others.

The information forwarded to us by the Cable concerning the deliberations of the French National Assembly is distressingly meagre. It is possible that the doings of that Assembly, pending the definitive conclusion of peace and the first-stage evacuation of French territory by the Germans, are of insignificant proportions. As to its collective character, however, it has so far revealed itself that we may designate it as decidedly conservative and equally hostile both to red republicanism and Bonapartism. But both the republican and Bonapartist elements are represented in it, with the main difference that the former is boisterous and threatening and the latter quiet and almost hidden, as if ashamed of its color. The proportion of Legitimists to Orleanists is not as vastly disadvantageous to the former as the earliest communications made it appear. That the Orleanists are in every way the strongest group—whether we consider their numbers, their connection with the executive, or their central position, which enables them to find support among the more moderate and peace-loving portions of both Legitimists and Republicans—admits no doubt. But, as far as our knowledge goes, they have as yet shown no disposition broadly to unfurl their distinctive flag; and, if they feel strong enough to make France accept their favorite form of government with its dynastic representatives, they will probably wait for the moment when a partial restoration of order, public force, and prosperity, through the agency of Thiers and other men of their party, will have given them the necessary prestige, and the excesses of the unruly portions of the Radicals will have sufficiently disposed the large centres of the country to support a throne even at a considerable expense to liberty.

The members of the Assembly whom Paris marked as its favorites by its heaviest votes meet with little sympathy on the part of the majority. Gambetta is eminently silent; Garibaldi, on withdrawing, was not allowed to address his colleagues; Rochefort left in disgust after a short attendance; Delescluze found hardly an echo in demanding the impeachment of Trochu, Favre, and their associates for high treason; Louis Blanc and Quinet were not more fortunate in bringing forward a similar demand; and Victor Hugo, who vainly supported them, was, on a subsequent occasion, driven by a storm of hisses to announce his immediate resignation, and abruptly to quit the Assembly. Under these circumstances, the majority of the Assembly could naturally have little desire to exchange their seat in Bordeaux for one in Paris. A Committee on Removal reported in favor of Fontainebleau, but Thiers, in the name of the Government, expressed a decided preference for Versailles. On the 11th, the question was finally put to vote, after the rejection, by 407 nays against 104 yeas, of an amendment demanding the immediate removal to Paris; and the Government proposition was carried against precisely the same minority, which probably represents the strength of the uncompromising Republicans, the number of nays differing only by three from that of the votes cast against the ratification of the treaty of peace. The first public sitting at Versailles is to be held on the 20th. This city has, in the meanwhile, been evacuated by the Germans, and occupied by a French garrison.

Paris has had a week or so of very foolish quasi-revolutionary excitement, which may, however, have been much less alarming than mortifying to its sensible and sincerely patriotic inhabitants. A portion of the National Guard protested against the appointment of General D'Aurelles de Paladines to the command over them, and gave vent to their indignation in a rather bellicose way. The suburban districts of Belleville and Montmartre were the principal seats of the agitation, the malcontents, excited by Red demagogues and the fear of being disbanded and losing their franc-and-a-half daily salary, refusing to give up their cannon, and intrenching themselves in threatening positions. The Government tried both conciliation and menaces, having on its side the regular forces, the great majority of the Guard, the maires of all the arrondissements, and the unanimous voice of the respectable press. A review of the forty thousand troops—of the former Army of the Loire—now forming the garrison of the capital was held, not without effect, by General Vinoy, the Military Governor of Paris. The suspension, by order of the same General, of the publication of the revolutionary journals *Le Vengeur*, *Le Mot d'Ordre*, *Le Cri du Peuple*, *La Caricature*, *Le Père Duchesne*, and *La Bouche de Fer*, followed, accompanied by the publication of the sentences pronounced by court-martial against the leading rioters of December. Of these, Blanqui and Flourens are reported to have been "condemned to death for contumacy"—a statement the correctness of which may be doubted. At last accounts, the would-be insurrectionists of Belleville and Montmartre had finally yielded to the authorities, "Red" placards exhorting the army not to fight the people having produced no effect.

THE WASHINGTON IMBROGLIO.

We believe there are very few careful observers of the course of the Administration during the last nine months who have been much surprised by what is now happening at Washington. The dismissal of Mr. Wells was the first step in a progress which has certainly not been upward. It revealed General Grant's indifference to things to which his warmest supporters supposed him to be anything but indifferent, and, notably, to the importance of surrounding himself with skilled and honest agents. When he dismissed Mr. Wells in obedience to the clamor of a few barefaced monopolists, and to the prejudices (to use a mild term) of the Secretary of the Treasury, he virtually admitted that he did not care whether the most serious portion of the work before the Republican party—the reform of the taxation—was well or ill done, or done at all. In other words, he relegated the whole financial question to the jobbery of the committee-rooms, and left the public to guess blindly at the amount of burdens the country ought to bear, and at the manner in which it should shoulder them; and this great error was appropriately followed six months later by a frank declaration in his Message that he did not know what revenue reform meant, but that if it meant repudiation he was opposed to it.

The dismissal of Mr. Wells was followed by the dismissal of Mr. Cox. We say "dismissal" because, though Mr. Cox resigned, he was as clearly forced out of his place as if he had received formal notice to quit. His post was made untenable by the admission to the President's confidence of the very set of politicians who are now figuring most prominently in the movement against Mr. Sumner. We stigmatized this at the time, in strong terms, as an open breach of the pledges by which the President had won the popular confidence, and warned the public that it was but the beginning of great evil. We were told, in reply, and told, too, by large numbers of those who are now most bitter in their denunciations of the movement against Mr. Sumner, that we were over-censorious; that the President was a wise and good man, and was as fond of civil-service reform as anybody; and that, in trying to make a martyr of Cox, we were working with very poor materials. We were then treated in the Message, as a sort of soothing application, to a mild recommendation of civil-service reform, but without mention of "any particular measure;" and General Grant's critics were advised to look at this and blush over their fault-finding. Unfortunately, however, there was no improvement in the class of men of whom the President took counsel; and as long as this was the case there was no reason to expect any marked improvement in the general conduct of the Administration. Men of character and standing and ability and culture ceased more and more to go to the White House; "old Romans," like Butler and Chandler and Cameron, and sages like Wendell Phillips, continued to put themselves forward more and more prominently as the exponents of the President's wishes, or to become louder and louder in their laudation of him.

We must, therefore, confess that the uproar about Mr. Sumner's case strikes us as a little childish. There is reason enough in it for indignation; but it hardly justifies the surprise and alarm which many good people are manifesting. Those who saw Wells, Hoar, and Cox driven out of office, without anything but faint expressions of disapproval, or without any disapproval at all, are bound, in common decency, to take the present crisis more calmly. We concede freely that, although the Senate has a perfect right to make up its committees as it pleases, and although, with all respect for some of our contemporaries, we think the duty of choosing the chairmen of its committees likely to be more efficiently performed by a majority of that body than by public meetings of excited citizens in various parts of the country, the interference of the Administration, through its partisans, gives a serious, if not fatal, blow to General Grant's prospects of renomination.

But we confess our inability to see why it should greatly damage the prospects of the Republican party. We certainly had never heard until last Friday that the existence of the party or its safety depended on Mr. Sumner's remaining Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. We always understood that he was put and kept there because he was supposed to be the best man for the place, and not because the retention of power by the party depended on it. There is certainly one way of making his removal as great a blow to the party as it is very likely to prove to the President, and that is, to wail over it as an awful calamity. If this is done often enough and loudly enough, and a sufficient number of indignation meetings are held to denounce it as "the greatest crime of the age," we dare say enough Republicans will be furnished with an excuse for quitting the party to make its defeat at the next election certain; and it is worth considering whether, in order to get a better man for Grant's successor, it is necessary to throw away our arms and run off the field in disorder, yelling "Treason! treason!" There is a constant tendency in the party's ranks to these panics. The great body of it are intelligent and sober men; but it also contains a large number of people who carry their brains in their breasts, and are constantly ready for a sensation, and pass their time either on the topmost pinnacles of hope or in the lowest depths of despair. The pitch of frantic absurdity to which they are sometimes able to carry the organization was well illustrated by the agitation caused by the impeachment trial.

Mr. Sumner is apparently, as far as regards knowledge, experience, and ability, the fittest man in the Senate to occupy the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Indeed, he may be said to have been the only man in the Senate during the last twelve years who professed to know anything about foreign affairs at all; and it may also be said that his manner of filling the place has been, on the whole, creditable to himself and useful to the country. But then the proper comprehension of foreign affairs is not the only qualification necessary for the occupant of this place. Nay, it is not even the chief. It seems to be forgotten by some people that, although the President's management of the relations of the country with foreign powers has to have the approval of the Senate, nevertheless it is to his hands the management of foreign affairs is committed by the Constitution. It is his Secretary of State who, under his supervision, does the work. The main business of the Chairman of the Senate Committee is not to negotiate treaties, but to discuss with the Executive such treaties as have been negotiated, and receive from it explanations about them. His first business, therefore, is to be a good organ of communication on this particular class of subjects between the President and Senate, and nobody can be said to be well fitted for this duty whose personal relations with the President are of an unpleasant nature. In fact, we go so far as to say that a proper sense of his duty, and of the fitness of things, and a proper appreciation of the delicacy of the machinery of such a Government as ours, might have suggested to Mr. Sumner the expediency of resigning the chairmanship as soon as he found himself arrayed in open and bitter hostility to General Grant. It must be remembered that his resigning the chairmanship would not deprive the Senate of the benefit of his counsels. It would enable no act of the Administration to escape his supervision. He would still be a senator; the only change that would take place in his position would be that he would no longer be charged with the duty of hearing from the President, whom he dislikes and despises, for communication to the Senate, an account of the considerations which had governed the Executive in taking this or that step in its foreign policy.

We might, and, we suppose, we ought to say something of another objection of a more general nature to Mr. Sumner's occupying such a position. We allude to his want of judgment and want of sense of responsibility in the use of language. He talks sometimes in the wildest way, and apparently without being fully conscious of the force or bearing of what he says. This was not of much consequence as long as he was assailing slavery; it is of considerable consequence when he is mixed up in the transaction of some of the most serious business of this life. He has approached some of the most delicate questions now pending between this country and foreign powers in the spirit and language of a frantic popular orator, thus causing great loss of property, and seriously increasing the difficulty of the negotiations. It would not be unnatural that, in view of all these facts, and on the eve of an attempt to settle a most important controversy with England, in which he has taken a most excited part, and has given utterance to most extraordinary views of international law and morality, the Administration should wish for some friendlier, calmer, and more accurate organ of communication with the body which is to ratify any treaty it may enter into.

We mention all these things with the view not of excusing the Administration or of passing condemnation on Mr. Sumner, but of showing that the crisis is not so dreadful as it seems; that human freedom is not in peril and the Republic going to be rent to its foundations, and that there is no need of drawing preambles or resolutions, or throwing off our cravats, or tearing open our shirts and rushing to Washington. We have no doubt whatever that Mr. Sumner's removal is by no means altogether due to the considerations we have enumerated above as just and reasonable. His opposition to the San Domingo scheme has no doubt the larger share in it, and it furnishes, therefore, a fresh illustration of the extraordinary nature of the craze which has taken possession of the President's mind. A greater mistake he could hardly have made, and it is aggravated by the character of the men whom he has made the exponents of his policy, and by the attempt of his partisans to put a notorious corruptionist, who enjoys nobody's confidence, in the place of one whose purity even his enemies have never doubted, and whose services in domestic affairs have given him a hold on popular affection at the North which no number of mistakes or absurdities in dealing in foreign affairs could shake. But it is a mistake which will injure nobody but General Grant himself. To try to elevate it to the rank of a national or even a great party calamity is ridiculous. The stress laid on the impropriety of the Presidential interference with the organization of the Senate must surely come from innocent people. The exercise of pressure by the Executive on both the House and Senate to procure legislation, get money voted, get treaties ratified and nominations confirmed, by all sorts of means, legitimate and illegitimate, has for years been one of the most objectionable and notorious phenomena of Congressional life. There is nothing novel about this last exhibition of it except that it consists in an assault on an eminent man, in aid, as people are inclined to believe, of a scheme of more than usual absurdity and corruption.

COTTON AND SPECIE PAYMENTS.

Although the raising of cotton concerns more directly the Southern States of this Union, it is, nevertheless, an industry in which the whole community—indeed, the whole civilized and uncivilized world—is more or less actively interested. Although northern peoples use large amounts of woollen clothing, yet, taking the entire population of the globe, cotton is far more largely worn than any other material, and may fairly be considered as, next to food, the most widely and generally used product of human industry. The price of this important article is mainly regulated by the production of our Southern States, which prior to the war of secession furnished four-fifths of all the cotton entering into the commerce of the world. The cotton culture of the South might, therefore, on these grounds alone be considered a matter of national interest. But, besides these general considerations, there are many special reasons why the cotton culture should be interesting to the whole country, and why it should be particularly interesting at this particular time.

Cotton-raising in the United States began with the century, increased gradually to a product of 400,000 bales in 1820, and has since steadily and rapidly developed in the following progression: the average for ten years, from 1820–30, was 700,000 bales; from 1830–40, it was 1,400,000 bales; from 1840–50, over 2,100,000 bales; and from 1850–60, the ten years preceding the outbreak of war, the average reached nearly 3,300,000 bales; while in the years 1859 and 1861 the production did not fall far short of the extraordinary figure of five millions of bales. The price, in the meantime, rapidly declined from fifty cents to ten cents a pound, which latter was about the average price for some years prior to 1861; so that the value of the average crop of those years was not much less than 150 millions of dollars in gold, and for the large-crop years more nearly 200 millions. These figures give a clear and distinct form to the very vague ideas which generally prevail on the great value of our cotton crop; but they do not in themselves account for the fact that a far greater general importance is attached to cotton than to some other crops, such as that of wheat, or corn, or hay, each of which has frequently largely exceeded the cotton crop in actual money value.

The main cause of the special importance of the cotton crop is to be sought in the fact that so small a portion of it is consumed at home, and so large a portion is available for export, the largest amount used in domestic manufactures never having reached one million of bales in any one year, or about one-fourth of the crop, leaving three-fourths for export; and the importance of this fact again is due to the much neglected or entirely ignored axiom, that while our imports from foreign countries are regulated by *our* wishes and wants, our exports are regulated by the wishes and wants of *others*, and that, if we do not produce for other nations what *they* want, we shall be obliged to pay for our imports in specie, the only article that all nations are at all times willing to receive in payment for all debts due them. Now, the only article of which we have never yet produced more than the world wanted—the only article of which we have always been able to sell all that we had to spare—is cotton; and it is no exaggeration to say that our ability to resume specie payments within a reasonable time depends more directly upon our production of cotton than upon any half-a-dozen other influences combined. It is for this reason that the cotton culture is so specially important at this moment, and that the prospects of the cotton-planters acquire national importance.

The cotton crop begins to be gathered about the 1st of September, and, like most other crops, occupies the greater part of the year in being marketed. But the first half of the cotton year generally sees more than two-thirds of the crop disposed of, and by the 1st of March, when preparations for the new crop are in active progress, the planters are generally pretty well able to tell the result of their last year's labors. In March, 1870, when the cotton-growers were getting ready for the crop now in the market, the price of cotton was, in round figures, twenty-five cents a pound. The previous crop had fallen short of the extravagant estimates indulged in, the supply from India had not responded to anticipations, peace and prosperity throughout the world had sustained the active demand for cotton manufactures, and the price had not fallen back to the old ante-war figures, as so many had predicted. Although the planters had labored under many difficulties, there is scarcely any doubt that their crop of that year, from 1869–70, was highly profitable. Under the stimulus of that profit, the acreage planted in cotton last spring was materially increased, greater care was bestowed upon the fields than ever before, for the first time in the history of the cotton culture subsoiling and the use of artificial fertilizers was general, and, as a result, the crop, in spite of weather by no means favorable, far exceeds that of the previous year. Up to this time, the receipts are already nearly 700,000 bales in advance of last year, and there is every prospect now that the extreme estimates of the total yield will be realized, and the crop largely exceed four millions of bales, becoming the third largest crop ever raised in the United States. But, in the meantime, the circumstances under which this crop is marketed have become very different from those under which it was planted. Two great nations have, for more than six months, almost suspended their civil pursuits to devote themselves to war; two great consumers of cotton have been temporarily excluded from our calculations; great, though quiet and almost unnoticed, commercial disturbance in the markets of Asia has materially affected a third customer, and the entire civilized community has suffered more or less seriously from the remoter effects of the war in France. These influences would have sufficed to depress the price of cotton without the increased supply; added to the large increase, they naturally depressed the price very much. A year ago, cotton was selling at twenty-five cents a pound; to-day, the price is less than *fifteen*—a decline of forty per cent., or nearly one-half. The disappointed planters, many of whom are receiving much less money for a double crop than they received last year for a single one, and some of whom are actually losers by their year's business, are naturally somewhat discouraged. Some are not able to pay their debts promptly; all are obliged to economize; they try to depress the wages of their laborers; merchants sell no goods; and a general cry of "bad business, no money, and plenty of failures" comes up from the cotton districts, furnishing one more illustration of the truth of the assertion that, however beneficial large crops prove in the end, their *first* effect, contrary to all general belief, is not favorable to business prosperity.

It is at this point that the position of the planters becomes one of general interest. The press throughout the country, North and South, are naturally disposed to advise the planters what they ought to do, not only to benefit themselves, but to benefit all the rest of the community. And generally the advice takes this form: Plant less cotton, and you will get more money for your smaller crop. Notably are the protectionist journals active and prominent in advocating this course, and in urging the planters, upon the ground of the advantages to be derived from what they call a diversified industry, to devote a larger share of their land, time, labor, and capital to raising food in preference to cotton. Now, while the individual farmer, aided by common sense sharpened by experience, may be safely trusted to know what is beneficial to him, and is more likely to understand his business than any number of Northern editors, whose chief knowledge of such subjects is derived from text-books and cyclopædias, it may, nevertheless, be worth while to explain how, from a national point of view, the advice so unselfishly tendered is decidedly mischievous.

In the first place, the object of every producer must naturally be to produce something which he can sell. Even if his original object be to produce something for his own use, he will unquestionably prefer to produce that which, in case he should not want it himself, he will be able to sell. With regard to cotton, we have already seen that we have never yet produced as much as we were able to sell. The number of people depending upon our cotton supply has very largely increased since we produced five millions of bales, and there is no reason for supposing that if we produced this year five millions and a half, or over a million more bales than last year, we should not find buyers for the whole. Unless, therefore, it should be very evident that in place of cotton the Southern planters could produce something quite as certainly salable and otherwise as advantageous, it would be downright folly for them to change their production. Now, what they are advised to cultivate instead is principally corn and food for cattle, so as to produce their own meat. Yet, when cotton was selling for only eight or ten cents a pound, when the West was not nearly as well developed as it is now, when there were not half as many means of communication between West and South as there are at present, it was more profitable for cotton-planters to buy their meat and bread at the West than to raise it themselves. Why should it not, under all these more advantageous circumstances, be just as profitable now?

We have never yet been able to produce more cotton than the world was willing to buy. But we have frequently produced more food than we ourselves or all the rest of the world united were able to consume. Not that even in the years of our most abundant crops there were not many people suffering from insufficient food, but that they were beyond the distance to which the transportation of food is practically possible. This transportation question is one of which the glib advisers of the Southern planter entirely lose sight. Food is bulky and cheap. When corn sells at one dollar a bushel and cotton at fifteen cents a pound, one pound of cotton will pay for its own transportation over a distance nine times as great as a pound of corn could carry itself. In other words, the field over which our cotton product could compete with other cotton producers is nine times as large as the field over which our corn can compete with other corn producers. Our planters are asked to abandon the production of an article whose market is practically unlimited, for the production of an article which is by the mere cost of transportation alone confined within very narrow limits.

Whether the South can produce corn and meat as cheaply as the West can is not the question. The issue is, whether the labor devoted at the South to cotton is more profitable to the planter than if devoted to wheat; and on this issue there can scarcely be a doubt. But supposing, even, the planter might to-day be able to raise corn and beef as cheaply as the Western farmer, and were to do so to some extent, what is the Western farmer to do with the corn and beef which he has heretofore been in the habit of raising, and for which the South has heretofore been his principal customer? Is he to devote himself to cotton planting? Is he to be entirely idle? Is he to continue to raise corn and beef when he has no buyers for it? Is it expected that the Western farmer can send his corn and beef to Europe in place of the Southern planter's cotton? That will depend, not upon us, but upon Europe. Whether Europe will buy beef and corn from us, or how much she will buy, is always a doubtful question. At this very moment good judges assert that the product of these articles in the West alone is beyond the ability of our accessible markets to consume, and that with the opening of navigation prices will fall lower than last year. What would be the effect of an additional production of these articles at the South? In fact, our planters are invited and urged to diminish the production of an article for which they have a most extensive and very certain market, and to substitute for it an article the profitable production of which is doubtful, and the markets for which are at all times limited and uncertain.

There is little danger of the advice being followed to any great extent. It is more likely that many planters, discouraged by the unprofitable result of this crop, will devote less care to the coming crop, and will be less able to spend as much for labor and for fertilizers as last year, and that the next yield may, therefore, not be fully equal to the present one. Should, however, the reverse prove true, and the planters be stimulated to additional effort, we shall probably have this fall a larger crop of cotton than ever before known. Business now throughout the country is very much depressed. Although our importations continue extremely large, the sales of imported goods are not proportioned to the anticipations of the owners, and there is a reasonable probability that the summer and fall will witness a decrease in our importations, and, consequently, a diminution in the amount of floating debt due abroad. If at that time we should come into possession of a cotton crop equal to or exceeding that of last year, our commercial position would, for the first time since the close of the war, be such as to justify the expectation that we might resume specie payments without financial disaster. It is evident that cotton, if no longer king, continues to be a subject of paramount importance to all citizens of the United States.

MR. FIELD'S REPLY TO THE TRIBUNE.

Mr. D. D. Field has replied in the *Tribune* to the summing up made by that paper of Barlow's charges, and alleges in substance as follows:

1. That in so far as the charges against him rest on the judgment of Judge Smith, that judgment has been pronounced erroneous in law and fact by three eminent counsel, and appealed from, and that the Judge does not mention Mr. D. D. Field as censurable.

2. That Mr. Field was not counsel in all of the proceedings which the Judge denounced as fraudulent, and as regards those which he did so denounce it is to be expected that the court above will pronounce them legal and proper.

3. That as regards the appointment of Mr. Fuller to the receivership of the three thousand shares of stock, he was so appointed without Mr. D. D. Field's knowledge, and, although he voted on the invalid stock, he did so because the opposite party, the "Ramsey party," had just before the election obtained an extraordinary *ex-parte* injunction, forbidding the Church party to vote unless Groesbeck (whose stock Fuller held) "or other holders of the three thousand shares" should first have an opportunity to vote free from injunction. In order to give the other stockholders, therefore, a chance of voting, Fuller voted, although his votes were not necessary to the success of the Church party, who had a majority without them.

4. That he had nothing to do with the bringing of Barnard from his mother's deathbed to New York on the 6th of August, to grant an order appointing Fisk receiver of the Susquehanna road, he (Mr. Field) being at that time at Stockbridge; that in the evidence which represented him as having driven to the station in a carriage, "Field" was by a misprint substituted for "Fisk;" and that Barnard did not sign the order at Mrs. Mansfield Lawlor's. [Where did he sign it?]

5. That the service of the injunction on the Ramsey inspectors of election just before the election was purely the act of the sheriff, who had been looking for these gentlemen the previous day, but had been unable to find them, and served the papers when he did on his own responsibility and without the connivance or suggestion of the lawyers; that in this matter, however, the Ramsey party did just the same thing, and have therefore no right to complain. To the charge of arresting Ramsey under similar circumstances—same answer.

6. That he had nothing to do with the filling of the election room at

Albany "with roughs and fighting men," and that the Ramsey party had "roughs" near by also.

7. That as to the charge of tieing up Ramsey's hands so as to prevent his preparing for trial by injunction and then forcing him to trial, and, he not being ready, taking a default against him, Ramsey's conduct had been "flagitious to the last degree," and that whatever was done that seemed unusual was done in good faith and seemed necessary to frustrate his nefarious designs; and that he, Mr. D. D. Field, never personally got an *ex-parte* injunction from Judge Barnard in his life, and never got any order of any kind from him except in open court, and "never asked in person or by partners or agents for any order" that he, Mr. Field, "did not think proper to be granted upon the law and the fact."

We have presented this summary as an act of fairness to Mr. Field. But we are bound to call attention to the fact that his letter is not a reply to General Barlow's charges, but to the *Tribune's* necessarily rough digest of them; that he passes over some of General Barlow's strongest points without notice, and gets rid of some of the most discreditable portions of the Erie litigation by drawing a distinction between himself and his partners. He, however, announces his intention of answering General Barlow in detail "in another form." As the case stands, Judge Smith's severe characterization of the litigation conducted by Field and Shearman is met by the fact that an appeal has been taken from his decision; the blame of the undeniably improper proceedings before Barnard is thrown by implication on Mr. Field's partners; and the high-handed way in which Ramsey was pursued is justified by the assertion that he was very unscrupulous himself. It ought to be remarked on this point that the "Ramsey suits" arose out of a quarrel between the directors of the Susquehanna Railroad, of which Ramsey was president, and that his opponents called in the aid of Fisk, Gould, and Lane to enable them to get possession of the road. Mr. Field's indignation over Ramsey as a bad man, who deserved no "courtesy" or "indulgence," is rendered somewhat singular by the character and aims of his own client Fisk, and by the ridicule he heaps on such considerations in the Bowles correspondence. The restraining Ramsey by injunction from carrying on an equity suit in another court, on which General Barlow comments severely, was a proceeding which, as he points out in a precisely similar case, was pronounced by Barnard "void," and by Cardozo "a monster in jurisprudence," one year previous. This Mr. Field does not meet at all. We may say the same of the whole of General Barlow's account of the way in which the Ramsey case was kept before Barnard in this city for months, in defiance of usage if not of law.

MR. SUMNER'S REMOVAL.

WASHINGTON, March 11, 1871.

THE ripples made by throwing a stone in the water decrease rapidly as they recede from the centre, and it is hardly to be expected that the excitement which has stirred this city so deeply in the last few days will have an equal effect throughout the country. It is not, however, the interest of a merely personal quarrel, but the fact of a fresh shock being given to the Republican party, and the necessity of a new point of departure, if the election of 1872 is to be anything but a "scrub" race. The hostility between the President and Senator Sumner has been for some time but thinly disguised. It seems to be well authenticated that the President had intimated to some of his supporters that it was absolutely essential that there should be a change in the chairmanship of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. It may not be wholly unnecessary to remark that the Senate committees, instead of being nominated as in the House by the presiding officer, are a matter of election. Accordingly, the Nominating Committee proposed, in caucus, to transfer Mr. Sumner from the Foreign Affairs to the Election Committee, and to substitute on the former (of all men in the world) Mr. Cameron, of Pennsylvania. It is not unjust to say that all the best men of the party protested against this unprecedented affront to a senator of twenty years' standing, who, whatever may be his faults of manner, is admitted to have shown at all times the highest integrity and devotion to what he believed to be the interest of his country. In two caucuses, however, the decision was adhered to, and on Friday was reported to the Senate. Mr. Sumner's friends declared that sooner than submit to it they would place the matter before the country in open debate. For five hours yesterday afternoon was held the most excited conflict of the session, not between different parties, for no Democrat uttered a word till towards the close, but between members of one side of the House. Mr. Schurz began calmly, almost timidly, dwelling upon Mr. Sumner's long services, and the unfairness of such treatment. Mr. Edmunds followed, pooh-poohing the whole matter as a small affair, and stating that the Senate had the right and the duty of adjusting its committees at the commencement of each Congress. Mr. Schurz's tone was several degrees bolder, as he replied that it was not a small affair, and that such an affront as the deposition of Mr. Sumner from the most important post in the Senate could not be inflicted without sufficient reasons; he would ask the chairman of the Nominating Committee (Mr. Howe) to state those reasons. A whisper ran round the keener managers of the other side: "Don't answer him!" But Mr. Howe, who appeared throughout like a gentleman engaged in a dirty piece of work, said that a civil question deserved a civil answer. It was manly, but fatal. He said that Mr. Sumner had declined intercourse with the President and the Secretary of State—not official intercourse, he admitted, in reply to Mr. Schurz's question, but social; that Mr. Sumner had once declined to answer a question addressed to him by the Secretary of State. Then Mr. Schurz rose and threw away the scabbard. He read a passage in a despatch from Mr. Fish to Mr. Motley, in which (he said) Mr. Sumner was charged with having betrayed the President's confidence under the guise of friendship, and added that such a charge was enough to interrupt social intercourse between gentlemen. He declared that, if true, it was disgraceful that the Executive should use the plea of social relations to disgrace a senator. But it was not true. The pretext was too shallow. Why did not gentlemen state the true reason? The President desired the annexation of San Domingo, opposition to which was the senator's grand offence; and, though he did not say, he implied pretty strongly, that the place was to be filled with a much more pliable character. He had never expected to see the senator in the same chair in which he had been struck down by an infuriated slaveholder again struck down by his own party; by the hands of men who had attained to power as much through his agency as that of any individual. Mr. Wilson also rose to defend his colleague. It was hard for the trained politician to kick against the pricks, and his first remarks turned upon his personal respect and affection for Mr. Sumner, the length of the latter's services, and his fidelity to the interests committed to his charge, which deserved a better fate. Mr. Tipton made an excited speech, denouncing the action of the caucus, and scandalizing his colleagues by revelations which he defended on the ground that the papers had already reported the doings of the caucus. Mr. Logan made his début in the Senate in a manner which agreeably disappointed those who had heard his performances in the House. He said that Mr. Sumner's displacement was an impolitic concession to Great Britain just as the High Commission were commencing their labors. Mr. Sherman appeared in an attitude very unusual, very embarrassing to him: that of halting between two opinions. He admitted that the action appeared to him unjust and impolitic; but he thought his duty as a member of a party obliged him to submit to the decision of the majority. Mr. Wilson, as the debate grew warmer, followed the example of Mr. Schurz. He charged that San Domingo was at the bottom of it all. He appealed to the Senate against the packing of committees by Executive influence. As to party, he knew one duty that was higher than that of party: the duty of doing right. He referred to instances in which he had left party conventions with which he did not agree, and he had never repented of it. As a lover of his country, he felt that his action was justified, and would be supported by nine-tenths of the thinking men who constituted the Republican party. Mr. Trumbull made one of the most impressive speeches of the day. He referred to the long time during which he had served with the two senators from Massachusetts, as chairmen of their respective committees, and though he had differed seriously from Mr. Sumner, he had too much respect for his character and ability to regard the proposed change with equanimity. He, too, applied the lash to the promoters of the San Domingo scheme. During this debate, the ringleaders of the movement had kept silence. But now Mr. Morton took up the party whip, and its echo resounded through the hall. Whether the action were right or wrong, he said, it had been decided upon by the majority, and all Republicans were bound to acquiesce. Upon his honor as a senator, he did not know that the President had interfered, and he did not believe that San Domingo had anything to do with it.

The frame of mind in which the Democrats had witnessed this scene was illustrated by an amendment which Mr. Bayard sent to the Chair; That Mr. Sumner should be reinstated, but that the committee, instead of that on Foreign Relations, should be called that on Personal Relations. The final vote on sustaining the caucus nomination stood 33 to 9, Mr. Sumner's friends having mostly left the hall when they found their efforts would be in vain. Meanwhile, the reporters' gallery was, almost to a man,

on the side of Mr. Sumner's friends. Every hit was followed by a murmur of suppressed applause, and every point of their adversaries by one of disapproval. This morning, the malcontents are in high spirits, while many of the successful party confess that such another victory would be their ruin. It shows how little the President understands the situation that he is said to be much pleased with the result, and to regard it as a decided victory. He may be undeceived when the San Domingo question comes up.

And yet, the President's position is a hard one. He has no voice which can reach the country. Once a year he can give, in a general way, his views upon political matters; but in all the exciting conflicts of the session he must be dumb. His actions, motives, and thoughts are discussed and bandied about, while his tongue is tied. He is attacked by men with the full stimulus of their own interest. He is defended by those who cling to him just as long as his interest agrees with theirs and that of others whom they represent. It was urged by his friends that the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, being the President's organ of communication with the Senate, should be in accord with him and with the Secretary of State. The President certainly should have a spokesman in the Senate, but it does not follow that it should be a senator. How much circumlocution and uncertainty would have been avoided in the last five years, if the Secretary of State had stood in the Senate to speak for and answer for the President.

THE SIEGE OF METZ.*

II.

THE INVESTMENT.

WHILE these events were occurring, several of the generals conjured the Emperor to quit the army, observing that it might possibly come to pass that the communications with Paris would be cut off, and that, shut up in Metz, separated from the rest of France, the chief of the state might be placed in the condition of being unable to conduct the affairs of the country, or to give them a useful direction, and that revolutionary agitations might result from this situation. These considerations had such an incontestable value for the Emperor that he decided to leave for Châlons, and accordingly, on the morning of the 16th, he left Gravelotte and passed through Conflans and Etain without having encountered a single enemy on the route. He escaped to play his part in the drama at Sedan, and only hastened the catastrophe that would have befallen him if he had remained to share the fate of the flower of his army.

On the morning of the 16th it was still possible for Bazaine to retreat undisturbed with all his train to Verdun; the Germans, whose progress was impeded by the woods and defiles about Gorze, were unable to press him very hard, and he had simply to retire before them. After the battle, however, his part was not so simple. It was impossible for him to march off by either of the two southernmost roads, for one was actually obstructed by the Germans, and the other was too close to them to admit of a flank march. Even to use the third, and northernmost, was now not without danger if the intention to march to Verdun were maintained. From the position of the army, it would be a detour of twelve miles, and gave little or no hope of leading to Verdun and reaching the Meuse without a new battle, as the Germans, even if they remained inactive on the 17th, would certainly be able to come up with him on the 18th or 19th this side of Verdun.

But there was one road open for his escape unmolested—that from Metz over Longuion to Sedan, which, at right angles behind his position, with the Orne to protect his rear, invited him to avail himself of this means of rescue. His failure to do so makes him responsible in no inconsiderable degree for the calamity at Sedan. Abundance of time was allowed him to form a junction with the army of MacMahon, and the force the Germans would have been obliged to leave behind for the investment of Metz would have rendered the proportion of reinforcements which the army attacking MacMahon thereby received much less than that of MacMahon's reinforcements. After the investment of Metz was completed, the army of the Crown Prince of Saxony, which included at least two corps (the Guard and the Twelfth Corps) of the army that had defeated the French before Metz—and the two that had been most instrumental in that defeat—were withdrawn from the besieging army, and, at Sedan, turned the scale in favor of the Germans. Why did not Bazaine retire via Briey on the night of the 16th to the 17th, or even on the 17th? He intimates in his despatch to the Emperor, written on the 17th, that he remained in the neighborhood of Metz to replenish his stock of ammunition; but could he have known that he was endangering the existence of his army in order to have an abundant supply? It is clear from his despatch that he was provided with a sufficiency for at least two days, and he was losing valuable time to encumber himself with baggage, when the emergency was such that he might be required to sacrifice the greater part of his train. In his official report, he alleges that the Germans had occupied the road to Verdun as the reason for not continuing his retreat; but that fact itself should have aroused him to the necessity of escaping as speedily as possible by the only road open to him before that, too, should be closed.

The French commander formed the determination to resume the offensive as soon as his supplies should arrive, and force a passage to Verdun. He gave orders to the army to fortify itself in a new position, and the whole of the 17th was occupied in this movement. This position was a remarkably strong one. The left wing rested on the road from Gravelotte to Metz, before Rozérieulles, on the heights bordering the valley of the Moselle, which was commanded by Forts St. Quentin and St. Privat; then the line followed the edge of the mountain over the hamlets Point du Jour, Moscou, Leipzig, Montigny-la-Grange, to the village Amanvillers; it then crossed the Briey turnpike road, and its right rested at St. Privat-la-Montagne. From the crest of the mountain, the ground regularly declines to a distance of three thousand feet, where, along most of the line in front of Gravelotte, a sharply-cut brook, having its source in the heights of Amanvillers and the Bois de la Cusse, flows through the Bois de Genivaux and Bois de Vaux to the Moselle, and confines every approach of large close columns to the first two woods through the village Verneville. Only the right wing of the French was more accessible, but even here the approach was rendered difficult by a brook flowing into the Orne, behind which lies the villages Habonville, St. Ail, and Ste. Marie aux-Chênes. The line was about seven miles in length. For its occupation, after deducting the cavalry, which served as an escort for the Emperor in his flight, and the detachments to protect the train, which, on the 16th and 17th, had been sent out via Briey, Bazaine had over a hundred and sixty thousand men, with at least five hundred cannon and a hundred and fifty mitrailleuses. The woods, as well as the hamlet St. Hubert, and the villages Verneville, Habonville, St. Ail, but especially Ste. Marie, in front of this position, were occupied as a first line by tolerably strong advanced guards. But this formidable position had two great disadvantages. Behind it were dense woods, frequently on the steep sides of the mountain, so that movements in that direction were almost impossible, and consequently, after an attack, in case of necessity, it would be impossible to strengthen certain points by reinforcements; every part of the line must be defended by the troops placed there in the beginning of the contest. The second disadvantage was that there was no line of retreat but to Metz. If the French wished to avoid being thrown back into Metz, they must, by a decisive victory, reopen the communications with Paris which they had voluntarily relinquished.

Bazaine risked everything on this battle. The reasons for his doing so are to be found in a new system of tactics introduced into the French army by the mitrailleuse and the chassepot: this was to wait in trenches and behind other breastworks which permitted a free, wide range, until the enemy came within sight, and then to throw a rapid fire into their ranks before they could advance so far as to bring the French within range of their own arms—in this way to throw them into confusion—and then rush on to the attack. On this occasion very elaborate preparations were made to carry out these tactics. Loopholes were pierced in the walls of the hamlets and villages in the neighborhood, between which trenches were dug, and, where the ground permitted it, one above another. In some places there were three trenches on the side of a hill. The woods which might intercept their fire were cut down; and even the ground in front of the main position—St. Hubert, Verneville, and Ste. Marie for example—was put in a condition of defence. Knowing that a surprise was impossible, and believing that the superiority of the Germans was not very great, Bazaine determined to give battle in this position, and was satisfied of his ability, under such circumstances, to gain a signal victory.

On the part of the Germans, the battle of the 16th was by no means regarded as decisive; and, first of all, every available soldier was to be brought to hand. The Guard and the Twelfth Corps reached Mars-la-Tour, and were stationed, on the evening of the 17th, south of that place. The whole of the Seventh and Eighth Corps were brought over the river, and concentrated in and north of the Bois des Ognons, and formed the right of the German line; the Second Corps, which, on the 15th, was at Forbach, had, by forced marches, been brought as far as Pont-à-Mousson, and could be counted upon on the evening of the 18th; with them

* See the *Nation* of Feb. 16 (No. 294).

the German force was eight corps, which, with the cavalry, amounted to two hundred and forty thousand men, of which three corps were entirely fresh. The Eighth Corps, on the morning of the 18th, was posted in the Bois de Genivaux, in front and to the left of Gravelotte, and the Ninth Corps occupied Verneville, on the left of the Eighth Corps. According to the order of battle, the whole army was to turn the right wing of the French, and force them back into Metz. The difficult task of turning the French flank was assigned to the two entirely fresh corps—the Guard and the Saxon or Twelfth; and, as they had a long march before them, from Mars-la-Tour to the French, orders were given that the centre and right wing of the Germans should confine their attack to a well-directed artillery fire until those two corps should come up against the right of the French. The Third and Tenth Corps, which had suffered so heavily on the 16th, were to be in reserve. The manœuvring of this great army the whole day was most creditable—possibly with one exception. The Seventh and Eighth Corps, belonging to the army of Steinmetz, on the German right, commenced the assault at about twelve o'clock, notwithstanding the Guard and the Saxons had not yet come up, and at that time drew upon them the French fire. The ground where these two corps were attempting to make their way was the most difficult of all; the French position on that side was impregnable, as they soon found out. If the assault had been successful, the French would simply have been forced to the road to Briey, which would be open for their retreat; and thus a plan which the French commander was not wise enough to adopt would have been forced upon him by the folly of his enemies. The premature attack on the right involved an attack by the Ninth Corps at Verneville; and the Guard, arriving shortly afterwards, advanced beyond Ste. Marie to an unprepared attack against St. Privat.

In this engagement the superiority of the chassepot over the needle-gun was incontestably proved. No sooner had the Guard debouched from Ste. Marie, the Ninth Corps from Verneville, and the Seventh and Eighth Corps in front of Gravelotte, than they received a terrible mitrailleuse, but especially small arm, fire, from St. Privat, Amanvillers, and the road in front of Rozérieulles, at a distance of from seven hundred to nine hundred yards; and so terribly did the Germans suffer that they were obliged to suspend their assault until the artillery could throw confusion into the French lines; the Guard even was beaten back upon Ste. Marie with great loss. It is a remarkable evidence of the distance to which the chassepot carries that an artillery officer received a slight wound in the arm while directing his battery at a distance of over eleven hundred yards from the French lines. This weapon can safely be said to carry a thousand yards, making it possible for those bearing it to enter into an engagement at eight hundred and fifty to nine hundred yards. For the Germans, the most difficult task was to come within two hundred to three hundred yards of the enemy, that being the most favorable distance for their infantry fire. When, however, they reached that distance, their regular fire and steady aim almost invariably put the French to flight. Bazaine had, however, placed too much reliance upon the chassepot. If the needle-gun was inferior to it, the German artillery was vastly superior to that of the French. In the Prussian army, the proportion of artillery is very great, usually every corps having ninety pieces. So skilful are the Prussian artillerists that, after three trials, they succeed in bringing their guns to bear. The artillery fire is usually opened at a distance of 1,300 or 1,400 yards, and frequently the artillery advances to a distance of 900 yards; in case the enemy is in retreat it even goes to within 300 or 250 yards, doing terrible execution. On this day the Germans had a hundred and fifty cannon more than the French. It was the artillery that gained for the Germans the day at Gravelotte. The Seventh and Eighth Corps were almost demoralized when the artillery on the heights to the right of Gravelotte commenced an effective fire against Point du Jour and Moscou, and prevented the French from immediately availing themselves of the advantage offered them by the exhaustion of their assailants.

Those who were at Gravelotte that day recall with a feeling of something like horror an ominous silence that prevailed at seven o'clock in the evening, succeeded by a terrible fire of mitrailleuse and chassepot. The French had made an assault against the worn-out troops of the Eighth Corps; had put them to rout, and thrown almost unprecedented confusion into the German lines. Fortunately for the Germans, the Second Corps at last arrived at this critical moment on the ground, and, with fixed bayonets and beating drums, went forward in battalion columns without firing a gun; and no sooner had these new troops appeared than the French turned and even retired from the strong position that they had held all day. Thus the Germans gained the heights of Point du Jour and Moscou, which it had been impossible for them to carry by assault.

Meantime, the artillery of the Tenth Corps, posted on the road about three thousand feet from St. Privat, had held the French in check after they had beaten back the Guard. Finally, at five o'clock, the Twelfth Corps, which had had the longest march before it, had advanced as far as Boncourt, and its artillery could be brought to bear upon the French right wing. Encouraged by these reinforcements, and supported by this heavy artillery fire, the Guard once more assaulted St. Privat, and at last, at about eight o'clock, together with the twentieth division of the Tenth Corps, carried the village, and gained this bulwark of the right wing of the French—and the battle was won. During the night Bazaine withdrew his army into Metz, and the Germans lost no time in destroying the bridges of the Orne and closing the passage to Thionville, and the investment was completed. J. L. H.

BERLIN, January 17, 1871.

Correspondence.

THE TAX COMMISSIONERS' REPORT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am not altogether satisfied with the exposition made in the *Nation* of the 2d, of the new system of taxation proposed by the New York Commissioners in their recent report to the Legislature; and as I am somewhat covetous of the support and endorsement of your readers in this new reform movement, I ask the privilege of your columns for the purpose of making a restatement of the points involved—especially as no progress in this or any other reform can be anticipated, unless the public are able to understand clearly from the outset both what it is desired to accomplish, and the agencies which it is proposed to employ.

All are agreed that this system of local taxation, as it exists to-day in New York and most of the other States, is unjust, ineffective, and antagonistic to rapid material development; real estate being valued for assessment according to no common and uniform standard, but rather at the caprice or favor of the assessors; while personal property which *now* evades taxation in a very great degree is likely *hereafter*, through recent laws, court decisions, and the use of United States bonds, to escape altogether. To remedy these defects was the problem presented to the Commissioners, and they have endeavored to solve it; how satisfactorily, experience and the judgment of the public must decide.

In respect to real estate, the difficulty lies wholly in the lack of a uniform and equitable valuation, and may be remedied mainly, as has been proved by the recent experience of the cities of Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago, by a reform in administration. Such a reform the Commissioners have proposed, but for further explanations concerning it, I would refer to the report itself.

The points of interest and of difficulty, therefore, centre in the proposed treatment of personal property as representing one of the two great sources from which the State by taxation is able to obtain its necessary revenues. Direct taxation of this species of property has in all places and at all times proved impracticable. It was so in old Rome, when the assessors were empowered to administer torture, and it has also equally failed in all the monarchical or despotic countries of Europe, and under the popular governments of the United States; and every nation, with the exception of the United States, profiting by its own experience, or the experience of others, has long ago swept all laws authorizing the direct taxation of such property from its statute-books. But it does not necessarily follow, that because direct taxation of personal property has proved impracticable, that indirect taxation will prove equally so. On the contrary, all the nations which have abolished direct taxes on personal property have, without exception, and successfully, adopted some measures for arriving at an equivalent result indirectly; and if it is right, as Adam Smith lays down, that every man should pay according to his ability, and it is perfectly practicable to equitably and effectively tax such ability, then the proposed method of indirect taxation on personal property is not only right and expedient, but it can be defended according to the most enlightened principles of modern political economy. Thus, for example: England taxes personal property indirectly, through her income tax and the taxes levied by her on rentals, carriages, plate, servants, etc.; while France arrives at the same result by taxes on rentals, doors, and windows, and by what are termed occupiers' licenses.

The Commissioners, therefore, do not propose to abandon taxation on

personal property, and they do not favor—certainly at present—the exclusive taxation of real estate, as has been stated, but the system they offer is substantially as follows:

Tax all corporations created by the State which are in the nature of a monopoly; the gas company, which has practically no competition in the sale of its products in its particular district, being taken as the type of such corporations, or associations of capital. Banks, savings-banks (at least to the extent of their surplus, which is practically no one's property); railroads—steam and horse; insurance, omnibus, ferry, and bridge companies; and private banking capital, are also included under this proposition; but capital invested in mining, shipping, and manufacturing would not be thus included, and would be entirely exempt from direct taxation, the interests of the State, the legislation of other States, and the necessity for reducing to a minimum the cost of production, rendering such exemption in the opinion of the Commissioners absolutely imperative.

It is obvious, therefore, in the outset, that under this section a very large proportion of the personal property of the State would be made subject to taxation; not, as now, to the annoyance and inquisition of the individual owner or shareholder, but, at one time and at one place, through the agent or treasurer of the corporation itself; the securities of the company, or its evidences of indebtedness, wherever and however held, being made free and exempt from return and assessment. It is not proposed to discuss or defend here the expediency of imposing taxes upon property or franchises of this description. A person interested in a work of reform, whose heart is earnestly intent upon his charge, does not so much ask himself what is theoretically desirable as what is practically possible; and when he has determined what is practicable, he bends his energies to that point, and lets the theoretical future take care of itself. I, for one, have no patience with that class of reformers who will take nothing, unless all; who discountenance tariff reform unless absolute free-trade is to be substituted; or reform in local taxation, unless some plan is to be recommended which is known to be in entire opposition to the public sentiment. I believe in half a loaf rather than in no bread; and am firmly convinced that with one half in hand it is a great deal easier to get the other half, rather than, starting empty-handed, to get the whole at once. Therefore, my answer to those who may allege that my practice is in opposition to my principles will be, that I recognize the drift of public sentiment, and do not propose to forfeit all measure of success by putting such sentiment at defiance. When the people of New York have fully come to appreciate the principle that the productiveness of a tax is not its first consideration to favor, and that the direct gains which accrue from some taxes are far more than compensated for by indirect losses, it will be time to take another step forward in the cause of progress. But that time has not yet come.

2. The second proposition of the new system is, to tax land and buildings—real estate—on the uniform basis of their fair marketable valuation. It is difficult to see why the case of unoccupied lands is not here fully provided for. There can be no other equitable standard for valuing, and there can be no possible error in assessment except by undervaluing; and an improved administration of law and Sec. 13 of outline Code No. 2, submitted by the Commissioners, provide against undervaluing as fully as is possible. If it is proposed that unoccupied land shall be assessed on a proportionately greater value than contiguous occupied and improved territory, the Commissioners respectfully dissent. The latter is worth more, and reimburses the owner for taxes and interest, or it is used unprofitably; while the former returns the owner nothing for the time being. If the former rises in value, so does the latter; and if each is taxed on its fair market value, they are taxed equitably.

3. With the third proposition the difficulties and points of disagreement commence; for it is here that the taxation of personal property indirectly and by substitute is proposed. The reasoning of the Commissioners is as follows: All experience and reasoning show that as a general rule, whoever possesses personal property necessarily puts out some sign or indication of the fact and amount of such possession; and that the rent or rental value of the building or premises occupied constitutes the most permanent and certain of such signs or indications. The Commissioners, therefore, propose, in the place of all taxation on personal property, other than that provided for in their first proposition, to tax *each occupier, be he owner or tenant,* who is in the possession of an amount of property beyond what the law exempts from execution, on a valuation indicated by *three* times his rent actually paid, or three times the rental value of the premises occupied, if he be the owner; and in consideration therefor make no further enquiry as to what personal property he possesses, where he keeps it, or how he uses it. If it is asked why *three* times the rent or rental value is taken, the answer is that the Commissioners find, from investigation, that no person, even the humblest, can rent and occupy any building, or part of a building, and pursue any occupation which will yield a livelihood including his rent, without being in possession of personal property equal to the amount specified, and on this point they challenge investigation. It will be seen by reference to the report that it is not proposed to commence assessing according to this system at the bottom level of society. The occupier must have personal property over and above what is liable to execution; and it is further provided that, in the case of the occupiers of tenement-houses paying a minimum rent ($150), the owner shall be regarded as occupier, and taxed accordingly. The Commissioners claim that this system is an equitable one, easily understood, and one that allows little to the discretion or caprice of assessors. If the occupier is of small means, and pays little rent, he is taxed lightly; if, on the contrary, he prefers to employ his wealth in owning or renting costly structures, his taxation is increased proportionately. If he possesses more of personal property than is represented by *three* times his rent or rental value of his dwelling, and such property is invested in corporate stocks enumerated under the first section of the proposed system, it would be returned for assessment. If such property, on the other hand, is invested in United States bonds, or property without the State, it is beyond the jurisdiction of the State; if invested in machinery, mining, and shipping, its taxation by the State is inexpedient, for such taxes directly increase the cost of production, and are not paid in the long run by the immediate representatives of the capital assessed.

But the criticism is made, in your review of the 2d, that such indirect taxation of personal property is, in fact, only another tax upon real estate; or, in other words, that the unit of measurement adopted, and the object measured, are one and the same. Upon this I take direct issue, and assert that there is no necessary connection whatever between the two; and that the personal tax is not in any sense a tax upon real estate, any more than it would be if, instead of rent or rental value, the buttons on the occupier's coat or the books in his library were taken as the standard of measurement. Or, to make the case clearer, suppose the occupier to be an individual who has no stocks or personal property investment whatever, but a large income derived from professional practice, and who rents the house or apartments he occupies. Such an individual probably now escapes direct taxation altogether; and yet, if ability to pay, as laid down by Adam Smith, is to be made the test and measure of taxation, the State has an equitable and just claim upon him; and in assessing him for personal property on a basis of three times his rental, he to a certain extent discharges such claim, and the payment of it in no ways falls upon the owner of the real estate he occupies; and the Commissioners claim that it constitutes one of the chief merits of the system they have proposed, that its provisions will so effectually and equitably bring into the range of assessment so large an amount of personal property now wholly evading taxation, that the rate on real estate, at present ranging in the cities of this State from 2.27 to 6.70 per cent., will never hereafter necessarily exceed two per cent. as a maximum.

I have thus sketched a brief outline of the reforms proposed by the Commissioners in their recent report. If sufficient space were available, illustration and argument might be further adduced in its support to almost any extent; but as I cannot expect to be allowed to fill up your columns with a discussion of this one subject, I would respectfully ask your readers to read and examine the report itself, and judge for themselves whether the system proposed is not wholly practicable, and at the same time as simple, equitable, and economic as the present condition of the body politic and public sentiment in reference to reform will allow.—I remain, yours most respectfully,

DAVID A. WELLS,
Chairman, Board of Commissioners.

March 6, 1871.

THE PROFESSOR OF FRENCH AT WEST POINT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the letter from Washington in your issue of this week appears the following sentence: "The latest instance of the way gangrene is eating into the body politic is in the appointment of the Professor of French at West Point. The office of United States Marshal at Boston was wanted for another partisan, and so the incumbent was transferred to the other post. Perhaps the linguistic acquirements of the pupils are of minor importance; but what is to prevent the military professorships from

going the same road, with consequences to be developed in the next war as similar ones have been lately in France?" The natural inference from the words quoted is that Gen. Andrews, the late marshal, is a mere political partisan, quite unfit to be entrusted with the duty of instructing the cadets at West Point either in French or in studies of a more purely military character. If your correspondent knows the man of whom he writes, he has been guilty of wilful injustice. If he does not, which I think is more probable, I will suggest for his information that Gen. Andrews is not only as far as possible from being a political partisan (if he had been, he would have kept his place as marshal), but that he is one of the best specimens of a West Point graduate. He was among the first, if not the first, in his class, and is a most conscientious, painstaking, and soldierly man, well versed in the literature of what was for many years his profession. If professors at the Military Academy are to be taken from the ranks of its graduates, your Washington correspondent may rest assured that, so long as men are selected of the same character as Gen. Andrews, there is no danger of the fulfilment of his gloomy forebodings of our national decay. P.

Boston, March 11, 1871.

SATURN'S ECLIPSES OF THE SUN.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In the notice of Proctor's "Other Worlds than Ours," printed in your issue of March 2, occurs the following, viz.: "If that planet (Saturn) were habitable, his rings would prove a terrible nuisance. In latitudes corresponding to New York, they cause total eclipses of the sun which last seven years at a time."

This is a great mistake. No such eclipse is possible to any part of Saturn's surface. I do not know who was the originator of the error. Walker's edition of Herschel's "Astronomy," 1838, says the eclipse will last fifteen years. Olmsted copied the assertion in his work. It is also in Mädler's "Astronomy," Berlin, 1852, and in others. The eclipse lasts about fifteen days at the equator of the planet; and different periods for various latitudes, but in no case exceeding a few days.

The error was very fully exposed a quarter of a century ago, by Lardner in the Transactions of the Royal Astronomical Society of London, an abstract of which will be found in Lardner's "Hand-book of Natural Philosophy," Vol. III., American edition of 1854. The later editions of Herschel in my possession omit the paragraph of the earlier editions, in which the error is found. Any one familiar with mathematics and astronomy can make the proof for himself. X.

Oxford, O., March 6, 1871.

[It seems strange that "X." should evidently not have read Proctor's "Saturn and its System," which appeared in 1865. On pages 179 *seq.* of that work, Proctor thoroughly examines Lardner's calculations, and shows that they are founded on erroneous data, and are hence wrong in result. Table XI. of the same book, in which the epochs and duration of eclipses in all Saturnian latitudes are given, as calculated by Proctor, shows that in latitude 40° the eclipse due to the rings begins nearly three years after each autumnal equinox, gradually becoming total. The period of totality is 6 years 236.4 days, or 5,543 Saturnian days. This is preceded and followed by a period of morning and evening eclipse; the *whole* period being 8 years 292.8 days.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

The "Story of my Life" of Hans Christian Andersen, as heretofore published, has contained but a part of the original biography, and neither, of course, gave any account of the author's experience during the past fourteen years. The new edition now about to be issued by Messrs. Hurd & Houghton will be a full translation from the Danish, with an addition covering this later and (for Andersen) very interesting period, written expressly for his American readers, and now for the first time translated.——It is hardly necessary to call attention to an obvious error in the second line of the second paragraph on page 160 of our last issue (No. 297). The rare book containing Lord Wilmot's retort to Louis XIV.'s boast of French aggrandizement was published, of course, in *London* and not in France. In recurring to the subject, we may appropriately relate the answer said to have been given by Gervinus to Thiers, when the latter enquired of him, after Sedan: "With whom are you Germans fighting now?" "With Louis XIV."——The *North British Review* has come to a sudden end, though finishing a volume, with the January number. It is the third publication which has died in the hands of its conductors—the liberal Roman Catholics who, after failing with the *Home and Foreign Review*, founded the *Chronicle*, which in less than a year was discontinued, after a career of great promise. The *North British Review* was one of the four reviews regularly reprinted in this country by the Leonard Scott Publication Company, who now inform their subscribers that they have substituted for it the *British Quarterly*; and in order to give a complete file of the latter, they will furnish gratuitously with the April number the January number also, which begins a volume. The *British Quarterly* and the *North British Review* were started almost simultaneously, in 1845, the one by the English Nonconformists, and the other by the Free Church of Scotland. The former, however, has been under the same management from the beginning, its founder, Dr. Vaughan, having edited it for twenty-one years.——The following books will be shortly issued by Messrs. Harper & Bros.: Barnes's "Notes on Romans," the fourth volume of the revised edition; Lady Belcher's "Mutineers of the Bounty," which does not appear to lack for interest in spite of all that has been written on the subject; a revised edition of Mr. Wells's report on "Local Taxation," that abundantly deserves to be taken out of the category of purely official documents; a copious and critical "English-Latin Dictionary," by Dr. William Smith and Theophilus D. Hall; "Science for the Young—Part I: Heat," by Jacob Abbott; several novels; and Volume II. of Brodhead's "History of New York."——Messrs. Roberts Bros. will republish "Episodes in an Obscure Life;" "Thoughts about Art," by Philip Gilbert Hamerton; and "A Visit to my Discontented Cousin."——A translation of Lucretius is announced by Messrs. De Witt C. Lent & Co.——Messrs. H. H. & T. W. Carter, Boston, reprint from the Tauchnitz edition of British novels "One Year," by Mrs. Peake.

—The directors of the social experiment known in Boston as the Horticultural School for Women, and which was opened in the latter part of May, 1870, publish a brief report of what has been accomplished in the past seven months. This, indeed, does not amount to much, though the result is by no means discouraging. The school has been obliged to rent instead of owning ground, and has had but six pupils, partly because of its late opening, and partly because the cost of board and tuition together (the latter being $100 a year) prevented a majority of the applicants from entering. Nevertheless, with the current expenses, including the rent, reaching $500 a month, the receipts from tuition and board and sales of produce were nearly half that amount. The directors hope in time to have a sufficient real-estate fund to enable them to purchase a place of their own, and also to be assisted by the benevolent in establishing free scholarships, when the school will probably become self-sustaining. The scheme of instruction is strictly practical, designed for those who mean to make horticulture a profession, and embraces, besides training in the garden and greenhouse, the study of botany, entomology, agricultural chemistry, drawing, etc. The effect of their out-door work on the students has been very gratifying; some were invalids, and all have improved in health.

—It is beyond a doubt that we Americans put up with all sorts of things in a way that often gives other people good colorable reason for blaming us as cowardly, or even for attacking us for obtuseness of the moral sense. It is comfortable to believe, however, that our toleration of the impudence of landlords, clerks, railroad-conductors, hack-drivers, pursers of steamboats, and other public servants who have made themselves our tyrants, is not a result of cowardice so much as of good-nature and of a self-reliance that takes the world as it comes; and that our morals are not so far gone in dry-rot as our long-suffering endurance and even partial enjoyment of Fisk, for example, would lead some to suppose. It is not only more comfortable to believe so, but there need be no doubt that one who so believes is nearer the truth than if he held the opinion of us that is commoner among our critics on the other side of the water. A rascal who carries "smartness" to its highest development, or who has in him anything else that is amusing, is sure to get from us, for a certain length of time, a certain sort of applause. But let Mr. Phineas T. Barnum try to go to Congress, and he finds it a difficult matter. Or let General Butler try to get us to repudiate the national debt, or declare war in the Fenian interest, and how soon he discovers that the comic element in his performances and his impudent unscrupulous sharpness—which make it impossible even for those who best know his character to entertain a perfectly serious hatred for him—how soon he discovers that at bottom his countrymen put no trust in him, and that he has no one's respect. Or

let Fisk, now that people have had enough of the sort of amusement which he is capable of affording, attempt to keep on for another two years as he has during the last two years, and how surely he will come to irremediable grief. The moral state of the people of this country is, no doubt, not everything that some of us moralists could wish; but after all it is to be called sound and wholesome. And were it not for the fact that everybody here is so busy as to have little time for thinking about enforcing the moral law, we should not be under any reproach of caring a bit less about morality than other communities care. Whenever it does happen that we get time to give some attention to the matter, the judgments that we render are not in the least doubtful, nor delivered with any lack of emphasis. Take, for instance, General Barlow's and Mr. Samuel Bowles's discussion of Mr. David Dudley Field's position as the coadjutor, with Barnard and Cardozo, of Gould and Fisk. It was a discussion that was slow in coming, for the affairs discussed were in so many ways highly interesting that the iniquity of the men engaged in them was not at first so clearly perceptible, or, rather, so staringly obvious, as it doubtless should have been. But however slow in coming, the discussion, now that it has come, cannot be found fault with on the score of thoroughness and fearlessness. There is to be more of it, too, we are glad to say, and we are glad to say that it is to come in part, at least, from a member of the New York bar—a body which in no long time will be prepared, so far as the possession of evidence goes, to take some decisive steps as regards its own purification. As we are informed, the next *North American Review* will contain two articles, strongly libellous in character, of which one treats very fully of the strategy and tactics of Fisk and Gould in their famous fight with the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad last summer was a year, while the other discusses the moral aspects of the services rendered Fisk by the lawyers in whose hands he placed himself; or who placed themselves in his hands—whichever it was. The author of the second article is Mr. Albert Stickney, of this city, a good lawyer in good standing, who, though he is not a practised writer, possesses a knowledge of some of the facts in the late history of the Erie Railway and its counsellors which will make whatever he has to say on the subject worth the attention of all interested persons. The other article, of which advance sheets have been shown us, is by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and is a piece of narrative which will be very much enjoyed by all but a certain number of persons. The *Westminster Review's* article on the fight between Field, Shearman, Fisk, Vanderbilt, and Drew was lively enough; but it was rather a mild matter in comparison with this "Erie Raid."

—Old graduates of the Law School of Harvard College may find some pleasure in the perusal of a small pamphlet newly published by Messrs. Hurd & Houghton, of this city. It is from the hand of Judge Joel Parker, for many years Royall Professor in the School, and a man widely known in the profession and in the country at large, as well as among his old pupils, not only for his legal abilities and attainments, but also for his sincere enjoyment of a good fight. "So fight I," he says on the title-page before us, "not as one that beateth the air." And on the cover of his pamphlet he prints the following words—with an evident belief in the strict appropriateness of some of them to the mental and moral condition of his antagonists; and with no unjustifiable confidence in the accurate descriptiveness of others of them as applied to his own language, which is indeed quite plain. They are these words by "Truthful James:"

> "Which I wish to remark—
> And my language is plain—
> That for ways that are dark,
> And for tricks that are vain,
> The heathen Chinee is peculiar:
> Which the same I would rise to explain."

The Chinee—or Chinees, for there are two of them—who figure in this case are the new editors of the Boston *Law Review*, a pair of heathen who would seem to have come upon their "Melican man" at a discouragingly early stage in their career of editorship; and the dark ways and vain tricks which Judge Parker rises to explain were exhibited in the writing and publication of an article in their *Review*, in which were said these things:

"For a long time, the condition of the Harvard Law School has been almost a disgrace to the commonwealth of Massachusetts. We say 'almost a disgrace,' because, undoubtedly, some of its courses of lectures have been good, and no law school of which this can be said is hopelessly bad. Still, a school which undertook to confer degrees without any preliminary examination whatever, was doing something every year to injure the profession throughout the country and to discourage real students. So long as the possession of a degree signified nothing except a residence for a certain length of time in Cambridge or Boston, it was without value. The lapse of time secured its acquisition. Just as a certain number of dinners entitled a man in England to a call to the bar, so a certain number of months in Cambridge entitled him to a degree of Bachelor of Laws. So long as this state of things continued, it was evident that the school was not properly performing its function."

Upon this followed some remarks about the new system which compels candidates for a degree to pass an examination and makes some other changes, which no doubt are by no means undesirable. "Now," says Judge Parker, thinking his reputation bound up, in part, with that of the School, and thinking, further, that the editors had traduced the School, "had the author of this article been content to commend the new order of things without disparaging the old" (or had the words of censure appeared to be but carelessly used or unintentionally disparaging), "the matter might be passed without notice." But they were not used carelessly, and it is clear that it was intended to censure the School and some, at least, of its former instructors, as doing something every year to injure the profession. We have not space to follow the Judge through the interesting account of the rise and progress of the Harvard Law School and the other law schools of the country; nor to follow him as he shows that, whatever the School at Cambridge has done during the last half-century, it has done with the approval and under the direction of such Presidents as Kirkland, Quincy, Everett, Sparks, Walker, Felton, and Hill, and (among the Fellows) such lawyers as Charles Jackson, Joseph Story, Lemuel Shaw, C. G. Loring, E. R. Hoar, B. R. Curtis, H. G. Otis, and B. F. Crowninshield; nor to quote his proofs that the School has steadily widened its field, and yearly drawn to itself, anxious either for its degree or its instruction, greater and greater numbers of students from all parts of the Union, who have, as a rule, certainly not discredited the approval accorded their Alma Mater by the jurists and lawyers whose names we have cited, and have evidently not been of opinion that the condition of the School was a disgrace to anybody.

—The truth of the matter would seem to be that each party to this dispute—if indeed there is not here one of those quarrels which disprove the adage and are made by one person—has on his side some right, that each had plenty of good intentions, and that each may be well enough content to let the matter rest as it is. We should say that no one could read Judge Parker's pamphlet without admitting that the Harvard Law School has, ever since its foundation, done excellent work, highly creditable to its teachers and scholars; that it has been so far from being a disgrace to Massachusetts as to have been an honor to the State, and of service to the profession throughout the whole country; that its degrees, if they were given without examination, were nevertheless carried away by men who had on the whole studied well—as behooved students who have reached manhood, and who in nine cases out of ten had before them the immediate prospect of applying practically their knowledge of the law, and getting their bread and reputation by applying it well. On the other hand, it is true, too, that the School can do something and will, it is highly probable, do something under the changed system, not only to increase its efficiency, but help on the cause of sound education in the United States. It will be well, no doubt, when Harvard University shall give no degree the possession of which shall not be strong evidence that its possessor has a certain amount of ability, and has acquired a certain amount of knowledge of law or science or theology, or whatever else the university may have been trying to teach him. His perception of the fact that this is highly desirable in the case of the degree of Bachelor of Laws, and his strong hope that under the new system this significance may be given the Law School degrees as to others, apparently made the writer in the *Review* speak as he did—that is to say, with far too much of looseness of assertion, and in a tone of seeming disrespect to persons whom he no doubt considers worthy of a great deal of respect. However, Judge Parker had little need, one would think, to fancy himself glanced at. But the fact is, he had a crow to pick, not only with the offending editors, but with various committees and sub-committees of the Board of Overseers, who also may be safely referred to the pamphlet in question as affording means of amusement. The sarcasm of our author, as regards its delicacy, is something like a good two-handed stroke with a dull broad-axe; and as regards its effectiveness, it might be compared to a blow delivered with the helve of the same weapon just after the blade had flown off; but one pities the axeman's arms, and shivers sympathetically with them in the jar they must be feeling. He takes, however, a pleasure in wielding it which is so sincere and complacent that it cannot fail to give the reader much satisfaction, and, as we have said, the historical and argumentative parts of the book make it interesting and worth having.

—Our sober neighbors of Philadelphia, so long contented with the rectangular sameness of their streets, seem to have waked up at last to the consciousness that civic architecture may be rendered attractive as well as comfortable, and that the business avenues of a town may become the means of æsthetic education as well as of money-making. The gigantic park which they are laying out, and in which they take so much pride, seems to have fairly aroused them, and the quiet of the city of Penn is disturbed by a controversy raging on the use to be made of "Penn Square"—a plot of about ten acres, at the crossing of Broad and Market streets. One party, which seems to have legislative authority at its back, proposes the vandalism of closing up this open space by erecting in its centre a huge building, more than four hundred feet square, as a court-house and city hall, and in pursuance of this they have already cut down the handsome trees with which it was adorned. The other party is striving to convert the square into an open plaza, like the Place de la Concorde, under the impression that it will become a centre from which handsome architectural improvements will radiate, giving us the only example in this country of those imposing effects which are so eagerly sought after in the European capitals. This view of the matter is presented in a well-written pamphlet before us—"Broad Street, Penn Square, and the Park"—the work, apparently, of a professional hand familiar with the shortcomings and solecisms that so commonly disgrace our great cities. The author is desirous of reproducing in Philadelphia the effect which is so striking in Paris, of the Place de la Concorde, the Avenue de l'Impératrice, and the Bois de Boulogne; but we doubt whether Philadelphians are yet sufficiently educated in the beautiful to take advantage of the opportunity which is before them. One cheering indication, however, is the fact that a large sum has already been pledged by private citizens for the adornment of the square with fountains and monuments if the scheme can be carried out. By the way, could not the somewhat arid verdure of Union Square be advantageously replaced with a handsomely paved and flagged open plaza, appropriately ornamented?

—Two addresses by Judge Thayer of the District Court of Philadelphia have recently been printed in that city by Kay & Brothers, Law Booksellers. One of them, "The Law, considered as a Progressive Science," was delivered before the Law Academy of Philadelphia, and is well worthy of the series of papers read before that useful body in its active career of half a century. It is a learned, thoughtful, and exhaustive study of the gradual development of the Common Law, as it exists in this country, showing the influence of Roman, Civil, Canon, Feudal, and Federal Law, each in turn controlling for a time, and all leaving their impress on the body of law which now serves our daily needs. Judge Thayer speaks earnestly and eloquently of the vast influence of the legal profession in this country, and urges on the students the importance of fitting themselves for their places as well in public life as in the more strictly technical and private relations to their clients and to the courts. Himself an example of the good that is done by taking an active part in politics, he carefully enforces upon students and practitioners of the law the importance of never making their profession subsidiary to politics as a livelihood. Appreciating the influence and importance of lawyers as a class in the political as well as the social history of the country, he holds up for those who are yet to swell the ranks of the profession the standard of progress and reform as that under which they can best work their way forward to honorable position and reward. Judge Thayer has also printed his "Address delivered at the opening of the Library of Christian Hall," at Chestnut Hill, one of the suburbs of Philadelphia. Besides giving a modest mention of the liberality of Mr. Henry J. Williams, for many years one of the leading lawyers of Philadelphia, in thus founding a library for the use of his neighbors, Judge Thayer sketches for their benefit the history of libraries, showing how, from similar and even smaller benefactions, some of the greatest storehouses of learning have taken their start, and in time become the workshops for the most acute and the most active and useful intellects of their respective localities—at times, indeed, of the world. The scholarly tone of this brief address shows that its author has made effective use of the larger field opened to him in his varied career as lawyer and judge.

—Pastor Mann, the learned Rector of the ancient German Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia, has recently published (through Köhler) his address on the war between France and Germany. It is a clear account of the historical changes in French and German territory, tracing the causes of the loss of successive German territories to France, and of their recent recapture by the Germans, to the vices, both political and social, of the controlling power. The lesson that he draws and the moral that he enforces are useful at all times, and the earnest moderation with which he speaks commends his pamphlet to all who can master German, and endure the small type and wretched paper with which his publisher has saved a little outlay, at the expense of a better sale. A well-printed translation would undoubtedly find many readers and do much good.

—Not the least amusing portion of the revelations made by the ransacking of the Imperial papers at the Tuileries are letters received by the Emperor asking for, or acknowledging, "presentation copies" of the "Life of Cæsar," and they certainly present certain well-known French literary men in no very favorable light. The ingenuity, mixed with solemnity, with which some of the recipients worked up their acknowledgments of the book is almost touching. M. Augier says that the effect produced on him by the preface, when the Emperor read it to him, was very deep; but it was nothing to the effect produced on him by reading the work itself. He says that, "as a work of art, it appeared to him to have the singular merit of giving liveliness to the narrative without the tricks of anecdote which, in these later days, are called 'local color.' He says it is, also, "the profound work of a thinker;" and that nobody could have written it who had not acted history himself. M. Ponsard goes still further, in acknowledgment of his copy. He says it will exercise "a salutary influence on letters," owing to its freedom from all affectation. "The style, in which Cæsar would recognize his own purity and precision, will bring us back to good taste, in showing that fine language flows from strong thinking." "The gift," he says, "makes him more eager than ever" to show himself worthy of the Emperor's "august benevolence," so he is working hard at a poetical piece for the Théâtre Français, which he hopes to read in the month of May. Octave Feuillet is very thankful for having been considered "worthy to be among the first to admire a work which will prove not only an honor to history and to letters, but will leave traces still deeper; for," he says, "to raise historic studies to that height, is to deliver the government of this world from chance, from accident, from mean passions, and hand it over to the providential inspirations of genius, the generous views and vast designs of great souls, and thus ennoble not only history, but humanity." Not bad for M. Feuillet. Arsène Houssaye begs humbly for a copy from his Majesty, as "the humblest of his critics and subjects." But nobody was as much overcome by the receipt of a copy as Jules Sandeau. He says "he was as much touched by it as if he was unworthy of it; but was as proud of it as if he deserved it. The work," he adds, "will give Julius Cæsar himself an unlooked-for greatness and a new lustre. As a man of letters, he cannot be too grateful to his Majesty. The Emperor Charles V. deserved well of the arts for having picked up Titian's brush. You, Sire, have done better; you have taken the pen of Montesquieu, and used it." One of the most fulsome acknowledgments is from Prince Charles of Roumania. The gem of the collection, however, is a letter from M. Louvet, a member of the Corps Législatif, and, incredible as it may seem, this creature was afterwards a member of the Ollivier Ministry. We shall translate this entire. Abridgment would spoil it. It is dated Dec. 17, 1855, shortly before the birth of the Prince Imperial:

"SIRE: The church of Puy-Notre-Dame, near Saumur, possesses one of the most precious of Christian relics. It is a sash of the Virgin Mary, given by William VI., Duke of Aquitaine, who had brought it back from the Crusades. The archives of the church, and numerous historical documents, attest the authenticity of this relic. The kings of France have at all times had great faith in this sash. Anne of Austria wore it at St. Germain in 1638, when she gave birth to a prince who was afterwards Louis XIV. If it seemed good to you, Sire, to place her Majesty the Empress under the protection of this relic during the great event which is going to crown your domestic happiness, and assure the repose of France, I have no doubt the curé and the bishop would eagerly accede to your wishes."

—One of the most sensible and forcible documents that the late war has produced is the joint address of Karl Blind, Ferdinand Freiligrath, and Dr. Eduard Bronner to the French people and its National Assembly, dated London, during the armistice. The eight pages of this little brochure contain a sober and sane judgment of the great conflict, in marked contrast with the incoherencies of Edouard Schuré, on the one hand, and of Karl Blind's republican associate in this country and fellow-exile, Mr. Karl Heinzen, on the other. The writers address the French republicans more in sorrow than in anger, reproaching them with their approval of the war begun by Napoleon, and reminding them that the revolutionary Assembly of 1789–92 had not refrained from forcibly annexing German territory as the fruit of victory. "Can you forget," they continue, "that not a voice was raised among us, during half a century, to reclaim provinces which, in the time of our weakness, had been torn from us by treacherous surprises?" And is it not true "that while the immense ma-

jority of all parties with you have preached the 'natural frontier' of the Rhine as your country's right, the German democracy have never raised as an offset the question of Alsace—have never spoken of that truly *natural* barrier, the Vosges, which coincides with nationality, language, and ancient history, and really separates the French and the German races?" "Unless France pretends," they say further, stating the whole case admirably in a few words—"unless France pretends to be always in the right, and reserves to herself the privilege of making conquests when victorious, but of offering no guaranties when beaten in a war unjustly begun by her, everybody must admit that the balance of right is this time on the side of Germany." On the question of annexation there is no difference between Bismarck and Blind. If the Alsatians unwillingly return to Germany, they were unwillingly attached to France; and there is good reason for believing that their nostalgia will not last long. "Have we not seen the people of the Bavarian palatinate, who had been annexed to France for over a century, become patriotically German again, after 1815, in the course of a few years?"

—In 1841, M. Eugène Pelletan was the editor of *Le XIXe Siècle*, a journal of commerce and of national interests. In one of the November numbers was an article on the European alliances and general European policy desirable for France, having in view particularly the Eastern question. At that time M. Rouher was a young advocate not yet thirty, and we infer from a foolscap manuscript found by the Prussians in his chateau, and which has come into our possession, that being struck with this article he made, or caused to be made, a fair copy of it, as also of part of an article from the issue for Nov. 30. The first article closes thus: "Such is the policy which we offer for the consideration of thoughtful men (*des hommes grâves*). We are not the inventors of it; it was Napoleon's at the conferences of Erfurth, as well as that of many distinguished minds. It only awaits the sanction of public opinion." One may judge what a contrast is presented between the tone and attitude then assumed in the name of France, and those which now become that unhappy country, towards the rest of Europe. The future to which, unless she prefers anarchy, she is now restricted, and which alone will restore her people to their right mind and repair the frightful waste of years of ambition, intermeddling, and warfare, is distinctly denounced as impossible by the journalist of 1841. The passage is worth transcribing:

"Doubtless, if France, which every twenty years adds a third to her population, is willing to live on a philosopher's competence in the limits of her own boundaries, without action beyond them, like Switzerland or Holland, content with her lot, indifferent to the world's destiny, poring over her budgets, year after year, satisfied and delighted with the spectacle of her tribune, her art and industrial expositions, her newspapers, her systems, her innovators, certainly in that case she has no need of alliances; she can be sufficient unto herself, and defend herself successfully against the neighbors who might seek to invade her."

—In the succeeding paragraph the cause of the French rottenness—inordinate conceit, cloaked with the glittering generalities of a pseudo-philanthropy—stands boldly out. "But as peoples," it begins, "have not, like individuals, the choice of their destiny; as they cannot render themselves stationary (*s'immobiliser*), or concentrate themselves within certain limits," etc., etc. And yet the examples of Holland and Switzerland, which could and did do all these things, had just been cited. "If France has at heart," is the next sentence, "the grand thought of giving her impress to the destinies prepared in heaven, and which are to be accomplished on earth," etc. The writer then proceeds to hand Turkey over to Russia, exacting as compensation for thus "ratifying the decree of heaven" and for this "inheritance in advance" (*l'avancement d'hoirie*) the Rhine frontier, the protectorate of Syria and of the north of Africa, and the pacification of Prussia and Austria by a share in the division of Turkey—Poland, by the way, having already been resuscitated under the protectorate of Prussia. Then the French modesty overcomes the writer: "As for ourselves, putting aside all feeling of nationality in presence of the accomplishment of so grand a work, we feel moved religiously at the thought of all that humanity would gain in this territorial transfer. Already we get a glimpse," etc. The barbarians are to be lifted up and taught the exact sciences. Meantime, France, with Russia's good-will, develops her industrial and military resources in Algeria, extends her border from Metz to Mayence, absorbs by commercial solidarity the rich territory of Belgium, and directs Spain in the management of her affairs.

—Miss Maria Rossetti, sister of Dante, Christina, and William has been engaged for some years on a study of the plan and scope of "The Divina Commedia," an exhaustive and unique commentary, and which is now ready for the press. The Rossetti family, Italian by blood, and inheritors from their father, an Italian poet, of an enthusiasm for Dante which, perhaps, no one not of Italian instincts can feel, have already in divers ways shown invaluable results of that enthusiasm and its labor, and those who are qualified to speak consider the forthcoming book one of remarkable interest. Dante Rossetti contemplates bringing out an album of photographs from his designs and drawings, somewhat in the style of the "Album of the Acropolis," published by Mr. Stillman. It will be, like that, restricted to a small edition (probably not above one hundred), and will be published by Ellis. Its appearance will be looked for with great interest by lovers of art. The number of photographs will be twelve, and the price probably about $60 (gold).

ALLIBONE'S DICTIONARY OF AUTHORS.*

At last Allibone's "Dictionary" is completed. More than twenty years ago, it was projected; twelve years ago, the first volume was published; and then, having learned its merits by constant use, we waited impatiently for the second volume. There were those who prophesied that it would never come, and others who simply complained of the delay. But Mr. Allibone was not to blame. The labor of such a compilation is enormous, and the years have been well spent in expanding the promised volume into two. Indeed, as we shall show, it would have been better had there been a still further delay in the appearance of the last.

It may seem ungracious to find fault with a book which has cost its author so much drudgery, which no other work had forestalled, and none is likely soon to supersede, yet we feel constrained, while praising the excellence of the First Part—the "Dictionary" proper—to point out the shortcomings of the Second Part—the "Indexes." Almost every one knows that the "Dictionary" is one of those works, like Worcester's or Webster's or Cowden Clarke's "Concordance to Shakespeare," which a literary man can hardly dispense with; that it comes down nearly fifty years later than Watt's "Bibliotheca," its only competitor, and contains biographical notices, which Watt hardly can be said to have given, and critical notices extracted from the most varied sources, which he did not give at all; that, besides the criticisms inserted, the number of references to others is really marvellous for the work of one man; that the work is impartial, comprehensive, minute, and as accurate as any one has a right to expect a book containing such a variety of details to be; and, finally, that it is as pleasant for desultory reading as it is useful for reference. Knowing this, and knowing Mr. Allibone's high appreciation of indexes and success in making them, it was natural to expect much of the "Forty Indexes," which were announced, with a little flourish, in the title and preface of Vol. I. The first look at Vol. III. was sufficient to show that the promises were unfulfilled. We had been told that "the enquirer could find at a glance all the authors of any note in the language, arranged under the subject or subjects upon which they had written;" "the clergyman would have only to turn to the class headed 'Divinity,' and the theological treasures of the English language would be laid open to his view;" "the article 'Law' would enable the lawyer to discover at once the title and date of, and frequently valuable critical opinions from the highest authorities upon, the legal treatise which is to enable him to study intelligently the important case, the management of which is, perhaps, to make or mar his professional reputation." This was the promise. Let us look at the fulfilment.

The twenty-second index, "Law," is a list of 3,175 names of authors—bare names, without the slightest indication what legal subjects, what branch of law even, is treated of. Our supposed lawyer, eager to commence the study of his important case, must, then, look up in the First Part—the "Dictionary"—every one of these 3,175 names, and read through the list of works given under each, to see if he can find anywhere a legal treatise to his purpose. This process, which would occupy—judging from an experiment that we have made—about seventeen hours, is what Mr. Allibone terms "finding *at once* the title and date of the legal treatise," etc. It is true that the lawyer may come across something that will serve his turn before he has examined a dozen names, but even then he could not feel sure that there was not something much more to his purpose further on. Most lawyers, we suspect, rather than undertake such a search, would trust to find the required treatise pointed out in some of the numerous legal bibliographies under a heading so specific that the book could be found really "at once." Or if one should

* "A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the Earliest Accounts to the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century. Containing over Forty-six Thousand Articles (Authors), with Forty Indexes of Subjects. By S. Austin Allibone." Vol. III. and last. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

seriously attempt to use the index, his ardor would soon be damped by such entries as "Adair, W. James, author of several legal treatises," "Adams, Jonas, a writer on law," which are two of the first seven names referred to under "Law."

One can, with some difficulty, imagine cases in which lists like these would be of use; but a list occupying five times the room, and costing, perhaps, twenty times as much labor to make it, would have been at least a hundred times as valuable. To make these indexes in any way correspond with the promises quoted above—and similar promises were made with regard to agriculture, medicine, commerce, art—they should have been very much subdivided, or else, if the so-called "dictionary system" was preferred, each book worth referring to should have been entered under the most specific subject.

In long and frequent use of Vol. I., we have found it much more accurate than Watt's "Bibliotheca." The new volumes appear to be as good as the first in this and other respects. We find, of course, an occasional misprint, as "Tavish" for "Tainsh," page 2,375; an occasional fault of arrangement, as the reference to Taylor's "Thackerayana" under Tennyson, which belongs higher up in connection with the mention of Thackeray's "Snob;" an occasional waste of room, as where the list of Mrs. Tuthill's "Juvenile Library," which need not have taken more than five or six lines, fills fourteen; an occasional omission, as that of T. H. Safford, noted for his mathematical precocity, and now director of the Dearborn Observatory, whose writings are as worthy of mention as those of his companions, the two Tuttles; occasionally a superfluous remark; and, in general, a less frequent reference to foreign critics on English writers than might be desirable in a country where the French and German languages are now so much read. Not that Mr. Allibone makes no such references. On the contrary, he notes reviews of Thackeray and Tennyson in the *Revue des Deux Mondes;* but he has not noted all the articles on either author in that periodical, and, as far as we have observed, other foreign reviews are unexplored by him. The *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, for instance, has articles on Thomson and Wordsworth; the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, on Trollope and Walpole; Gosche's *Jahrbuch für Literatur*, on Swift; the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, on Wace, which are apparently unknown to our author. Nor would it be difficult to extend the list. But we feel almost ashamed to speak of such omissions, in view of the vast number of references which Mr. Allibone has given us. He has accomplished a work for which every American scholar owes him hearty thanks, and of which Philadelphia especially may be justly proud.

The Statesman's Year-Book: A Statistical and Historical Account of the States of the Civilized World. Manual for Politicians and Merchants for the Year 1871. By Frederick Martin. Eighth annual publication, revised after official returns. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.)—This compilation may not be sufficiently elaborate and exhaustive to deserve its prime title, "The Statesman's Year-Book," but we can safely recommend it as a very useful "Manual for Politicians and Merchants" of the higher sort—those, namely, who, while engaged in law-making, President-making, or money-making, have time left to enquire, in their own interest or in that of others, how the world is governed. This our "Year-Book" proposes to show chiefly by statistical figures, following the wise adage of Goethe which it has selected for its motto: "Man sagt oft: Zahlen regieren die Welt. Das aber ist gewiss, Zahlen zeigen *wie* sie regiert wird. (It is often said that figures govern the world. This, however, is certain: figures show *how* the world is governed.)" It is, however, far from being a dry collection of tables showing the revenues and expenditures, debts and sinking funds, armies and navies, areas and populations, trade and industry, money, weights and measures, of the various states of the civilized world. Besides these and kindred things, it contains sketches of constitutions and governments, brief chronological retrospects, biographical notices of monarchs, presidents, and ministers, and lists of books of reference for further information. A considerable portion of the book is, in fact, quite readable. The freshness of the whole is decidedly commendable. We not only find notices of Amadeo I. and his queen at the head of "Spain," but Germany entered as "Deutsches Reich," Wilhelm I. noticed as Emperor, Augusta as Empress, Count Bismarck as Imperial Chancellor, and the constitution of the new Empire fully detailed.

On the other hand, it is deficient both as to completeness and correctness. There is, for instance, no notice to be discovered in it of either Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, or St. Salvador—while "Costa Rica" is given—or of Hayti and San Domingo—while so much less important governments as Liberia and Natal are rather fully noticed. Under "Paraguay" we look in vain for a mention of the race or nationality to which the inhabitants of that country belong. The statistical figures are often given without the necessary sifting, and sometimes contradict each other. Thus, Bucharest, according to the comparative statement of the chief towns of "Turkey in Europe," contains 80,000 inhabitants, while, under "Roumania," we are told that it "had, in 1860, a population of 124,734," and in the list of "The Great Centres of Population of Europe and America" we find it credited with "142,735." Under "Turkey," Belgrade has a population of 50,000, but according to "Servia" of only "14,600, exclusive of the garrison within the fortress," which is quite insignificant, the whole army of the Principality consisting "of about 4,000 men actually under arms." Among the tributary states of Turkey, in Africa, we find "Fez" for Fezzan, and among the fortresses of Austria, "Arrat, Canove" for Arad and Castelnuovo, while Cattaro is omitted. The Russian geographical names are given with the carelessness and inconsistency which disfigure so many publications in the English language, but which are the less pardonable in a book which has gone through eight annual editions. "Ural" and "Oural," "Poltava" and "Pultawa," "Kharkof," "Kharkoff," and "Charkow," "Voronezh," "Voroneje," and "Woronesch," and similar correct and incorrect spellings—in English, French, and German forms—alternate with each other in the motliest disorder, while a few lists show some consistency in bad spelling. Such is the list of towns which contains "*Kischinew*," "*Nikolajew*," "*Berditschew*," and "*Charkow*." West European names are generally correctly given, the French with their accents, but now and then the reviser seems to have slumbered, as, for instance, when reading page 59, which is disfigured by the omission of no less than twenty accents.

Some carelessness is also displayed in the historical, and here and there in the biographical, notices. The list of the Emperors of Germany places Otho IV., the Guelph, among the Hohenstaufens; Adolphus (of Nassau) and Charles VII. (of Bavaria) among the Hapsburgs; and Louis IV. (of Bavaria), Rupert (of the Palatinate), and Jodocus (of Moravia) among the Luxembergers. Francis, the first Emperor of Austria, is stated to have assumed this title "*after* having been compelled by Napoleon to renounce the imperial crown of Germany," though the assumption took place in 1804 and the renunciation in 1806. The Emperor Charles V. is made to reign over Austria from 1519 to 1556, to the exclusion of his brother Ferdinand I., who reigned over it from 1521. The Grand-Duke Constantine is quite unnecessarily reckoned among the Czars of Russia, one of whom he *might* have been had he not resigned his right to the succession in favor of his younger brother Nicholas. More decidedly incorrect is the statement, under "Prussia," that "the early extinction of Albrecht's line brought the province of Prussia to the Electors of Brandenburg, whose own territories meanwhile had been greatly enlarged by the valor and wisdom of Friedrich Wilhelm, 'the great Elector,'" for this prince ascended the throne of Brandenburg more than twenty years after the extinction of Albrecht's line and the annexation of Prussia to the Electorate. Among minor errors, we notice "Dec. 27, 1862" for March, 1864, as the date of General Grant's appointment as "Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States," and "1814" for 1813 as the date of Bismarck's birth. The "Chronicle" of the year is very loosely composed. In it the army of D'Aurelles de Paladines is badly treated. There is no mention of that general's victory at Coulmiers, November 9, over Von der Tann, but, instead of that, under "November 14," a fictitious "defeat of the French Army of the Loire at Toury by German forces under the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin," and a "defeat of the French Army of the Loire at Dreux," "November 17," where and when some French troops were actually defeated, but not those of the Army of the Loire.

Verses. By H. H. (Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1870.)—The title of this little volume is so modest as to be a misnomer—that is to say, a misnomer as books of so-called poems go. Indeed, it is far from being a volume of mere verses, as distinguished from poetry, whether we try it by comparison with the regular yearly crop of poetical writing or by a much higher standard—one that has respect to absolute values. It is full of evidences of poetical feeling, and of considerable poetical powers, and on various defensible grounds it may justly be praised by lovers of good poetry.

The merely pretty things that may be found in it are very few, for, in truth, H. H. appears to be not only too ready to use—perhaps as seeming

more intellectual—somewhat involved and harsh modes of expressing her thoughts and feelings, but also—and perhaps this is of more importance—what she has to express is, as a general thing, an intenseness of feeling, or rather a tension of feeling, which is incompatible with prettiness. It is, for that matter, incompatible with better things than prettiness. Perhaps it is in this dedicatory sonnet that she is as far from her usual walk as she ever is, and this has in it something of the languor of overstrained feeling at length relaxed :

> "When children in the summer weather play,
> Flitting like birds through sun and wind and rain,
> From road to field, from field to road again,
> Pathetic reckoning of each mile they stray
> They leave in flowers forgotten by the way;
> Forgotten, dying, but not all in vain,
> Since, finding them, with tender smiles, half pain,
> Half joy, we sigh, 'Some child passed here to-day.'
> Dear one—whose name I name not lest some tongue
> Pronounce it roughly—like a little child
> Tired out at noon, I left my flowers among
> The wayside things. I know that thou hast smiled,
> And that the thought of them will always be
> One more sweet secret thing 'twixt thee and me."

But in general the tension of the feeling is so great that while two or three of the pieces—all are short—may be read at one time, the reading of a greater number is really fatiguing, or else the feeling is clothed in a somewhat enigmatic form, and one finds it almost laborious to unclothe it and discover it.

In the old story, Imlac, when he begins "to feel the enthusiastic fit," and to state at length what are the true and necessary ingredients of poetry, is told by the Prince of Abyssinia to stop. "Enough," Rasselas says, "thou hast convinced me that no human being can be a poet." It will be with something of this complimentary regret that many readers of good poetry will lay aside H. H.'s poems. She has more thought than went to the making of many a poem that will outlive many generations of men; she has fancy; she has force of feeling and of natural feeling, though it too wholly and too strenuously possesses her; she has some imaginative insight, and apparently some spiritual insight; she has a cultivated mind, and apparently a wide experience of life. But, nevertheless, she was right, one feels as one tries to recollect some of the pieces that made one doubt if they were not ill described when called verses merely—the book is one of verses and not of poems, though the author is a verse-maker of an exceptionally high class, and occasionally strays into the region of poetry.

Westward by Rail: The New Route to the East. By W. F. Rae. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. New York: D. Appleton & Co.)—Sensational writing about the United States, a little truth and much distortion and exaggeration, had become a recognized business until Mr. Hepworth Dixon reaped the last harvest by the publication of his outrageously unjust "New America." Something of that sort was necessary to bring the business to an end, and Mr. Rae must not complain if one of the first books written about us by an Englishman in a spirit of fairness should not at once meet with that reception which it deserves. Such a book is not exciting and does not gratify anybody's prejudices. The author has evidently aimed to be just to our people, our manners, and our institutions; and, if he will not deem us ungrateful, we will express the fear that his partiality has sometimes prevented him from being just—justly severe, where he ought to be. We think it would not have hurt the book, nor wounded the just susceptibilities of civilized Americans, if he had dealt in proper terms with our amiable railroad conductors, our courtly and obliging hotel clerks, and had explained how it is that "first-class" hotels can charge eight dollars a day under a contract for five dollars. We could wish, too, that there were less in the book of the rails, the cars, the cards, the coaches, the meals, the ships, the passengers, etc. But then we have wished this of every book of travels we ever read, which seems to justify them by showing that such matter cannot be kept out. Moreover, Mr. Rae has shown both the willingness and the capacity to appreciate America; and for this reason, though his book is enriched with many luminous and enlightened thoughts about our people and our institutions, we could wish that he had spent more time in the great centres of thought, commerce, and production. California has received her well-deserved praise, and an equally well-deserved lecture, especially about drinking whiskey, and about *aristocratizing* the pioneers. This is our word and not the author's. Mormonism and the Mormons are discussed in a manner at once fearless and intelligent; but, for the American reader, too much space is given to them—an objection which the English reader will probably not make. We are inclined to think that "Pullman's cars" have quite enough said about them; and New York, after the recent exhibitions we have made to Europe and the world, ought to feel encouraged that a cultivated foreigner could find at least a flourishing future here for literature and art. If Bostonians are not flattered by the chapter given to their city and university, it is only because of their consciousness that all the good that can be said of the Hub is within the truth. It is a book which Englishmen should read as an antidote to the nonsense and ill-nature which they have so much delighted to buy and read in times past, and for the real information to be found. Mormonism and mining district manners and morals are not here held up as common and average specimens, as the legitimate and necessary fruits of American institutions. And Americans, if not so much instructed as a foreigner, may derive from this book the satisfaction of knowing that an English tourist can be just, if occasionally plain-spoken and severe.

The Elements of Natural Philosophy. By Sidney A. Norton, A.M, (Cincinnati: Wilson, Hinkle & Co.) *Lessons in Elementary Physics.* By Balfour Stewart, LL.D., F.R.S. (London: Macmillan & Co.)—Mr. Norton, in the preface to his work, informs us that it is the result of many years' experience in teaching the science of physics; also, "that its value must depend on its availability as a text-book;" and "that it is a selection of facts and principles best suited to the range of the pupil." He does not say, however, of what grade the pupil is supposed to be—whether he is a grammar-school boy, a high-school student, or a collegian. Nor is this made clear by the subsequent remark, that "it is to be hoped the student will find in this treatise all that is necessary for his purpose." The book throughout carefully excludes mathematical demonstrations, and the problems at the end of the work are said to be elementary. In the case of a higher class of students than those in the lower forms of a high school, this will be an objection. The system of French weights and measures is referred to in the opening chapters, but the advantages of the metric system are not dwelt upon. Especially is this omission felt in the chapter on Specific Gravity. On the whole, nevertheless, the book is better than the average of American text-books on physics, though the question still remains whether the class of treatises to which it belongs affords the best means of inculcating correct ideas of natural phenomena. They do not, in our judgment, compare with works like that whose title we have coupled with Mr. Norton's. It is rarely that a man of Professor Stewart's attainments devotes himself to the task of clearing up the misty notions which the majority of mankind entertain on the subjects of Force, Mass, Work, and Energy. This little treatise is a thoroughly logical production. The student who masters it cannot fail to have more correct and extended ideas of the laws of nature than can be obtained from many treatises containing isolated facts in Mechanics, Heat, Acoustics, and Electricity. The book is but one of many symptoms of a new era in the practice of teaching physics. With an elementary work like this, and with physical laboratories in our colleges, the subject may be acquitted of the well-deserved charge of repulsiveness to which the old methods of teaching are, no doubt, to a very great extent, obnoxious.

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Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
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Harper's Bazar, for 1870, Vol. III	" "
Harper's New Monthly Magazine, for 1870, Vols. XL., XLI.	" "
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1871.

The Week.

THE country was very much surprised, on the arrival of the San Domingo mails on Friday, by the appearance of a letter from Captain Temple, of the *Tennessee*, to Mr. Wade, warning the members of his party from attempting to make a journey across the island from San Domingo to Hayti, as, if taken by Cabral's people they could be hung up by sentence of drum-head court-martial, "according to the rules of civilized warfare;" "for they belong," says Captain Temple, "to a nation that, through the orders of its Executive to naval vessels here, has chosen to take part in the internal conflicts of this country." This was the first intimation we had that American ships in Dominican waters had any other business than to watch over American interests, or that the Executive had, without the knowledge or consent of Congress, placed the Government in an attitude of open hostility to a foreign state, from which it had received no offence whatever, and with which we have no quarrel. It appears, according to Captain Temple, that we are actually in a state of war with Hayti. It is reported that Mr. Wade has at last found some documents throwing light on the amount of the debt, but the existence of which Baez very properly and very stoutly denied. The time for the production of documents about the debt, and especially about "claims," has not yet arrived. The Commissioners *guess* the amount of the debt to be about $3,000,000. The Commissioners, who are now on their way home, are said to be unanimously in favor of annexation. The closing paragraph of Mr. Wade's report, if correctly telegraphed, goes a good way to give one an idea of the character of the whole document, and confirm what we have said of the impropriety of sending "an old Roman" on a strictly judicial mission. He wants us "to embrace this opportunity to plant our republican institutions," and establish civil liberty and American civilization upon that beautiful and productive island, thus laying the groundwork of a great, free, and prosperous, etc., etc.

The most important business of Congress during the week has been the consideration of the best mode of dealing with the condition of the South, which is admitted on all hands to be puzzling. General Butler has prepared a bill which would, if enacted, virtually convert the President, as far as the South is concerned, into a military dictator, and even the most ardent reprobators of Southern outrages were naturally afraid to touch it. As a substitute for it, or rather as a preliminary to any legislation, it had been determined to appoint a select committee to investigate the condition of the South, and on this Mr. Speaker Blaine, well knowing his man, put Butler as chairman; whereupon Butler, infuriated by the ill-success of his bill, and by the appointment of the committee, declined the chairmanship, and gave his reasons in a long letter addressed to the Republican members of the House, in which he declared that the committee was forced upon the Republicans by the nearly unanimous vote of the Democratic party in the House, and against the decision of a majority of the Republicans in a "duly called caucus."

The appearance of the Butler circular and its statements as to the means by which the appointment of the committee had been obtained, brought about a fierce debate on Thursday, in which Butler permitted himself to use the word "trick," in describing these means, and made certain statements which led the Speaker to come down on the floor, and make him the object of a piece of criticism which for bitterness and sting has rarely been surpassed in debate, and which nearly everybody but Butler himself enjoyed. If "rebuking" Butler produced any effect on him, however, he would long ago have faded into nothingness. He is not responsible for himself, nor is anybody responsible for him but the Massachusetts Republicans.

In the meantime, but little progress has been made towards a solution of the Southern problem. Many good Republicans who feel deeply troubled by the state of things, shrink from the bestowal on the President of powers which, even supposing them to be constitutional, a change of administration might next lodge in the hands of a Hoffman or a Blair, and which, once converted into party weapons, would end in a total change in the form of government. Others, like the New York *Tribune*, profess to believe that the troubles are all due to the inability of the blacks to cast their votes at the elections, owing to the intimidation of their white neighbors; but, even if the Federal Government made voting perfectly safe, what is to prevent the Ku-klux killing the voter in his bed the night after he has voted? Then, too, no matter how we may extend the jurisdiction of the United States courts, we cannot abolish trial by jury, and where are we to find juries to convict Ku-kluxes (if this be the regular plural), or how are we to protect them after they have found a verdict of guilty? Moreover, where are the troops or police who are to arrest the malefactors? None of the proposed measures make any provision for increasing the force at the President's disposal, though all with amusing solemnity authorize him "to employ the army and navy" in suppressing the disturbances.

The calling out of the militia by the governors of the Southern States has proved a farce wherever attempted. The fighting men of the South are all on the Ku-klux side; the "militia" is composed of poor blacks and trembling whites, unused to arms-bearing, very fond of life, and already cowed and demoralized. In South Carolina, the militia are black, and come from the coast, and to have sent them up against the disorderly whites of the up country would have been to ensure their massacre. The Charleston *Republican*, a radical paper, discusses the question very soberly and with a full knowledge of the facts, but calls for the disarming of the militia, as its presence under arms is likely to lead to a war of races, and the proclamation of martial law, and the committal of the task of preserving order to the Federal troops. This is, of course, but a palliative. The *Republican* goes on to say, "Congress can largely aid South Carolina by removing all political disabilities." "Finally," it adds, "we come to the great remedy for existing evils, *and that is the school-house*." This is hitting the right nail on the head.

Affairs at the South, meantime, grow worse and worse. The latest news is that Governor Scott of South Carolina and some other high officers, including our old friend the Treasurer, Niles G. Parker, have been ordered by the Ku-klux to quit the State, and two have obeyed, and the shootings and "runnings off" of humbler persons still continue. The sheriff and county and school commissioners of Union County have resigned on a Ku klux order, and the success of the movement will doubtless lead to a general deposition of all officers, and we fear it will spread into other States. The real intent of it was perhaps revealed at a meeting of Democrats, convened by Governor Scott to find out their sentiments, when General Kershaw, an old Confederate officer, admitted that the only way, in his opinion, to restore peace was to drive out the "carpet baggers" and "scallawags," and that he highly approved of the Ku-klux operations to this end. The animosity of the Ku-klux towards teachers of colored schools, however, seems to be just as great as towards carpet-bag officers, and some have of late been severely whipped. General Kershaw also announced that if any commissioner came to his county under the Butler Bill they would provide for him and that he would have no successor, which we have no doubt is true. What had better be done it would take a very wise man to say, but we know of no better sign of the times than the hesitation of Congress to do anything before informing itself thoroughly. There has been enough blind legislation for the South already. Our own belief, as we have indicated elsewhere, is that the process of civilization must be begun at the South from the beginning; that we must go to work on the whites as well as on the blacks, and win them over to our ways

of living and thinking by kindness, patience, conciliation, discussion, and education.

One great difficulty in dealing with Southern affairs, is the difficulty of getting any trustworthy information about them. Whenever any startling incident occurs, we get two versions of it—one the Southern and the other the Unionist version, and they are sure to be diametrically opposed to each other, and to be written in terms of the fiercest excitement, with facts and fancies and inferences mixed up in a wild jumble. For instance, with regard to the late horrible outrage in Meridian, Mississippi, where a riot took place in the court-room, and the judge was shot dead while hearing the examination of a negro accused of making "incendiary speeches," we had first of all the Ku-klux version, which was plainly unreliable. But then comes Mr. Sturges, the mayor, a Northern man, who was expelled immediately after the outrage, and he leaves us in much the same perplexity; not that all that he says appears improbable, but his excitement shows itself so plainly, that we do not know where he is speaking from his feelings, and where from his memory. For instance, he did not see the shooting of Judge Bramlett, though in the court-room when it occurred, but he nevertheless says "that he has no doubt one or many of the Ku-klux, carrying out their design, shot him," though one of their own people. Is this likely, and is it not too bad that we cannot get evidence clear of suppositions of this kind?

The ways of accounting for the defeat in New Hampshire are of course various, and each politician and each editor naturally makes whatever he feels most strongly about figure most prominently among the probable causes. The best-informed local Republican papers ascribe a good deal of influence to the Sumner affair and the San Domingo scheme; and they all agree as to the large part played by "apathy"—as if apathy were not always a secondary cause. The decline of the Administration in credit and popularity has been going on steadily for some time, and the more General Grant pushes a scheme about which people care nothing, to the neglect of measures and questions about which they care a great deal, of course the more rapid the decline is; and when this is the state of things, defeat is of course always among the possibilities in States where parties are so nearly balanced that a few lukewarm people can turn the scale. All that is needed now to make a general smash-up at the Presidential election is that the party should rush blindly under the lead of some *à priori* man into high-handed legislation for the pacification of the South, and should fail in bringing about pacification, or should increase the disorder. This done, as M. Thiers said to the Imperialists, there would be no more blunders left for it to make.

Nothing new has been revealed about the Sumner trouble, but it is rapidly passing out of people's minds. A resolution has been passed by the Massachusetts Legislature, protesting against Mr. Sumner's removal from the chairmanship. We have as yet heard no proposition to have the chairmen of the Senate committees elected by popular vote on a general ticket, but that ought logically to come next. Whatever "outrages" the whole country, the whole country ought to have the means of preventing. The uproar over the alleged Presidential dictation to the Senate about the chairmanship is deprived, too, of much of its force by the recollection of the fact that Mr. Sumner formed one of the committee which had the impertinence, in 1862, to call on Mr. Lincoln to dismiss Messrs. Chase and Seward from his cabinet; and most people can recall the enjoyment with which the country chuckled over the quaint way in which Mr. Lincoln brought home to them the propriety of minding their own business.

Some fresh light has, however, been thrown on the causes of the great Sumner-Fish quarrel, by the new Washington paper, the *Capital*, whose account is said to be "semi-official." It appears to have arisen out of an ill-judged attempt of the foolish Fish to get Sumner to take the English mission and abandon his opposition to the San Domingo scheme. Sumner, of course, refused with a pitying smile. The unhappy Fish "left the house a baffled and disappointed man," and then went to work to "insult" Mr. Motley. After the appearance of his letter to Moran, however, the poor old coward did not dare to go near "the Old Bay State Lion" for some time, but at last mustered up courage to call at his den to meet Sir John Rose on official business. The evening passed quietly enough, and, we are glad to say, "intellectually and profitably," and the Fish doubtless thought he was forgiven and restored to favor. Far from it. After he had gone, Sumner sat down "after midnight in the quiet of his library" and considered his case afresh, and came to the conclusion that he ought still further to punish him. This cruel but we presume just decision reached, the house of Mr. Schenck was chosen for the execution of the sentence. The judge and culprit met there at dinner, and in the course of the meal poor Fish, little knowing what was in store for him, "made a frivolous remark about duck and partridge" across the table to the "Numidian Lion"—for as such it appears Mr. Sumner figured on this occasion, doubtless having ascertained that an "Old Bay State Lion" was, to say the least, an anomaly. "The Lion" merely looked at him and made no reply. "Fish's weak nature," says the chronicler, "felt the shock." Small blame to him, say we; whose nature wouldn't "feel the shock" if a Numidian Lion looked at him in silence across a small table? The effect on American securities of this dreadful business, we are glad to say, has not yet been perceptible, but mighty agencies work slowly.

The funding of the old six per cents in new five per cents progresses slowly—out of the first instalment of $200,000,000 offered by the Treasury, only about $15,000,000 having been taken thus far. From Europe the advices at present are not encouraging, the announcement of the new French loan to fund the war debt contracted by the Bordeaux government having at first interfered. The disturbances in Paris must now have destroyed all prospect of the Republic obtaining credit in England or Germany, and may to some extent direct new attention to our loan. But it must not be forgotten, that revolution and civil war in France are far more disturbing elements in European finance and commerce than even the Franco-Prussian war has proved. Foreign bankers here evidently put the worst interpretation upon events, and are indisposed to enter into important engagements of any kind. On the Stock Exchange, the upward speculation still continues, aided by a bank expansion in the direction of loans which is nothing less than reckless—the engagements of the banks, which in the extreme dulness of trade ought to be much lower than usual, exceeding the extreme figures known for several years past. Gold, of all things, remains the steadiest in price, a natural and healthy rise of a few per cent. being prevented by rumors of some new financial measures of Mr. Boutwell's, supposed to involve further sales of gold.

Two pamphlets have made their appearance within the week on the Northeastern Fisheries question which will well repay study by anybody who wants to familiarize himself with the exact nature of a very important portion of the work now before the High Commission. One is an article which is to appear in the American *Law Review* of April 1, and which maintains the view already propounded in the *Nation* as to the basis of American rights in the Fishery controversy. The other pamphlet, which has only just reached this country, consists of a report made on the question by a Sub-committee of the "Anglo-American Association," a body of which Mr. Thos. Hughes is chairman, and which has been organized in London "for the purpose of obtaining the best securities for a friendly understanding and the cultivation of more cordial relations between the United States and Great Britain." The Sub-committee which has drawn up the report was appointed in December last, and consists of Sheldon Amos, Professor of Jurisprudence in University College, London; W. A. Hunter, Professor of Roman Law in the same college; A. C. Humphreys, a barrister; and Lord Edmond Fitz-Maurice, M.P.

This English presentation of the case is in substance this: that the rights secured to American fishermen by the treaty of 1783 (to fish on the coast of Newfoundland, and all coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks of English colonies, and to dry and cure in unsettled

bays, etc., within certain limits) were abrogated by the war of 1812, and that the rights of American fishermen are now regulated by the treaty of 1818, which was entered into by way of settling the controversy which arose over the effect of the war on the former. It is the latter the operation of which, according to the Sub-Committee, the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 restored. The treaty of 1818 gives the Colonial Government exclusive dominion within three miles of the coast, subject to the rights of Americans to fish on defined portions of the coast, irrespective of this limit. To the President's complaint that the American fishermen are denied the privilege of obtaining supplies and transshipping their fish in Canadian ports, the Sub-committee replies that this privilege has been withdrawn to prevent smuggling, and that it is the undoubted right of every nation (quoting Mr. Clay to Mr. Gallatin) "to prohibit or allow foreign commerce with any portion of its dominions." To his other complaint that Great Britain, in remitting the control and jurisdiction of the inshore fishing-grounds to the Colonial authority, has remitted "it to an independent but irresponsible agent," the Sub-committee replies that he is mistaken; that from the decisions in the Colonial Vice-Admiralty Courts, before which all fishery cases must come, an appeal lies to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, an imperial tribunal, and it questions whether any of the American fishing-vessels "seized without notice or warning," were so seized, "while ignorantly violating" the technical rights of Great Britain. The report is a very cold and naked legal statement, and confines itself mainly to the communication of information on questions of law and fact, and is chary in the expression of opinion.

The American view, or rather, we should say, the view which the article in the *Law Review* propounds, and which it is not improbable the American Commissioners will maintain, may be found in a compact form in the *Nation* of September 15, 1870. It is in substance, that the treaty of 1783 was, in so far as regarded the fishery rights, one of perpetual obligation; that the war of 1812 did not affect it; that the treaty of 1818, in so far as it differed from that of 1783, was not an abandonment of any liberties enjoyed under the treaty of 1783, but a simple renunciation or waiver of a portion of these liberties. For this renunciation or waiver, and for this only, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was a substitute; this last treaty having been abrogated in 1866, the parties are thrown back for the definition of their rights, not on the treaty of 1818, which has been blotted out, but the treaty of 1783, and the fishing rights secured by that treaty are in the nature of a public servitude of a higher kind than an easement, or the Roman *servitus*, and closely approaching the character of absolute *dominium*. The points involved are nice, and will doubtless afford materials for long discussion.

The 18th of March, 1871, to speak with the *Journal des Débats* of the following morning, "will be considered as one of the gloomiest days in the history of France." After due and very earnest warning given the malcontents of Montmartre, the Government of M. Thiers proceeded, on the morning of that day, "to force peace at all hazards," which it could not escape doing if the country was to be governed at all. The preparations had been made in the night. General Vinoy had posted a cordon of troops around the hill of Montmartre, and planted mitrailleuses at the approaches. At an early hour, important positions were occupied, and the guns of the revolted suburban National Guards were about to be removed, when the soldiers began to yield to popular clamors and entreaties, and soon all bonds of discipline were loosened, the mitrailleuses abandoned by the artillerists, the officers deserted by their men, and the revolters, aided by National Guards from other quarters, became masters of the situation at Montmartre, as well as at Belleville and La Villette. General Vinoy was pelted by a mob, General Paturel was wounded, and Generals Clément Thomas and Lecomte, and subsequently also General Chanzy, were taken prisoners. General Faron was surrounded, but, his detachment of troops remaining faithful, succeeded in cutting his way through. Other detachments, refusing to fight, withdrew to the left bank of the Seine, and, after a short time, the Hôtel de Ville, the general headquarters of the National Guards of the capital, the ministries, the mayoralties, and the prefecture of police were in the hands of the insurgents, the bulk of the National Guards remaining passive; and all the members of the Government, with the undisbanded remnants of the public force, finally withdrawing to Versailles.

The headquarters of the insurrection before its triumph were in the Rue des Rosiers, Montmartre, where a "Central Revolutionary Committee," subsequently superseded by the "National Guards Committee," had established itself in a public garden. Before that revolutionary body, composed, as it seems, of men of little note, as no names are mentioned, the captive generals were brought. Two of these, Clément Thomas and Lecomte, were, after a brief trial worthy of the days of September, 1792, condemned to suffer death as traitors to the Republic, and "taken out and shot." "All accounts say they died bravely," which is the more likely to be correct, as they must, at that moment, have been disgusted with life among such fellow-citizens. The last word of the brave and liberal-minded Clément Thomas, who but a few weeks before commanded the largest body of the defenders of Paris, under Trochu, is reported to have been, "Cowards!" The fate of Chanzy, who had been terribly maltreated by the mob, was left undecided. Vinoy, contrary to the official report of Minister Washburne—who, with the whole diplomatic corps, followed the Government to Versailles—escaped the clutches of the executioners, and succeeded in reorganizing a portion of the forces under his command. Consternation and stupefaction reigned in Paris, and the revolutionists were left to do their work unchecked, although the press next morning mustered courage enough to brand the proceedings as atrocious and fatal to the republican liberty of France. Men of prominence fled the capital, various quarters of which were strongly barricaded. All approaches to it were ultimately closed, and some of the forts occupied by the Nationals.

Having taken possession of the Hôtel de Ville, the leaders of the "Nationals" issued a proclamation in which their deeds were extolled as done in the defence of "the arch of the liberties of the Republic—the only government that can close the era of invasion and civil war;" words penned, perhaps, by a hand still dripping with the blood of the defenders of their country, slain for obeying the orders of a republican government, issued from universal suffrage. In another proclamation the same men—thirty in number, forming the "Central Committee of the National Guard"—modestly declared to the people of Paris: "We have driven out the Government which betrayed us. Our mission is fulfilled, and we now report to you." But while doing this they decreed immediate elections for the Commune. What part the old knights of the Commune, Blanqui, Flourens, and the like, had in the whole affair, we do not know. Nor do we hear what was the attitude towards the insurrection of the majority of the Radicals lately elected to the Assembly by the city of Paris. One report, however, speaks of the "mayors and deputies" of Paris demanding the removal of Generals D'Aurelles de Paladines and Vinoy, and the substitution of Jules Ferry for M. Valentin as Prefect of Police. Louis Blanc and Schoelcher endeavor to act as mediators. The Revolutionists clamor for the dissolution of the National Assembly, and the convocation of another to sit in Paris. A "republican federation" is the last word. Cries of "On to Versailles"—which is in the meanwhile converted into a camp—resound through Paris, and Thiers, it is stated, contemplates removing the seat of Government to Tours. His resolutions, however, will probably be determined by the attitude of the other large cities of the Republic. Almost everything seems to turn on the response the doings of the Paris mob will meet with in Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux. In the meanwhile the Ministry calls on "all who have regard for the honor and interest of France" to separate from "the men of the barricades," whose "crimes remove all excuse for support by their followers," and to "rally around the Republic and the Assembly." The contingency of a recall of the Germans is also hinted at by the journals. Others speak of proclaiming General Faidherbe generalissimo and dictator. A manifesto from Napoleon, who has arrived in England, may also be expected. The Assembly deliberates at Versailles, but the "Mountain" is absent.

THE PROBLEM AT THE SOUTH.

THERE is no doubt about the multiplicity and atrocity of the outrages committed by what are called the Ku-klux on the negroes and Unionists at the South. It appears to be equally certain that the persons who commit these outrages are not brought to justice. The sheriffs do not arrest them, or, if they do, juries do not convict them—in other words, through a great part of the South there is no security for either life or property. That some such state of things would come to pass was foreseen after the war. It was said that if legislation and the election of officers were left solely to the Southern whites, the Southern blacks would be left without adequate protection. Consequently, the suffrage was given to the blacks. But this was not felt to be sufficient. A great proportion of the more experienced and intelligent people at the South were excluded by the State constitutions, and by an amendment to the United States Constitution, from all share in the government. In this way not only were the negroes and Unionists guaranteed a voice in the Government, but they were secured in the exclusive control of it. That is, to speak plainly, for the purpose of securing the poor and ignorant against oppression, not only were they admitted to an equality of rights with the rich and educated, but they were put in possession of the whole administrative machinery. Considering that a large body of the voters—in some States a majority—had recently emerged from slavery in its most brutal form, it must be admitted the experiment was a bold one; in fact, it was the boldest ever known. No similar rearrangement of the social organization has ever been attempted anywhere else. We do not blame those who attempted it. They were hot from a civil war which had ended in a social revolution, and they found themselves charged with the duty of securing a large and helpless population of freedmen in possession of common civil rights, in the presence of their late masters, without having recourse to pure military coercion.

The experiment has, however, totally failed. The most influential portion of the Southern population, with whose support no government can in the long run dispense, as has been a thousand times proved, have not only given the new governments at the South no assistance, but have, naturally enough, been bitterly hostile to them. The new political system, indeed, was of a kind to rouse all their prejudices against it. The men who took part in and aided the rebellion, and who are therefore disfranchised, have within the last five years been reinforced by a powerful body of youths who were boys during the rebellion, and who have entered on manhood during a period of great disorder and uncertainty and poverty, in which few careers are open to them, and in which all the circumstances of their lives tend to exasperate and embitter them, and prepare them for turbulence and violence. They may therefore be said, without exaggeration, to have taken the field against the new régime. They have formed organizations somewhat similar to the Irish Whiteboys and Molly Maguires, the express object of which is to drive negroes and Union men out of the South, and make all government through their instrumentality impossible. For this purpose they murder, rob, and maltreat, and they are too powerful, too skilful, and too firmly bound together, and enjoy too much of the sympathy of the local population, to make it possible for the State officers to bring them to justice. More than this, and, if possible, worse than this, they have at the North a powerful political party, which, if it cannot be said to be at their back, is certainly not disposed to blame them or call them to account, and whose chances of accession to power seem to improve as the passions excited by the war die out.

On the other hand, the new governments have done nothing to atone for the theoretical defects of their origin. We owe it to human nature to say that worse governments have seldom been seen in a civilized country. They have been largely composed of trashy whites and ignorant blacks. Of course, there have been in them men of integrity and ability of both races; but the great majority of the officers and legislators have been either wanting in knowledge or in principle, or both. That of South Carolina is one of the worst specimens, and, as such, we have often commented on it.

What is to be done? Congress having set these governments up, and having emancipated the negroes, and the negroes being, it is safe to say, the only men at the South who are really devoted to the Union, it seems as if it was the duty of Congress to see to their protection. Moreover, the experiment which is now on trial at the South being of Republican devising, it seems to be necessary to the credit of the party that it should be made to succeed, and, at the same time, it seems as if the Ku-klux stories might be made to help the party by showing the necessity of such a prolongation of its power as would enable it to complete the work of Southern pacification. Accordingly, nearly every session of Congress there is a call either from philanthropists under the influence of feelings of humanity, or from mere politicians in search of "capital," for additional legislation "to protect life and property at the South." Of the sort of legislation demanded, the bill recently brought in by Butler is a fair specimen, and it consists simply in attempts to substitute for the state machinery, which is the only means of protecting life and property known to the Constitution of the United States, the machinery in use under the arbitrary and centralized governments of Europe—that is, the withdrawal of criminal cases from the jury, and their committal to single judges appointed by the central authority and armed with extraordinary powers, and the concession to mere official suspicion, and to legal presumptions, of a part in determining the question of guilt or innocence of a prominence hitherto unknown in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence.

These are momentous changes to introduce into the administrative system of any free country; they are more momentous in this country than they would be in any other, because they not only increase the power of the central government, but they arm it with jurisdiction over a class of cases of which it has never hitherto had, and never pretended to have, any jurisdiction whatever. It would not simply furnish the Government at Washington with additional means of performing one of its well-known duties, such as the suspension of the *habeas corpus* in Ireland furnishes the British Government with, but it would impose upon it altogether new duties. But the separate States are, under the Constitution, as clearly charged with the duty of protecting life and property within their own borders, as the United States with the duty of making treaties with foreign powers. To impose the duty of protecting life and property on the Federal Government is, therefore, just as distinct and well-marked a novelty as, and a far more serious novelty than, the transfer of the power of negotiating treaties to the separate States would be.

Such legislation as Butler and his supporters propose can, however, only be justified in any country by its success. There is this to be said for the means to which European governments resort for the protection of life and property—they work. That is, when the French, or Prussian, or Russian, or British governments say they are going to "maintain order," they send as many troops into the disturbed districts as will police them thoroughly. If dealing with the South, they would occupy it with at least 100,000 men, they would patrol the roads with clouds of cavalry, and fill the streets with swarms of police—in short, would strike terror into evil-doers, and, though liberty might suffer, honest people would sleep in peace. The peculiarity of our attempts at pacification by force is, that after describing the condition of society over a vast extent of territory as frightful, and representing a large portion of the community as conniving at deeds of violence and bloodshed, and the magistrates as powerless, and declaring ourselves ready to restore order, even by the sacrifice of the Constitution, and erecting a terrible judicial apparatus of commissioners, presumptions, fines, imprisonments, and hangings, we vote a regiment of cavalry or two companies of infantry to put it in motion—that is, about enough men to make one county tolerably safe. It is difficult to suppose that this kind of legislation is anything but a campaign document.

We are frequently asked in solemn way, whether it be possible that a government which, like the United States Government, can call on its citizens to sacrifice their lives in its defence in the ranks of its armies, really owes them no protection for their lives and property? We reply that we know nothing of the United States Government except what we find in the Constitution and the judicial interpretations of it. There is no ideal or absolute United States Government. It is a convention, and the terms of that convention are that the political organization it set up shall have the right to draft citizens for its defence, and yet shall only render them in return certain services, of

which protection from violence at the hands of their neighbors, except on the demand of the local authorities, is not one. This may be a cruel arrangement, or an ill-judged one, or an unfortunate one, but it is what it is, and it is found in most cases to work well. So do not let us imitate Gambetta and Rochefort and deny its existence, and endeavor to substitute for it a deduction from our own ideas of abstract fitness.

If we once get into the habit of treating the Constitution as a mere expression of opinion, to be set aside whenever its observance seems inconvenient, we shall have substituted a Gallic Republic for an American one—the republic of Gambetta, and Louis Blanc, and Rochefort, and Phillips for the republic of Washington, and Hamilton, and Madison, and Marshall; or, in other words, a dream for a good working machine. As soon as we allow ideals to take the place of written agreements, we have sown the seeds of anarchy, because one man's ideal is as good as another's, and we shall pass our lives as the French do—witnessing the struggles of one party to substitute its ideal for that of the other party; one year we shall live under Phillips's, and cut off heads in the name of "humanity," and the next under Tweed's, and steal in the interest of "liberty," and the year after, under Archbishop McCloskey's, and vote taxes for the promotion of "the true religion," and all go down on our knees when the Host passes. Surely what is passing in France ought to warn men of the danger of tampering with people's political habits and overthrowing their respect for the forms of law.

Is there, then, no remedy for local disorder at the South? If the State government does not protect a man, can he look nowhere else for redress? We answer, that if there be any value whatever in the theory on which American polity is based, the remedy of Southern disorders must come from the Southern people, through their experience of the folly and suffering of disorder. If this be not true, the whole American system is a mistake, and is destined ere long to perish. Our business is now to leave every Southern State to its own people, first, because this is the only practicable course, and, secondly, because it is the only wise one. If they are so demoralized that they go on robbing, and murdering, and "Kukluxing" each other, we cannot interfere effectively, and had better not interfere at all. The American punishments for a State which permits these things are two—impoverishment and emigration. If a man cannot have freedom, security, and light taxation in New York, let him go to New Jersey; if he cannot have them in South Carolina, let him go to Virginia; if he cannot have them in either, let him go to Missouri. Those who stay behind, on seeing capital and population steadily leaving their State, and their property declining in value, will gradually mend their ways. This may be a slow remedy, but it is a sure one. It goes to the root of the disorder, while under coercion from the outside no state of things can grow up, or ever has grown up, in which coercion ceases to be necessary. Of course there is nothing in this theory to prevent the United States enforcing the Federal Constitution and laws. This ought to be done, *at whatever cost*—that is, by officers, and not by bill and resolution. If it be true that black men are kept from the polls by intimidation, we ought to see that going to the polls is made as safe as going to church; but to pass bills providing for this, without voting the men or the money to execute them, is a wretched mockery, of which the country and the blacks have had enough.

THE "RED" RISING IN PARIS.

The folly—if that be not too mild a term—of the "Government of National Defence" in not summoning a National Assembly as soon as possible after the disaster of Sedan and the overthrow of the Empire, is now fully apparent. Had they done so, the Assembly would either have made peace before the disorganization of French society and of the administrative system had gone very far, or it would have become secure in its authority and used to its work by the time Paris surrendered. Elected as it was when the struggle was just closing, and for the avowed purpose of making terms of peace, it not only excited the hostility of the Republicans, as a mere exponent of the cowardice of the Conservatives, but it entered on its duties just at the moment when the enemy was withdrawing his hand; and the salutary restraint exercised by his presence on the dangerous classes was thus lost before the new Government had time to get a fair hold of the machinery of administration, and organize a force sufficient for its own protection and the execution of its acts. This unhappy interval the Reds in Paris have promptly taken advantage of. They have expelled the constituted authorities from the city, seized the public offices, murdered some of the leading generals and hold the others in custody, and have armed the rabble, and, in short, begun a Reign of Terror which, be it long or short, will give a terrible blow to French industry, and greatly increase the difficulty of recovering from the disasters of the war, and, what is worse than all, greatly diminish the chance of a firm and stable government. Readers of the *Nation* will bear witness that we distinctly pointed out the probability of what is now occurring as long ago as last September, when a great many good people here were going into ecstasies over the establishment of the "French republic;" and the course of the Government during the succeeding six months only increased the chances of the explosion.

The body of persons known as "The Reds," in Paris, is made up of two elements. One is the vast body of workmen drawn from the provinces by the extensive public works set on foot by the Empire and by the extraordinary luxury which the Empire fostered in the capital. These men are grossly ignorant on leaving their villages; and on entering a city swarming with the wealthy pleasure-seekers of the civilized world, who deny themselves nothing, and parade their profligacy, the ouvriers' envy and dislike of the bourgeoisie, which are only too common in the country districts in France, become rapidly developed into a brutal communism, resting in the main on dislike of labor and a fondness for sensual indulgence. There is nothing in the French peasant's education, after he has got rid of his religious sentiment—as he does very rapidly after he reaches Paris—to prevent his thirsting savagely for a share in the good things of Parisian life, and making up his mind to get them by any means, fair or foul, whenever the chance offers.

The other element is a body of persons whom we have been in the habit of calling Sentimentalists in these columns, made up of labor reformers, socialists, republicans, peace advocates, broken-down lawyers, newspaper writers, and military and unsuccessful adventurers of all types: They may be divided about equally into schemers and visionaries; but they all agree in being Sentimentalists—that is, in wishing to base legislation on their own ideas of abstract justice and truth, and in contempt for considerations of expediency, or for remoter results, or for habit or tradition. The sincere humanitarians among them are satisfied that if they can get hold of the government, and keep the "traitors" (political opponents) from meddling with them, they will be able to put an end to poverty, and prostitution, and war, and to secure to all an equally good education, and an equal share of the products of labor. The adventurers are, of course, also strongly in favor of a general upturning, as they have nothing to lose, and can hardly help bettering themselves during a period of confusion. Both together do their utmost to keep up the spirit of revolt not only against the government, but against the existing social organization, among the working-classes; and as they possess all the education there is in the Red ranks, when they begin their revolutionary movement they have the places on the "committees" and other governing bodies by which it is directed. Curiously enough, although they are all frantic opponents of capital punishment when inflicted by a regular government, they always make a bloody use of power, and the killing of people in cold blood always occupies a prominent place among the means by which they endeavor to regenerate society. They are, too, nearly all peace men, and denounce standing armies bitterly; but they invariably maintain, even at the peace conventions they hold in quiet times, that before the general and everlasting peace is established, there will have to be one grand war, of which they are to have the direction. A curious illustration of the strong mental resemblance which runs through them all in every clime, was afforded by the fact that, a few days ago, when the Paris Reds were perfecting their plans on the heights of Montmartre, the head of the school in this country, an anti-capital-punishment man, was gravely recommending in his newspaper the shooting of Southern millionaires by drumhead court-martial as a remedy for Southern disorders.

The body is just now in a more favorable position for carrying out

its designs in Paris than it has ever been since the first Revolution. The bulk of the regular army is shut up in foreign prisons; what there was of it in Paris was disarmed by the Prussians; but, more important than all, the Reds are now all armed. The "National Guard," under the restoration of the Orleans dynasty, was composed almost entirely of the shopkeepers or bourgeoisie; under the Empire it could hardly be said to exist; but during the siege the whole population of the city was embodied in it—thus giving the socialists weapons and organization. The consciousness of the frightful danger to property and life within the city which this involved undoubtedly did much to give Trochu's operations the air of feebleness and indecision which characterized them, and accounted for the petting of the National Guard in which he indulged. The Guard did no fighting, and it was evident before the siege was over could not be got to fight, but to keep it in good humor it was highly complimented in general orders, to the disgust of the sailors and regulars, and was paid a franc and a-half a day per man, while its duties went very little beyond guard-mounting on the ramparts. It was the idleness, the pay, and the uniform which undoubtedly prevented the attempt to seize the Government being made on a greater scale during the siege, and one did not need the gift of prophecy to see that, peace restored, and the prospect of a return to hard labor fairly placed before them, the "Guard" would not lay down their arms.

To crown all, when the armistice was arranged, the French representatives had the weakness and stupidity to stipulate that while the regular troops surrendered their arms to the enemy, the Guard should be allowed to retain theirs, and should be charged with "the preservation of order." This placed the city at their mercy as soon as the Germans withdrew. Even during the German occupation they began their preparations by fortifying themselves on the heights of Montmartre, though at the time this was supposed to be a patriotic demonstration against the enemy; when the invaders retired, however, the true character of the movement was revealed, and the Thiers Government found itself face to face with the most serious problem any Government of France has had to face since the first Napoleon overthrew the Sections.

The theory on which the revolt will appeal to the country is, of course, that the National Assembly is a reactionary body, which "sold" the country to Bismarck, and is going to "betray the Republic;" and, though it will meet with no response from the peasantry, who hate the Republic, the peasants are not organized, and are timid and unenterprising; and even if they sent their Mobiles freely to the aid of the Government, it would take a long while to bring them in respectable condition to the gates of Paris; and in a conflict between city irregulars and country irregulars in the streets there would be little chance for the latter. What force of regulars the Thiers Government has at its disposal it is hard to say; and the danger is that, whatever it be, it is by this time demoralized and disorganized by the want of leaders and the spectacle of the growing ascendancy of the revolutionists. A government which has to fly from Paris is, in French eyes, a lost government, and if the Assembly can do this and yet retain its control of the popular allegiance and the allegiance of the troops, it will have opened up a new chapter in French history.

The latest news is that General Faidherbe, who showed himself, in the operations of the North, a cautious but able commander, has been appointed "generalissimo and dictator." He will probably at once go to work to organize an army, calling in the assistance of the fleet, and probably drawing on Bourbaki's force from Switzerland, and perhaps on the prisoners in Germany. But look at his task in any way we please, it is a very formidable one, and any unsteadiness on the part of his troops, or a severe repulse, would probably lead to socialist revolts in the other great cities, and prolonged anarchy or civil war. The Germans will hardly be induced to interfere, even if the Government dared to ask them. Of course, the disorders imperil the punctual payment of their indemnity, and, of course, nothing would please Prince Frederick Charles and the military party better than to give the Paris mob an awful castigation; but interference would involve the loss of many German lives, and might entail on Prussia the responsibility of governing the whole country for some time afterwards; besides which, the present situation is giving the Republic a death-blow, and warranting the contempt for French morals and manners and character by which the German public justifies to itself the hardness of the terms imposed on the vanquished.

About the immediate future it is difficult to predict anything with confidence; but it is quite certain that no real republic can survive the suppression of the present revolt by "a generalissimo and dictator." When the smoke and dust of the conquest clear away, "the man on horseback" will be there in the field, sword in hand, and the owners of property, the lovers of peace and quiet and industry will be found crouching around him, and begging him, if he can give them nothing else, to give them security in their homes. It is impossible not to believe, however, that the lessons of the crisis are sinking deep into French hearts. Foremost amongst them, as we have more than once said in these columns, is the danger of cutting a society loose from its political traditions and its political habits, and resolving it into a debating club for the examination of the bases of social order, and treating what Sentimentalists call "principle" as the only guide of political and social action. As long as the source from which "principle" is to be derived is not defined, of course the rule that you must act on principle in politics is about as great a help to legislation as the theologians' maxim—"in essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; and in all things, charity"—is to religious union. This maxim might be adopted by all sects, and yet, as long as "essentials" were not defined, there would be as little chance of agreement as ever. In politics, if we throw every man back on "principle" as the only guide, and tell him not to trouble himself about consequences, and let him draw his "principle" from his own breast, of course we are not unlikely to find every hundred men working might and main for a different social ideal, and, in the absence of all means of deciding their comparative superiority, finally cutting each other's throats. If A. tells B. that he has looked into his own heart and finds that "eternal justice" requires that A.'s property should be divided between them, and B. replies that he has looked into *his* heart too, and finds that eternal justice requires him to keep it all for himself, and both of them disclaim all regard for the teachings of history, and for their experience of human nature, of course there is nothing for it but to go at each other with the knife and pistol; and to this pass, or something very like it, unhappy France has come. To this too, let us add, every nation is in danger of coming in which people learn to despise the forms of law, to treat habit as of no political value, to centralize government for the purpose of social experimentation, and to make social experimentation and not the faithful, punctual discharge of daily duties the great business of life, and, above all, the great business of "reformers."

ERIE AUDACITY.

In trying to give a brief summary for the information of the general reader of General Barlow's first long letter in the *Tribune*, entitled "Facts for Mr. Field," a fortnight ago, we fell into two or three errors, all of them trivial. We said the complaints in certain suits were not sworn to; they were sworn to. We said Judge Barnard reached the city on the night of the 6th of August at 10·20, and signed the famous order ten minutes afterwards, whereas we should have said, ten minutes after it was sent to him for signature by Mr. Shearman. We made one statement which wears the appearance of an error, but which we intended to be simply explanatory—that is, to the phrase in one of the Ramsey injunctions issued by Barnard, forbidding Ramsey to make any application about his receivership "except to this court in this action," we added the words, "that is, to Barnard himself," meaning simply, that this is what the prohibition would amount to in practice, and that this was what was intended by those who got it. Of Mr. Field's reply to the nine charges thus enumerated we gave a similar summary last week.

It seems scarcely credible, but is nevertheless true, that Mr. T. G. Shearman has written a letter to the Albany *Law Journal*, affecting to treat this summary of statements as the *Nation's* own, declaring that the nine charges made by us contain "twelve unqualified falsehoods," and making no mention of General Barlow's letter, and no attempt to answer it, or meet it in any way, thus following Mr. D. D. Field's bad example in replying to the *Tribune*. The point on which he lays most stress is our assertion, or repetition of General Barlow's assertion, that Mr. Fuller, hav-

ing been appointed receiver of 3,000 shares of Albany and Susquehanna stock belonging to one Groesbeck and others, on the ground that it had been illegally issued by Ramsey, and was therefore invalid, had on this stock so declared invalid voted by direction of Mr. Shearman. On this point Mr. Shearman says:

"As to the fact that Mr. Fuller voted upon this stock, that was a step taken in order to comply with the terms of an injunction obtained by the other side; and the propriety of the act depends upon considerations of a manifold character, concerning which the most upright of lawyers might take different sides. The only reason assigned by the *Nation* for objecting to this vote, or rather to the action of counsel in advising it, is that the receiver's appointment was based on the ground that the stock was void. But this was not the case. The stock *was valid stock in the hands of some one; but the title of the particular persons holding it was alleged to be void, and the receiver was appointed for the very purpose of holding the stock for whoever might prove to be its true owners.*"

To give an idea of the pitch of unscrupulousness to which everybody connected with this Erie ring seems to have attained, we shall now quote the words of Field and Shearman's complaint, on which this order was issued, and which now lies before us. The seventh allegation is—"That as the plaintiff is informed and believes, the issuing of the said stock in the manner and for the price aforesaid was *wholly unauthorized and void, and not warranted by any statute.*"

Judgment is then demanded—"That the issue of said several amounts of stock be declared unauthorized and void, *and set aside, and that the stock be given up to be cancelled.*"

We are saved by this from the necessity of noticing the rest of Mr. Shearman's statements, which are all equally discreditable, even his defence of telegraphing Barnard's injunction, which we confess we have rarely seen surpassed for evasiveness and boldness, especially as, by the time this reaches our readers, he will have received a severe but well-merited castigation from General Barlow in the *Tribune*. Mr. Shearman seems to be laboring under a cruel delusion as to his position before the public.

We shall take leave of the matter by asking how it happens that gentlemen whose professional character is assailed and has been as seriously damaged as his and Mr. Field's have been, do not demand an investigation at the hands of a body of competent lawyers, and put an end to this newspaper controversy? If they get three or four lawyers in good standing to say their proceedings have been proper, of course these attacks on them must cease. General Barlow has challenged them to do so. Time was, when, if a gentleman found his honor impugned, so far from evading enquiry, he insisted on it, and we trust that day is not wholly past. We can understand why Messrs. Field and Shearman should not sue their assailants, for libel suits are slow and inconclusive, but voluntary trial before a tribunal of lawyers is another thing, and this can be had any day.

THE ENGLISH WOMAN OF TO-DAY.

LONDON, March 1, 1871.

WHO is she? The well-known *materfamilias*, Hawthorne's dread and *Punch's* pride; the equally well-known English rosebud; the "Amelia" of Vanity Fair; or that hackneyed unfortunate, the girl of the period? No; the new woman is none of these. The new woman is to be born of education and the franchise, and her sponsors are Mill and Buckle and Spencer—an august trio who are not afraid to renounce in her name the frivolities of the past, and to promise for her great things in the future. Their prophetic eyes have seen the statue in the marble, and they say, Give the hammer and chisel full play, and a woman shall come forth. And, considering the material they have already found, these champions of the sex may well indulge in golden visions. If the ideal shall become a reality, with the power and physique of Miss Cobbe, the perseverance and acuteness of Miss Garrett, the sweetness of Lady Lyell, the grace and dignity of Mrs. Fawcett; then, gentlemen, fall back; *place aux dames* in good earnest. The reign of your bearded majorities will be over, you will have monopolized long enough the front rank, and may safely stand aside to let the eager brains and supple hands of the great reserve of women take their chance at the world's work. Soberly speaking, the women of England who have fallen into line on the question of female suffrage and equality are a formidable phalanx, and the spirit and manner of their progress are worthy the consideration of their American sisters whose faces are set in the same direction. While the average standard of feminine intellect is lower here, and there is a noticeable lack of the vivacious many-sidedness so common and so charming in America, I am especially struck by a type of woman unknown with us—a type which, setting aside patriotic prejudices, I believe to promise better for the future than any existing product of our high-pressure civilization. I ask your forgiveness, my countrywomen, for such a verdict, for it is from the depths of my faith in your latent possibilities that I speak; and with the most earnest desire that you may stand side by side with her in all noble work, I seek to introduce to you the English woman of to day; no ideal, no vision, but the actual, existing woman. Will you hear what she is, as I have found her, and believe my assurance that there is no exaggeration in this description of her imitable virtues?

First, material and unpoetic as it may seem, I would point, in speaking of this class of women, to the superiority of their physique. The dear old comfortable metaphor of oak and vine has got to be given up physically as well as mentally—a woman who can work only five hours a day can scarcely expect to compete on ground already his with a man who works ten; and the ability of an Englishwoman to walk twenty miles in a winter storm, and eat her dinner after it with a good appetite, is of more value to her than many speeches. *Bonbons* and *mayonnaise* and the like allurements must be forsworn, for beef and beer are powerful allies of the suffrage; the sweet tooth must be sacrificed along with low dresses and late hours and sensation novels; body and mind must be well fed and exercised, before either the one or the other can demonstrate its actual capacity. A woman forced at a temperature of 90° on an irrational, unregulated diet may be brilliant, interesting, morbidly poetical; she can never be self-reliant, cool, or persistent. The unanimity and organization of the women here who are working to establish their sex's equality I trace, therefore, in a measure, to their superior physical health. They are neither so nervous nor so enthusiastic as our women, and therefore look more carefully to results, and are not so much carried away by evanescent emotion. The national characteristics of obstinacy and self-satisfaction come also into play; for, though they can scarcely be classed as virtues, yet are they powerful adjuncts at certain crises of the battle. The form which the last-named quality takes among these women does not by any means imply the vanity and desire for notoriety which unfortunately actuate many who are prominent before the public in America. The leaders here have no intention of usurping masculine attire, take no especial delight in unfolding their experiences from platforms, and are by no means adepts in clever abuse of their adversaries. There is scarcely a woman in England who could have "used up" Dr. Todd as did Miss Dodge; but there are not a few who by steady, hard training have enabled themselves practically to give the lie to his assertions. Doubtless, well-put ridicule and cutting sarcasm are powerful weapons, but it scarcely seems worth while, in the present undetermined status of women, for them to indulge freely in the use of either till they have proved their ability to make good their claims and hold fast any advantage which their brilliant sallies may give them. At late meetings of the "National Society for Women's Suffrage," the women present, both speakers and audience, gave a large majority of real workers; for example, Miss Garrett, Miss Faithfull, Miss Cobbe, Dr. Blackwell, Mrs. Taylor, etc., all women who have actually done something, who can command a respectful hearing from the men against whom they have fairly matched themselves.

Of course, such women must look at the question from widely different standpoints, and base their arguments upon various foundations, but they are all immediately practical. In the speeches made on these occasions, we miss the peppery doctrines so frequently enunciated in America, and also, be it acknowledged, the enthusiastic eloquence which often carries us away in spite of sober judgment; but we get instead a quiet common-sense, a general grasp of the subject, a womanly vindication of woman's rights, which is less liable to misinterpretation and more convincing. Women have so long been trained to trust to their emotional nature rather than to their reason, that it is no easy matter for them to leave the flowery paths of false sentiment for an inflexible logical sequence which won't permit them to say clever, untrue things, or to appeal, as of old, to the assailable hearts of their masculine judges. The sober British intellect meets more readily the requirements of this present age of reason than does the excitable American, and the advantage is evident. English women are arriving at results while we are still tossing from one horn of the dilemma to the other. That is, women here are showing what they can do, while with us they are mostly occupied with what they can say. I hope that this is no injustice to my countrywomen; the question is so broad that one hesitates to express an opinion upon it, for, without doubt, the different external circumstances powerfully affect the feminine character, and the existence of a completely crystallized society gives opportunity for that thorough culture which goes so far

towards producing a well-balanced mind, and which with us can only be attained in exceptionally favored cases. Still, this much is certain, that the question of women's rights has, so far as its public treatment is concerned, been taken up here by a class of women widely different from the leaders in the American branch of the movement. And the effect of this, as I said in the beginning, is to show us the germ of the woman of the future; the woman who, we believe, is to be strong and tender, wise and grave, able to stand alone, but never disdainful of sympathy—man's true help-meet, not his rival. If this is to be in good earnest the goal for which American women are striving, they can reach it only by the path in which their English sisters are treading, and that path is as open to the one as to the other. A steady determination to fit herself for whatever work she undertakes, and an equal determination to undertake no work from motives of vanity or as a temporary diversion, must form the basis of each individual's effort, and organization and system must precede any successful public labor. I blush when I remember how American women, by their weak divisions, their meaningless, interminable resolutions, and, above all, by their illimitable "brag," have made themselves fair game for scurrilous tongues. It is a serious matter this, and one that presses every day more closely upon all thoughtful women. A late leader in the *Times*, in criticising the action of the National Suffrage Society, says: "The only right woman has is the right to a natural protector; give her that, and the rest will follow." A fair promise, but one that was never made by woman's Creator. In his law it is written that no protector can shield woman from the result of her own sin and folly, no protector can give her the security which is the reward only of honest endeavor or take from her the responsibilities which are hers—primarily as a member of the race, and, secondarily, in her character as woman.

We must in very shame put the ignorance and weakness of the past away from us. If there is any meaning in the story of the woman who ate first of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, and bequeathed to her daughters a double heritage of grief, may we not hope that the best good as well as the most evil is to come to us from that mysterious temptation of our mother? If from lack of liberal education, from an unbalanced social condition, or from a certain fluidity of the national character, the mass of our women are really unprepared to act on this particular political question, the general progress can still go on, and for the rest we must bide our time. Teach women to think independently; teach them that even where ignorance is bliss it is *not* folly to be wise; make them appreciate, what I fear few of them do, that they are responsible not only for the sin that they commit, but for the sin that they permit, and it will not be long before they will be willing and able to take any power that will assist them in overcoming vice, public or private.

English women are showing an ability for immediate practical action which I do not find in America. They are fighting vigorously and unitedly against certain social evils which come especially within their province; they are training themselves in a business-like manner for philanthropic work; they are not riding individual hobbies, nor airing clever, impracticable theories; in a word, they care much for the honest advancement of the sex in the line of its natural progress, and see clearly that women can attain the highest development, only as men attain it, by patient, hard work. It is, therefore, only as a means to an end that they are asking for the suffrage. They regard it as no panacea, no charm, but as a new and great responsibility, a two-edged sword which cuts both ways, and does good service only in strong, firm hands.

When they get this weighty weapon of political and social power (as they surely will), there will be no hesitation in wielding it, no desire to shirk the duties and dangers that its possession brings, because they know their ground and their goal, are clear-eyed, strong-armed, and pure-hearted. The question that American women should to-day ask themselves is this: If we gain our point this year or next, have we measured our capacity and our work? Are we asking for the ballot as children ask for a new toy or coquettes for a new flirtation, or are we looking through the dust of this present struggle up to fields of noble endeavor where this power and every other shall be used "for the glory of God"? Until we believe that we can do more for politics than politics can do for us; until we know what we want, and are willing to suffer and strive for its attainment, our clamorous demands are worse than useless. We have as yet much to learn from our English sisters, who are patiently preparing themselves for the test which they ask to have applied to them, the test of a fair field and no favor; and it will surely be a happy day for the sex in America when we all see that our best hope for the future lies in a wise, conscientious culture of our natural gifts.

An American Woman.

ENGLAND—THE BREAKDOWN OF THE MINISTRY.

London, March 3, 1871.

In writing to you shortly before the opening of Parliament, I pointed out some of the causes which appeared to have shaken the influence of Mr. Gladstone's Government. The session is now about three weeks old, and we have already witnessed some illustrations of the position in which ministers find themselves. Let me, in the first place, refer to an agitation which I fear must appear to you, as it certainly does to us, to be almost interminable. I mean the movement for the abolition of tests in the universities. The process of relaxing the stringency of the bonds by which Oxford and Cambridge are connected with the Church of England began something like twenty years ago; the door has been slowly and grudgingly opened, and Dissenters have forced their way into the vestibule of the sacred edifice. Its inner chambers, where the richest prizes are to be picked up, are still unprofaned; but the exclusion cannot be permanently maintained. Last year the House of Commons by a large majority passed a measure rendering Dissenters eligible to fellowships; which was shelved, though not directly negatived, by the House of Lords under the influence of Lord Salisbury. This year the same measure has been introduced by Mr. Gladstone, and has already passed the Commons. So far the Government showed a praiseworthy desire to redeem its pledges. But meanwhile another difficulty has arisen. The policy of liberals in general has been to raise their demands in proportion to the obstinacy of the resistance. They accordingly remembered that, even if the measure were passed in its present form, a great grievance would remain. The fellowships, it is true, would be in great measure opened to Dissenters; but there would remain a large number of fellowships which are only tenable by clergymen. The effect of the bill would therefore be to enable Dissenters to hold a considerable number (I think from a half to two-thirds) of the fellowships, but the remainder would be as now confined not only to the dominant sect, but to the clergy of that sect. They accordingly moved an amendment to the bill, providing that this final restriction should be removed. Mr. Gladstone refused to accept the amendment on two grounds. The first, which was, I think, perfectly reasonable, though I cannot trouble you with the necessary explanations, was that such a change would involve a number of other changes in the constitution of the colleges, which could only be dealt with satisfactorily in a more comprehensive manner. If he had pledged himself to deal with all the questions thus involved in the sense desired—namely, by enabling an executive commission to go into the whole question, his position would have been at any rate defensible. But he was vague upon this point, and relied chiefly upon his second reason. This was the untenable assertion that the House of Commons was under a certain obligation to the House of Lords not to raise its terms at present. Most people considered the obligation to be altogether imaginary, and thought that a decided policy was better than temporizing and indulging in refined scruples. Accordingly, Mr. Gladstone was put in an almost unprecedented position for a liberal minister. He carried his measure by a majority of only twenty-one votes, which was, in itself, strange enough for so powerful a government. But the result is still stranger when we examine into the constitution of the majority. Mr. Gladstone was supported only by his official dependents and by conservatives. The minority was composed exclusively of his natural supporters, the liberals. Indeed a friend of mine found a member of the Government walking into the wrong lobby, and following by a kind of instinct those with whom he was always accustomed to vote. A liberal leader has perhaps never before found himself in so completely false a position.

I come, however, to a more serious difficulty. An announcement recently made startled the House by its suddenness and unexpected nature. Government gave notice that a select committee was to be proposed to enquire into the state of Westmeath in Ireland. Agrarian outrages, it is stated, have lately been very infrequent throughout the greater part of the country. The coercive measures of last year appear to have been successful, and the general quietness of the Irish people was noticed with complacency in the Queen's speech. But it seems that in the county of Westmeath there have been four murders and four attempts to murder during the past year. They are attributed to the existence of a Ribbon conspiracy which keeps the district in a state of terrorism. Witnesses were afraid to come forward, and it was proposed that the committee should take evidence in secret. Lord Hartington, who has recently become Secretary for Ireland, and who is a commonplace young man who owes his position to his great Whig connections, moved for the committee in a feeble and hesitating speech. It immediately appeared that Govern-

ment had become frightened by the opposition raised to the proposed secrecy of the committee, and said that it was only to have the power of taking evidence in secret if it chose. The question, however, remained, Why have a committee at all? If part of Ireland is undergoing a reign of terror, energetic measures should be at once adopted. It seemed absurd to ask for a committee to find out what Government already knew, or to invent a policy which Government ought to discover for themselves. The proposal was merely another instance of a policy which has lately become too common. A Government boasting of an unparalleled majority is always trying to shuffle off responsibility upon the shoulders of the House of Commons, and instead of acting vigorously, to get somebody else to provide them with information, and then to tell them how to act upon it. In short, it was an exhibition of feebleness and vacillation, singularly discreditable in a case where firmness is specially needed. If we are to rule Ireland at all, we must show that we can stamp out outrages inexorably; to be shilly-shallying and hesitating and apologizing is the most infallible means of encouraging the spirit of disaffection.

Mr. Disraeli saw the blot and took advantage of it in his very best manner. His speech on Monday night was one of his most vigorous exhibitions. He was, of course, rather unfair—few political partisans are scrupulous in such matters, and he least of all. But he sparkled with epigrams; he was brilliant, cutting, and effective, he seemed to be taking revenge for many previous humiliations; and, to use the only appropriate language, felt that he had got Mr. Gladstone's head in chancery and pitched in with amazing energy. No more brilliant sparring performance has been lately seen in the political ring; and his supporters fairly shouted with an enthusiasm to which they have long been strangers when he declared that government had "legalized confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned treason." Mr. Gladstone replied last night in one of those elaborate harangues in which the sense has to be vaguely sought through a labyrinth of pompous phraseology. His explanation left matters darker than before, and nobody could precisely tell when he sat down amidst an unsympathetic audience, why a committee should be appointed, or how far it was to be secret, or how far the Government understood its own mind. A fine chance was open to those rather unsteady politicians who appear to regard mischief-making as the natural duty of an independent member, but whose assaults are rather ominous in so far as they like to catch applause by kicking a falling man. Sir. R. Peel and Mr. Osborne, who are both distinguished performers of this class, made energetic attacks upon Mr. Gladstone's proposal. Sir R. Peel described the committee in language borrowed from Sir Cornewall Lewis, as a piece of machinery constructed for the purpose "of smothering the truth and obstructing investigation and true enquiry." He said that Government admitted that they were working the Irish members to exercise a salutary check upon them. Mr. Osborne was equally facetious. The one cry which had been all-powerful at the hustings was "Gladstone for ever!" and now Mr. Gladstone's Government was in the position of the weak woman, who, when she hesitates, is lost. The committee was nothing more than a screen for ministerial debility and executive incapacity. And impugning the fitness of Government to deal with Irish matters, he declared that there was an inscription over the doors of the cabinet, "No Irish need apply." This and a good deal more badinage of the same kind derived no particular weight from the political reputation of the assailants. Mr. Osborne is a kind of licensed jester, whom every one likes to hear, but for whose opinions nobody cares a straw; and Sir R. Peel, though a man of considerable talent as a speaker, has pursued far too eccentric a course to be regarded as a serious politician. Like partisans in a guerilla warfare, they are of little account to powerful opponents, but may be exceedingly annoying on the flanks of a retreating force. They were listened to last night with a degree of sympathy which augured rather ill for the stability of Mr. Gladstone's Government. The committee was of course granted, though not without a division, which showed an unexpected strength of opposition. As the lists have not yet been published, I cannot speak as to the composition of the minority; but I suspect that, on this as on the other occasion I have mentioned, it will appear that a large number of Mr. Gladstone's natural supporters were arrayed against him.

I might give some further instances of a weakness which is becoming a general topic of remark. The measure for army reform is less liked the more it is examined; and though there is the great difficulty that nobody is prepared to take Mr. Gladstone's place, and therefore no sudden change is to be expected at present, I shall not be surprised if the session shows a still more remarkable falling off in the prestige of the cabinet.

The announcement of the joint commission for the settlement of our difficulties with the United States has given general satisfaction; though in the presence of the Continental war it has scarcely attracted so much notice as might have been expected. There are obvious difficulties upon which it is unnecessary for me to dwell as to its power of effecting a satisfactory settlement; but I may safely say that on this side of the water, at least, there will be a strong wish to accept any conclusion of its labors which could be accepted without dishonor. I feel it useless to speculate further on a topic of which you are at least as good judges as I can be, and on which no general expression of sentiment has been evoked.

Correspondence.

THE PROFESSOR OF FRENCH AT WEST POINT.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Permit me to add a few words to the information contained in the letter headed "The Professor of French at West Point," in Thursday's *Nation*, March 16, as I think your Washington correspondence, to which it refers, hardly does justice to the President or to the newly appointed Professor of French.

General George L. Andrews was graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1851. He stood at the head of his class, throughout his entire academic term, in every branch of study, except in French, in which he stood second, the head of this branch being the son of French parents.

General Andrews's scientific attainments are of the highest grade. Few, if any, graduates have been sent forth from the Military Academy of more thorough knowledge than he possesses. He is perfectly acquainted with the French language, which he speaks, and is moreover an accomplished teacher, having given proofs of this as an assistant professor at West Point.

The military services of General Andrews, during the rebellion, were of the most valuable character, he having served in several highly responsible staff positions in the face of the enemy. Indeed, the record he there made for himself was the determining feature in his selection by the President, from among many candidates, for the place he now fills—his appointment to which has been hailed with the greatest satisfaction by every graduate of West Point who knows him.

General Andrews was himself an applicant for this vacant professorship. It was a career he felt more suited to his talents and tastes than that one which called for a participation in partisan political life, which was abhorrent to him, and to which he never would lend himself. If the President and the members of his cabinet would always give to the public service such men as General Andrews, and place them as wisely for the public interests as he has been placed, the people might snap their fingers in the faces of the politicians. M.

West Point, March 20, 1871.

Notes.

Mr. W. J. Stillman, who is at present in London, is engaged on a history of the last Cretan insurrection, to be published, as soon as completed, in this country. The work is likely to contain some curious revelations in regard to this equally unnecessary and unfortunate struggle, which Mr. Stillman, then American Consul at Canéa, did his utmost to prevent. From his official position, we may expect an inside view of the diplomatic phases of the imbroglio that will be *piquant* reading, whether or not it will make the rôle of the United States appear particularly creditable. It is even possible that our Cretan sympathizers will not appear to the best advantage.——A correspondent points out an inaccuracy in our statement that the *North British Review* was first issued in 1845. The true date is May 1, 1844, the proprietor then being Thomas Constable, son of Archibald Constable, the original publisher and proprietor of the *Edinburgh Review*.——The alumni of Phillips Academy are taking measures to honor the memory of its late principal, Dr. Taylor, by erecting a monument at his grave, and providing a marble bust to be placed in the Academy. Contributions may be sent to Mr. A. H. Hardy, 181 State Street, Boston.——Mr. Ledyard Bill, author of "A Winter in Florida," which was a very agreeable and honest guide-book, has written a more general work, now in press, on the "Climates and Resorts for Invalids, Tourists, and Emigrants." It will include, say the publishers, Messrs. Wood & Hol-

brook, of this city, a carefully prepared estimate of Minnesota—its climate, air, water, soil, scenery, etc.—with notes on Florida, Nassau, Fayal, California, the Adirondacks, etc.——Messrs. Harper & Bros. will reprint from the English editions: "English Premiers from Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel," by J. C. Earle; Professor Jowett's translation of the "Dialogues" of Plato; "The Natural History of the Strait of Magellan;" with numerous diaries and other works relating to the Franco-Prussian war.——Macmillan & Co. announce a "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," by Captain Huysh, the private secretary of the commander, Col. Sir Garret Wolseley.

—There being notoriously no lack of public spirit in this country, and the race of which Peabody is the type being in no danger of running out, the only desideratum would seem to be a certain enlightenment which should determine each benefaction in the wisest manner, with as little waste or superfluity as possible. Among all the guides to the thousand-and-one accomplishments by which life is adorned and character improved, no one has yet thought of preparing a manual of charity, or guide to those intending to benefit the public, who would often, doubtless, be glad enough to take counsel if they knew where to seek it. We do not mean a bare list of deserving organizations, or even of the chief wants of society; but such general considerations as shall fit the various intentions of the benevolent, whether religion, or education, or social or political reform be the object of their giving. For instance, we conceive that a rule might be framed which would be helpful to many, which might stand among the first in the supposed manual, and would read something like this: Before multiplying new foundations, observe whether those already existing cannot better be improved.

—Our remarks, however, have wandered from the immediate occasion of them, which was the brochure just issued by the American Social Science Association, entitled: "Free Public Libraries: Suggestions on their Foundation and Administration, with a Selected List of Books" (New York: Hurd & Houghton). This hand-book is only secondarily an aid to that class of Americans who, having made their wealth away from their native town, desire to perpetuate their derivation from it by bestowing on it a free public library; but we trust that it will be the means of prompting this wise benevolence in some who might otherwise have overlooked it. The "Suggestions" are rather for the townspeople, who are at once encouraged to establish a library, and instructed how to stock it and how to conduct it. As to the management, they will here find in a nutshell the results of the experience of the two foremost libraries in the United States—that of Congress and the Boston Public—embodied in practical directions for every part of the work of which it is essential to be informed. The selected list of books contains a few thousand titles "intended to provide amusement as well as instruction, and for readers of all ages and various degrees of education." It has evidently been prepared with great care, and while most persons would probably wish to add some work to it which it does not embrace, we have not observed one which we could wish to have struck out. We may say, moreover, that such a collection would meet all the requirements of general culture, and that it is so fresh in the several departments as to be more valuable than the contents of many a library numerically superior, whose shelves are laden with antiquated and outgrown knowledge. The Astor Library, as now conducted for the public disadvantage, is in our opinion considerably less useful than this proposed library is likely to be.

—The native American having failed signally in his attempts to establish a comic paper, it remains to be seen whether our adopted fellow-citizens are going to succeed any better. Besides the *New-Yorker Kladderadatsch*, which is rather a comic department than a paper by itself, and is not illustrated, nothing, so far as we know, has anticipated *Puck*, just launched in St. Louis by Messrs. Keppler, Herold & Co. Mr. Keppler is the principal, if not the sole, artist, his designs being lithographed, and, after a cursory examination of the text, we conclude that upon his shoulders will rest the fate of the enterprise, since the editorial humor does not rise above mediocrity. We have, for our part, always believed that a truly great draughtsman might sustain an American comic paper, however dull, just as the London *Vanity Fair* now lives by the weekly caricature of its inimitable Pellegrini. Mr. Nast was, *pace* Mr. Stephens's admirers, more nearly the required genius than any artist who has yet appeared, though in point of natural humor we should rank Mr. Bellew above either. The cartoon of the first number of *Puck* is a capital illustration of "Peace" in the European sense—an enormous cat, with a Prussian helmet, complacently holding in her jaws a rat in the French uniform, appropriately colored. Another design which may be praised for its humor represents the rejoicing of the domestic animals over the raising of the siege of Paris. A third shows President Grant distributing offices and commissions to a worshipping crowd of ex-members of the XLIst Congress.

—No board of commissioners with which we are acquainted has better justified its appointment than the Massachusetts State Board of Health, whose Second Annual Report we have just read with almost the interest that we should a work of fiction. To speak of it according to its deserts would require much more space than we can afford it, while to repeat the table of contents is to give a very inadequate idea of the wealth of useful information to be found in these 400 pages and upwards. Nevertheless, this is the plan we must adopt, in order not to deal wholly in generalities. The reader, then, will find exhaustive contributions on "Poisoning by Lead-pipe used for the Conveyance of Drinking-water;" "Trichina Disease" and "Charbon (or malignant vesicle)," in Massachusetts; the health of the several towns, or rather the prevailing diseases during the past year; "The Causes of Typhoid Fever:" "Analysis of the Mortality of the City of Boston;" "Use of Milk from Cows affected with 'Foot and Mouth Disease;'" "The Ventilation of School-houses;" "Health of Minors employed in Factories;" "Air and its Impurities," etc. To these topics are also added a very suggestive report from the chairman, Dr. Bowditch, of his observations last summer in England in regard to the Peabody and Coutts tenement-houses for the poor, Mr. Ruskin's and Miss Octavia Hill's landlord and tenant experiment, convalescent homes, and the sewage question; and the opinions of the Board's Massachusetts correspondents and of American ministers and consuls abroad as to the harm arising, or supposed to arise, from the use of alcoholic drinks. In nearly all these cases the Board simply collects the testimony of its regular correspondents, at most pointing out the weight and tendency of it, and leaving the reader to form his own judgment, and the legislator to provide the appropriate remedy. The editing of this large mass of correspondence and the summing up are the work of the secretary, Dr. George Derby, whose ability and clearness and attractiveness of style could, for such a purpose, scarcely be surpassed. We do not know what pains are taken to circulate these Health Reports, but as they are prepared for the popular understanding, it is to be hoped they are widely disseminated as tracts, either complete or in the separate divisions. Physicians everywhere might better afford to dispense with *Braithwaite* than with these documents, which perhaps can be had for the asking; and they will be less worthy of their humane calling than we take them to be if they are not stimulated to demand of every State government a Board of Health like that which Massachusetts has first had the honor of instituting.

—A work not unlike the "Nomina Geographica" of Dr. Egli, which we lately noticed, has been published in Milan with the following title: "Vocabolario Poliglotto di Geografia." The author is Charles Mensinger, a Bohemian, who, though he has made Italy his adopted country, and has more than once gone to the battle-field with her armies, is nevertheless devoted to the Panslavic idea, and is animated in his present work by the desire of giving due prominence to the Slavic tongues, and of contributing in this way to the Slavic revival. Possibly this fact may color some of his etymologies, his aim being to trace to their origin "the proper names of the empires, kingdoms, republics, principalities, duchies, provinces, departments, districts, cities, boroughs, and villages of Europe," and to re-establish the exact orthography whenever it has been disguised or distorted. If this essay succeeds, it is the author's intention to revise it thoroughly and enlarge it with the names of rivers, lakes, and mountains, associating with himself persons learned in ethnography and philology.

—A convenient hand-book of Italian history, and readable withal, is Prof. Giuseppe Riccardi's "Diario Storico-Biografico" (Milan, 1870). As the title indicates, it is a book of days—the literary and political fasti of modern Italy—in which the most distinguished men associated with her history from Charlemagne down have their lives briefly recorded. However complete such a survey may be, it has the disadvantage of being unchronological; and Professor Riccardi has accordingly prefixed a short but clear summary of Italian history, after reading which the student may easily, by means of the index, refer to the biographies of any given period.

—Quite a different diary is that imagined by the bookseller Lacroix, in Paris, who, considering that for five months no European news of less magnitude than the occupation of Rome or the piercing of the Mont Cenis tunnel could gain access to the beleaguered city, or at least reach the public in due order and connection, has begun publishing a complete historical summary for each day from the 15th of September to the 28th of January. The *Journal des Deux Mondes*, as he calls this publication, has

had a great success among the Parisians, and being skilfully done is even recommended to those who were not lost to the world's progress in that eventful period. In this "catching up," it is to be hoped the Parisians will not be deprived of the honest and wholesome criticism which Christendom has more or less liberally bestowed on them during confinement, unhappily without a hearing. Bismarck's sayings, which with less difficulty crossed the barriers, were too bitter for digestion then, but, if now remembered for their truthfulness, perhaps will be forgiven for their wit. This wit was not disarmed by the capitulation. "I have got what I deserve," said he to Jules Favre, during the negotiations for the armistice; "a man like me writing to a madman like Gambetta! I have blundered, and must expiate it. Do you know what his answer is? It is a paraphrase of Cambronne's *mot*." A *mot* which is known to readers of "Les Misérables." On hearing of the Paris nominations for the Assembly, Bismarck said, with a slight change of the old verdict against the Bourbons: "They have forgotten everything and learned nothing." And when, the question of entering Paris being raised, Picard remarked to him: "You ought to be aware of the significance of the city elections." "Perfectly," interrupted Bismarck; "they went against you." Still better is the dialogue between Favre and the Prussian Chancellor on the same subject: "Be it so," said the latter, "we will not enter; but on one condition—that every time a Paris journal shall say, 'They didn't dare to,' Paris shall pay a contribution of a million thalers." "The price would be too dear," responded Favre.

—Only in its last number (29) does the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* depart from its single-eyed devotion to scientific explorations, and give any indication that Germany has been at war with France. In its report of the meeting of the Geographical Society in October, we find a few remarks by the President, H. Bastian, on the worthlessness of the French claims to the Rhine country, from an ethnographical and historical point of view; with other remarks by H. Kiepert concerning his historical maps of Alsace and Lorraine (lately described in the *Nation*), in which he called attention to the very slight encroachments made by the French on the *Sprachgrenze*, or line of demarcation between the two languages, in the course of a century and a half of occupation. Attention is also called anew, in a patriotic review of the book, to Richard Böckh's standard work on the number and linguistic area of the Germans in Europe ("Der Deutschen Volkszahl und Sprachgebiet in den Europäischen Staaten—eine statistische Untersuchung." Berlin, 1869.) Böckh was the collaborateur of Kiepert's in making the maps just referred to. In that part of his book which relates to the Germans in France (chap. xi. pp. 151-194), it is estimated that the German-speaking domain (*Sprachgebiet*) embraced 140 geographical square miles and one million of inhabitants.

—In the same number of this admirable journal is an account of the latest contribution to the discussion of Xenophon's line of march to the sea with his Ten Thousand. While no part of this long journey can be said to be known with certainty, there is every probability that in time the most important points will be established. That upon which nearly all the rest hinges is the location of "the sacred mountain Theches," from which the Greeks first saw the sea. Whenever this height is identified, we may reasonably expect to find traces of the stone heap which the soldiers in their joy threw up as a monument. Col. Strecker, who, in the last volume of the *Zeitschrift* (see also vol. x., p. 194, of the *Nation*), mapped out the entire route, selected the Kolât Dagh as the sacred mountain, without, however, pretending to have found the trophy. Another engineer in the Turkish employ at Trebizond, P. Borit, has had the merit of exploring the parallel ranges south of the main range of Pontus, and which have heretofore been supposed to be shut out by it from any view of the sea. He actually found an unnamed peak with a practicable road from which, as he believes, he saw the sea through a gap in the more northern range, and close by were circular stone heaps, of no great height, to be sure—a middle one about thirty (German) feet in diameter, and several smaller ones surrounding it from four to six feet in diameter. An examination of one of these brought to view fragments of coarse red and black clay vessels such as are still in use in the region. All that can be said of this discovery at present is that it suggests further investigation in a quarter where no one had before thought of looking.

—Those who are interested in Aryan (Indo-Persian) studies know well what excellent service was done them, a score of years ago, by Professor R. Roth, of Tübingen. No scholar brought either to the Veda or the Avesta a more penetrating insight, a greater power of combination, or a sounder and more fruitful method. Since that time, he has been mainly absorbed in the great St. Petersburg Sanskrit-Lexicon—a most valuable work, indeed, yet one to which many students have grudged his so exclusive devotion. What he is capable of doing for the Veda when the Lexicon (now nearly completed) is off his hands, he showed a year since by a specimen or two of translation, published by way of criticism upon that great bundle of padding, Müller's so-called translation of the Rig-Veda. No one, we venture to say, who compares the two versions would hesitate as to which of them he would wish to see continued and completed. More recently, we learn, he is availing himself of his intervals of leisure to return to the Avesta; and he has begun a series of contributions upon it to the German Oriental Society's *Journal*, the first being on the point of appearing. In this he explains his method and the principles that underlie it, and translates and expounds the "Honover," or prayer *ahuna vairyo*, one of the most sacred formulas of the Zoroastrian faith, and a hymn from the Gâthâs, the oldest and most difficult part of the Avesta. The interpretation of the Avesta, since Burnouf's beginning, has been almost wholly in the hands of Spiegel and Haug, of whom the former rejects on principle the most valuable aid of the interpreter, comparison with the nearly-related Veda, while the latter is far from possessing the sound judgment and critical insight which should make his work, upon the whole, satisfactory. If the version of the one is set beside that of the other, one hardly sees that both have been at work upon the same material. And, what s much worse, both alike bring out a result that is little better than nonsense. Roth lays down the rule that nothing is to be accounted as understood and translated until a good and consistent meaning is wrought out of it; and he shows practically that sense can be found where it has been hitherto sought in vain. Of the sacred formula, which quite probably goes back to Zoroaster himself, he makes a verse, containing a profession of faith in the better world and in its just ruler, who bears sway also in the present world, and has established in it a guide and comforter for those who are in trouble (that is to say, doubtless, his prophet Zoroaster).

THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.*

THE author of the "Origin of Species" is more widely known, more eagerly read, more cordially admired, and more emphatically denounced than any other scientific man of the day. The interest in him is in great measure due to the natural desire of humanity to penetrate that "mystery of mysteries"—its origin; the encomiums which even his warmest opponents (excepting those who are filled with the *odium theologicum*) have bestowed upon him are just tributes to his long and faithful labors, and to the modesty which has compelled others to award to him some of the credit he seemed loth to claim; but much, if not all, of the indignation which many good persons feel towards him arises from misconceptions of his ideas respecting the Creator, which have their origin not in his own works, but in those of certain advocates of his general views.

In truth, the candid reader of Darwin's own works can find little fault with his conceptions of the Creator so far as regards their sincerity, although it is evident that he regards the origin of species as a legitimate subject of scientific enquiry, and ignores, as well he may, the vain attempts to reconcile the conclusions to which he is led with the commonly received interpretation of Scripture. So does the author of the "Genesis of Species," who is, however, a professedly devout man, and gives many arguments and quotations, especially in the chapter on "Theology and Evolution," to show that neither "Darwinism" nor any other derivative theory necessarily conflicts in the least degree with the most orthodox religious convictions.

This leads to the needed correction of another grave misconception—that "Darwinism" is synonymous with "derivation" or "evolution," and that either of these terms is equivalent to "transmutation." This idea has not only crept into the book catalogues, where all works upon the origin of species are grouped together under the title "Darwinismus," as if they treated of merely local varieties of the same intellectual epidemic, but it has also caused many who feel that Darwin's particular theory is wrong to oppose all theories whatsoever involving the derivation of higher forms from lower.

A sketch of the views which preceded his own is prefixed, by Darwin, to the later editions of his work; but we have nowhere met with any grouping of these and subsequent theories which exhibits their relative

* "The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection. By Charles Darwin, F.R.S." Fifth edition. (Am. reprint.) New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1871. Pp. 447. 8vo.
"The Genesis of Species. By St. George Mivart, F.R.S." London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871. Pp. 296 (with illustrations).

nature. Such a classification we venture to offer here, admitting the impossibility of more than indicating the salient points of each theory and the names of a few of its more zealous advocates. We have also thought it best to omit the hypothesis of "acceleration and retardation,"* recently proposed by Professor Cope, and spoken of by Principal Dawson as, in his view, "the most promising of all."

	Family.	Genus.	Species.	Supporters.
Creation	Independent	Production of adults		Milton.
		Production of eggs		Swedenborg.
	Derivative	Production of Varieties	Transmutation	Lamarck.
			Natural selection	Darwin.
				Wallace.
				"Vestiges."
		Production of Species	Ordinary Genesis	Parsons.
				Owen.
				Mivart.
			Parthenogenesis	Ferris.

The above will explain itself to those who are already familiar with the subject, but a few words may be added for others. If the species of animals and plants were created *independently* of all other species, then they must have been made as either perfect and fully formed individuals or as seeds and eggs. The former view is here ascribed to Milton rather than to Moses or to Scripture, because most intelligent people now admit that the earlier chapters of Genesis cannot reasonably be interpreted in their literal sense; so that for a distinct statement of this view we must look to the great English poet, who, however, was not a scientific man.† The idea that organisms were created as eggs, which have a simpler structure, is less difficult to comprehend than the foregoing, but it is not easy to see how this could occur with the higher animals whose young are born *alive*, and not in the form of eggs. A rather vague enunciation of this idea is contained in a little work by Swedenborg,‡ which is probably to be regarded as purely philosophical and not as one of his theological works.

The second and more numerous family of theories is called "Derivative," because they all involve the supposition that in some way the lower and earlier forms have served as the means of producing higher and later ones. But it will be seen that they differ essentially as to the *manner* of this derivation. Lamarck was impressed with the amount of variation in size and form which the parts of an animal may undergo in consequence of their use or disuse, and so indirectly from any desire or "appetency" which the animal experienced, *e. g.*, a fish might thus become a quadruped if forced to live upon the land, and an ape might become a man. The amount of change in any one generation might be very slight, but the next generation would inherit, increase, and perpetuate the transformation.

In the endeavor to give a concise statement of Darwin's own theory, we suffer from an "embarras de richesses;" for not only is his own work one long presentation of it in many different aspects, but each later writer upon the subject has given his particular version, and from a different standpoint. Summary expressions of the theory are given by our author on pages 40, 70, 178, 412, 437; but a more diagrammatic enunciation is that of Wallace, who not only presented publicly an independent theory of natural selection at the same time with Darwin (1858), but has since paid a warm tribute to the latter's work, while expressing a doubt respecting the sufficiency of that theory for the production of man. With a few unimportant changes, his presentation is as follows:§

"1. Tendency of individuals to increase in number, while yet the actual number remains stationary.

"2. A struggle for existence among those which compete for food and endeavor to escape death.

"3. Survival of the fittest; meaning that those die which are least fitted to maintain their existence.

"4. Hereditary transmission of general likeness.

"5. Individual differences among all.

"6. Change of external conditions universal and unceasing.

"7. Changes of organic forms to keep them in harmony with the changed conditions; and as the changes of condition are permanent, in the sense of not reverting back to identical previous conditions, the changes of organic forms must be in the same sense permanent, and thus originate species."

The following passages from the "Origin of Species" may aid the comprehension of what the author admits to be a complex hypothesis:

"There is a struggle for existence leading to the preservation of profitable deviations of structure and instincts" (p. 412). "Natural selection acts solely through the preservation of advantageous variation, and it acts with extreme slowness, at long intervals of time, and only on a few inhabitants of the same region" (p. 108). "It is not probable that variability is an inherent and necessary contingent under all circumstances; variability is governed by many unknown laws" (p. 50). "We are profoundly ignorant of the cause of each slight variation or individual difference" (p. 192). "Nature gives successive variations; *man* adds them up in certain directions useful to him" (p. 40).

We italicize *man* because we are convinced that the grand fallacy in Darwin's theory lies just here, in the assumption that the selection and propagation of useful variations by *man* is in any way comparable to what takes places in nature. What is proved by all his works is this: that, so far as experience goes, no two created things are identical; that in many cases naturalists differ in their estimate of the value of the distinctions existing between individuals, so that what some call varieties others regards as species (a mighty question, which can only be decided by comparing great numbers of individuals of an undoubted species, and especially the progeny of a single pair); that by constant attention, by saving such as meet his wants and rejecting the rest, man has produced very strongly marked varieties, which continue "permanent" so long as this care is given, but which, the instant it is relaxed and a free crossing with other breeds is allowed, show that they are only varieties and not true species by reverting to the original stock. It may also be admitted that in nature a somewhat similar selection takes place, especially under the form of "sexual selection," but there is as yet no evidence whatever that natural species can be compared to the breeds of domesticated animals; and to ascribe to "selection" of any kind the power of originating *species* merely because it can preserve useful individual *varieties*, is as illogical as—if so homely a simile is allowable—to suppose that the man who is able to manage his own house is, therefore, competent to "keep a hotel." Natural selection may be a *true* cause, but it is not shown to be a *sufficient* cause.

It may here be noted that *reversion* is not mentioned in any of the statements of the theory of natural selection by either Darwin or Wallace. Yet the former treats of the subject at length, and even depends upon its agency, after the lapse of thousands of years, to account for the sudden reappearance of otherwise inexplicable structures; so that, if we give to reversion the weight which Darwin himself allows it when it favors his views, his arguments against its action (pages 28 and 160) do not remove what is really a very serious objection to the theory of natural selection as applied to the production of specific forms in nature.

This whole subject is well presented by Mivart in the chapter on "Specific Stability;" and we have alluded to it here because it has always seemed to us to involve a fundamental fallacy which the author of "Natural Selection" is bound to remove.

The object of the "Genesis of Species" is "to maintain the position that natural selection acts, and, indeed, must act; but that, still, in order that we may be able to account for the production of known kinds of animals and plants, it requires to be supplemented by the action of some other natural law or laws, as yet undiscovered" (page 5). This is, we may remark, but one of the numerous evidences that, while the general theory of "derivation" has been steadily gaining adherents even from among its original opponents, yet "natural selection"—Darwinism "pure and simple"—has been, and is still, losing ground even with those who were inclined to adopt it. Huxley "adopts it only provisionally."* McCosh† admits that "it contains much truth, but not all, and overlooks more than it perceives." Lesley‡ says, "All agree that it is true if kept within the regions of *variety*, but it is disputed whether it be true for actual *specific* differences." Wallace denies its sufficiency in the case of man, and Darwin himself has modified his views somewhat in this last edition of the "Origin of Species;" furthermore, he admits "the existence of difficulties so serious that he can hardly reflect on them without being staggered" (p. 167); and that "scarcely a single point is discussed on which facts cannot be adduced often apparently leading to conclusions opposite to mine" (p. 18). Indeed, with characteristic candor, he specifies certain ideas which, if proved, would be fatal: "If it could be proved that any part of the structure of one species had been formed for the exclusive good of another species, it would annihilate my theory" (p. 196). We may, for example, yet learn the use which the "rattle" and the expanding hood have for the rattlesnake and the cobra, but Mivart is inclined to believe they are rather injurious, since they warn the prey (p. 50). Another such "fatal idea" is the doctrine

* "The Hypothesis of Evolution." University series. New Haven: C. C. Chatfield & Co.

† "Paradise Lost," Book VI.

‡ "Worship and Love of God," Section 3.

§ "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection." London and New York: 1870. Pp. 302.

* 'Man's Place in Nature," p. 128.

† Report of recent lectures.

‡ "Man's Origin and Destiny."

that "many structures have been created for beauty in the eye of man or for mere variety" (p. 194). And here our author seems to contradict himself when, upon the same page, he admits that "many structures are now of no direct use to their possessors, and may never have been of any use to their progenitors"—a subject which has been well discussed by the Duke of Argyll.*

The theory of natural selection implies that all changes are minute and gradual; and also that only useful structures are preserved and augmented. Prof. Mivart points out the difficulty of explaining the origin of the unsymmetrical form of the flounders, etc. (p. 37), of the limbs of animals which, in their earliest and minutest form, must have been mere buds or roughnesses, and thus rather impediments to the progress of our ancient aquatic progenitor (p. 39). Darwin further admits that "it is impossible to conceive by what steps the electric organs of fishes were produced (p. 184), also that the absence of imperfectly organized forms in the lowest strata of the earth's crust is inexplicable" (p. 292); and his explanation of the absence of the transitional forms which must have existed, according to his theory of "minute modifications in time," between such forms as the elephant, the giraffe, the galeopithecus, the bats, and the ordinary quadrupeds, is very unsatisfactory. His theory of rudimentary organs, also, is extremely imperfect. He accounts for all such from the *disuse of previous perfect organs* (p. 408); but he nowhere hints at the far more essential question as to how these original organs became perfect; for upon his own general hypothesis they must have been rudimentary in the beginning. With regret, and after the closest and most sincere examination of all his remarks upon this subject, we confess that we have rarely seen such an absolute lack of logical argument as is evinced in the section upon rudimentary and functionless structures. In fact, the immense amount of evidence which he has collected does not seem to us to bear upon the main point, the *origin of species*, at all, but only upon the *preservation of favorable individual variations*.

We have not space for further presentation of our own difficulties or those which others have urged against the theory of natural selection, and will simply quote the general grounds upon which Prof. Mivart has been led, with no prejudice against it, to regard that theory as playing only a subordinate part in the production of new species (p. 21):

"Natural selection is incompetent to account for the incipient stages of useful structures. It does not harmonize with the coexistence of closely similar structures of diverse origin."

"Certain fossil transitional forms are absent which might have been expected to be present; and some facts of geographical distribution supplement other difficulties. There are many remarkable phenomena in organic forms upon which natural selection throws no light whatever."

"Still other objections may be brought against the hypothesis of 'pangenesis'† which, professing as it does to explain great difficulties, seems to do so by presenting others not less great—almost to be the explanation of *obscurum per obscurius*."

These difficulties, which are set forth with equal cogency and fairness in the earlier chapters of the "Genesis of Species," have led its author to a view which he alludes to throughout his work, but presents in detail in the chapter entitled "Specific Genesis."

"According to this view, an internal law presides over the actions of every part of every individual, and of every organism as a unit, and of the entire organic world as a whole. It is believed that this conception of an internal innate force will ever remain necessary, however much its subordinate processes and actions may become explicable. That by such a force, from time to time, new species are manifested by ordinary generation, these new forms not being monstrosities, but consistent wholes. That these 'jumps' are considerable in comparison with the minute variations of 'natural selection'—are, in fact, sensible steps, such as discriminate species from species. That the latent tendency which exists to these sudden evolutions is determined to action by the stimulus of external condition."

The part assigned to natural selection is stated as follows:

"It rigorously destroys monstrosities, favors and develops useful variations, and removes the antecedent species rapidly when the new one evolved is more in harmony with surrounding conditions."

Professor Mivart has so frankly admitted the essential coincidence of the above view with the one expressed by Professor Owen in 1868,‡ that we do not hesitate to call his attention to the similar views previously advanced by Professor Parsons, of Harvard University, and by the anonymous author of "Vestiges of Creation;" believing that his own conclusions were reached in entire independence of all of them, as is said of Professor Owen's. The author of the "Vestiges" expresses himself as follows:*

"My idea is, that the simplest and most primitive type, under a law to which that of like-production is subordinate, gave birth to the type next above it, that this again produced the next higher, and so on to the very highest, the stages of advance being in all cases very small, namely, from one species only to another. . . . Yet, in another point of view, the phenomena are wonders of the highest kind, in as far as they are direct effects of an Almighty will, which had provided beforehand that everything should be very good."

Professor Parsons† writes as follows:

"Suppose the time to have come when there is to be a new creation, and it is to be a dog, or rather two dogs, which shall be the parents of all dogs. How shall they be created? . . . The fifth view is, they will be created by some influence of variation acting upon the ova of some animal nearest akin—a wolf, or a fox, or a jackal—and the brood will come forth puppies, and grow up dogs to become dogs."

Besides the above, several other authors (Gray,‡ Argyll,§ and Neale‖) had already hinted at the necessity of admitting the sudden production of new specific forms, in some cases at least; and Darwin himself, as we shall see hereafter, appears to have a dim idea that something of the kind might happen in defiance of natural selection.

Nothing like direct evidence can be given in support of this theory of "specific genesis;" but the question really is, as stated by Parsons, whether, as a provisional hypothesis, it is not, on the whole, less improbable than any other, and open to fewer objections. Those who, like Spencer, are unwilling to admit the action of any but known physical laws and agencies, may say, and truly, that the supposition of an "innate internal tendency" only removes the difficulties one step further back, and is at best merely restating the case in a general way; but little more can be said of the theory of gravitation.

TAYLOR'S FAUST.¶

EACH new translation of a great poem, whether or not it does anything else, at least is sure to remind us that the world seems never to have been able to make up its mind as to whether there be such a thing as real translation at all. If, as now and again happens, the translator himself does not accompany his work with an elaborate defence of some particular theory of translation, aiming to show that it is the only true theory, the critics, at any rate, on their part, greet his performance either with expositions of the utter impossibility of really translating poetry out of one tongue into another, or with arguments to prove that the translator has worked under a false theory, or, if so be he has chosen the right one, has worked badly under it, and failed to do anything deserving of the name of true translation. "Translation is travesty," the French critic says. "The French are in the right," says the English critic, "to name translation by our word 'traduction;' and the Germans did as well when they called translating 'oversetting.'" "Traduttore, traditore," say the Italian critics; and it may be doubted if most poets, not translators, would not confess themselves of the same mind as the critics. A man would not be over-bold who should say that there never will be translated poet who, however much pleased at the thought of a fame spread abroad in lands other than his own, will not feel a peculiar satisfaction and a peculiar pang in reading that colloquy which took place between Bottom and his friends, Snout and Quince, when they were all in the wood together:

Snout.—O Bottom! thou art changed. What do I see on thee?
Bottom.—What do you see? You see an ass-head of your own, do you?
Quince.—Bless thee, Bottom! bless thee! thou art translated.
Bottom.—I see their knavery: this is to make an ass of me. . . . But I will not stir from this place, do what they can.

Cary Miltonizes Dante; Newman makes of Homer a mere ballad-monger, and robs him of strength and noble simplicity; Lord Derby's "Iliad" shows care and scholarship, and has other good qualities, but the fire and nobility of the original—where are they? "A very pretty poem, but not Homer," is what Pope made; Tasso, in Wiffen's hands, is Tasso and a Quaker; Cowper Miltonizes and Thomsonizes Homer; Chapman makes of Homer an out-and-out Elizabethan—and it is a question, Mr. Lowell would say, if Chapman did not, at that, leave him more Homeric than any one else who ever attempted to take him out of the Greek; what becomes of the elegance of Virgil in Mr. Conington's octosyllables? would Mr. Longfellow, or

* "Reign of Law," seventh edition, p. 230.
† Propounded at the close of the work upon "Variation under Domestication."
‡ "Comp. Anat. and Phys. of Vertebrates," vol. iii. p. 808.

* "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," third edition, p. 170.
† *American Journal of Science*, July, 1860.
‡ *Am. Journ. of Science*, March, 1860; *Atlantic Monthly*, July, Aug., Oct., 1860.
§ "Reign of Law" p. 237.
‖ *Proc. Zool. Soc. of London*, Jan. 18, 1861.
¶ "Faust: A Tragedy. By Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The First Part. Translated in the original metres by Bayard Taylor." Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1871.

Dr. Parsons, or Mr. Rossetti, or Mr. Cayley say that they had truly translated Dante's poem? or would they say that they had done the best they could, and that they had succeeded about as well with the poem as the rest of the world did with the title when Divine Comedy was put for Divina Commedia?

These questions and assertions are all familiar as household words, and would seem to show with sufficient clearness that the world of poets and critics, whatever each poet may think of his own capacity to act as translator, has really decided that whether or not a true translation be a possible thing, it is at all events a thing that has never yet been done. And as for the probabilities that it may yet be done, if one asks among the poets and critics about the rules that should govern those who attempt translation, or about the ends he should have it in view to effect, one finds nothing as to which there is anything like common consent except the vague, imperfectly true, and almost perfectly useless maxim, that "it needs a poet to translate a poet." Doubtless this maxim is, in a way, and to some extent, true; this at least it does—it points to the fact that so very much of the charm of poetry consists in the most imponderable and intangible and subtle associations of thought and feeling and language, that only a soul disposed by nature to the discovery and keen enjoyment of such associations, and a mind skilled and habituated to fitting them with speech, can hope to have any success in the translation of most kinds of good poetry. But it is a maxim not calculated to be of service in the guidance of any translator's labors, and leaves altogether untouched nearly all those considerations which make translating the despair of the fraternity of poets, and the temptation of so many of them individually.

But despite all this, there will never be an end to translations, for the appearance of each new one, distinctly as it may remind us that the world of poets and critics believes that translation is of the nature of travesty, also bears witness to this other truth—that the world in general wants translations, and steadily demands them, and enjoys them without troubling itself at all about the really perfect translation, or caring much about the imperfectness of such as it gets. It is an unhappy insensibility—or a happy insensibility; but so long as people in general get what they regard as the essentials of a great poem—its greatness of thought and spirit and fineness of feeling—they do not much mind if they lose most of the prettinesses or even most of the lovely charm which is perhaps most surely of the essence of it, as a poem strictly so-called.

If, in addition to getting the great things, as they judge them to be, of this or that great man's message to the world, they get also more or less knowledge of him and of it, considered as a historical figure and a historical monument—if, for instance, they learn to know the Divine Comedy for its imaginative treatment of the spiritual world of the hereafter; for its wrath, terror, tenderness, subtlety, purity, intensity; for all of its Francesca and Ugolino, for a certain part of its Beatrice, and for its Dante as there revealed; for its noble literary style—if, in addition to getting this from it, the world in general get from the translated Divine Comedy some notion of what mediæval Christianity was; what were the admired forms of mediæval Italian poetry; what Italy and her politics were so many hundred years ago; something about this Dante whose name is one of the great names among men; why, the world in general is going to keep on getting translations made for it, and to give itself small concern either with the difficulties or the niceties that perplex the poets when in presence of this subject. It is not so puzzling, after all, as some have found it, that Mr. Emerson should have made that remark of his which has displeased and highly amused the accurate philological scholars, and consternated and horrified certain poetical minds. It was to the effect that it is labor lost to acquire languages for the sake of their literatures; that a man might as well cross the seas himself for such foreign articles as he should want instead of letting them be brought him by ordinary commerce; that everything necessary to us from foreign literatures can be got in translations. This would seem to be doubtless true in the case of a poetical mind of the quality of Mr. Emerson's, which may be said to hunger and thirst for the central and eternal truth of things, and to have too little appetite for what it perceives to be the adventitious and accidental; or what it thinks—or chooses to think—the adventitious and accidental. And these latter are terms which it would apply to much that not only the minor and false poets, but to much that the true poets would deem to be of the essence of poetry, and not of its trappings or coverings. And in another way it is doubtless true, for obvious reasons, that to people in general translations of poetry are, for obvious reasons, as good as the genuine poem dressed in all its beauties.

Mr. Taylor's translation of the "Faust" is prefaced by a plea for a version which shall retain the "form" of the original. This "form" consists in the metres and rhymes, he would seem to say, and a version which follows the metres of the original as closely as the relation between the English language and the German allows, will, he thinks, be a far better rendering of the poem than any literal version can be. He would seem to hold that a literal version is *ipso facto* prosaic, and that a metrical version is very likely, in virtue of its metres merely, to be a more poetical version than any version in prose. He is even at pains to talk at some considerable length of the conservatism of our literary standards, and of the underrated resources of English poetry in the matter of dactyls, and so on; as if dactyls and iambs and trocheés and all the rest of them had not figured for generations in English literature, and in the text-books that teach the art of English composition to boys and girls at school. No one would think of denying what Mr. Taylor is strenuous to assert—the necessary connection of rhythm with poetry; but there are always multitudes of people who, asserting this, and having no understanding of its meaning, afford proof the most conclusive that to any rhythms or rhymes, however elaborate, it is poetry alone that can give the least poetical value. "If you are literal in translating," Mr. Taylor would say, the "'form' vanishes, and 'no one familiar with rhythmical expression through the needs of his own nature' will say that the form of a poem is of secondary importance." To this the reply of the literalists would be, that the "form" of a poem cannot be said to reside exclusively in its metres, but may with far more truth be said to reside in such choice and such presentation of certain truths of nature and life as shall make them beautifully affecting, and so, instructive while delightful.

The objection, they would say, to trying to give the superficial form is that the difference in languages is such that you cannot at once make with two of them the same music and express the same thoughts; and the temptation is to sacrifice the thought to the music, while the best result of the attempt, except in some lucky instances of very rare occurrence, is to make the thought concede a little to the music, and the music a little to the thought, so that definiteness of meaning is sure to lose something, is likely to lose much, and so also are the sweetness and vagueness of suggestion sure to vanish away.

However, we did not intend to be led into any discussion of a question so long mooted and so incapable of settlement as we have already admitted the question of the best theory of translation to be. In the particular case of Mr. Taylor, the comparatively new phase of the controversy which he represents we thought it worth while to note. That a foreign poet should be so brought over to us that we may regard him as our own; that the translator should give us poetical equivalents rather than require us to transport ourselves over to the foreign poet and adopt his situation; but that the translator should as often as possible give us precisely the same thing that the foreign poet gives his native auditors, and not put us off with an English equivalent for the German or Italian or French original—this is one of the several accustomed views of the translator's duty, and as such may well be allowed to pass without more of fruitless challenging and colloquy. Not so, however, as we think, with Mr. Taylor's variation of the general term. This, it seems to us, it will be well for many of us to consider carefully. To us, ourselves, it seems to lay inordinate stress upon the mechanics of poetry, and to be capable of doing harm. To get men of our race and time to think enough about "form" is no doubt very difficult, and to accomplish it would, no doubt, be very well. But to let ourselves be bedevilled by intricacies of construction and then talk about "art" as some of us do, is as much like caring for "form" as cutting a tree into wooden Nuremberg toys is like saving it alive and working with spade and pruning-knife in assistance of the elemental forces which shape it in accordance with the natural law of its growth.

Mr. Taylor has spent much labor for some years on this rendering of the great poem of his choice, and to our mind he has had a better success than any metrical predecessor of his who has attempted the "Faust" as a whole. With Hayward's prose translation for the sense, and Mr. Taylor's for the metres, and for collateral light on numerous passages, the reader who knows no German may get as good an idea of the poem as is perhaps possible. That he really gets the poem *qua* poem, apart from its metres, more fully and surely by reason of Mr. Taylor's labors in verse than if that gentleman had put his translation into prose or had corrected Hayward, we do not think; in our opinion, the *poetical* translation of "Faust" Mr. Taylor has not brought essentially nearer. But the praise of skilful and patient labor certainly belongs to him, and of labor with unusually good result. As formerly, it is as poet that he fails, and his translation may without unfairness be described as a dilution of Goethe's poetry with poetry

of Mr. Taylor's, but still a good translation of the sense of the original. Judged by its author's intention, it will not be pronounced a success; but judged by the success of others it will be pronounced meritorious, though not of a superiority to give it unquestioned precedence.

Except for its inconvenient size, the volume is admirable so far as publishers and printers could make it so; and the translator's editorial work is accurate, full, and helpful. The "Helena" is to succeed the First Part of "Faust," which, so accompanied, will have a decided advantage over other editions in English.

GINX'S BABY.*

It is not surprising that a satire so admirably well conceived as this, and aimed at abuses so keenly felt and so wide spread, should have attained a remarkable popularity. Everybody can read it with pleasure for the sake of the keenness of its satirical hits and its admirable style, although the nature of the grievances discussed and the apparently hopeless insolubility of the problems presented are certainly not matters for other than the saddest reflections. The condition of the very poor in England—a country which produces more wealth in proportion to the number of its inhabitants than any European country, and yet in which two millions of people are said to be, in one way or another, dependent upon charity for the means of subsistence—is most vigorously depicted in the person of Ginx's baby. That unfortunate child is the thirteenth scion of the Ginx family—Ginx being a stout navvy, earning at the best of times eighteen or twenty shillings a week, and living in a couple of rooms, the larger of which is something under fourteen feet square. Even at the birth of the Baby's immediate predecessor, Ginx was beginning to find himself somewhat crowded for room, and to feel serious misgivings as to his ability to feed all the little Ginxes, and he advised his wife that, if she were so inconsiderate as to make another addition to a quiver already so inconveniently full, he should be obliged to drown it in the nearest water-butt. Undeterred by this consideration, number thirteen put in a rash appearance eighteen months after number twelve, and Ginx, as good as his word, laid instant hands upon his son, and started with him in the direction of Vauxhall Bridge, accompanied by a deprecating crowd of women and small children, and followed by his wife's lamentations. He is met a few yards from his own door by a philosopher of the Malthusian school, who has no practical suggestions to offer as to the disposition of the child, but who enquires with a sad gravity how Ginx could reconcile it with his conscience to become the father of "such a monstrous number of children as thirteen." The conundrum is too much for Ginx's limited intelligence, but the question is taken up by a stonemason who stands by—a sort of Methodist "local preacher," who puts very well the case of the ordinary instincts of humanity against the philosophy of repression. Ginx, meanwhile, delayed for a moment by the talk, goes on in the direction of the water until he is stopped by a "Sister of Misery," to whom he consigns the child on her promise never to return it to him. Thereupon the baby is taken to a convent, where its mother visits it twice a day for the purpose of nursing it, and where it becomes the pet and plaything of the nuns, who conceive the idea of bringing up the boy among them as a saint. Very soon, however, the religious scruples of the sisters, on the one side, and the obstinacy of that "low-class heretic," Mrs. Ginx, on the other, come into abrupt collision.

Will not heretical milk fatally prejudice the future sanctity of the child? is the question which occurs to the too scrupulous mind of Sister Pudicitia—and as a precaution she proposes that the mother shall be daily signed with a sacred sign before she is allowed to take her child. But Mrs. Ginx's creed, though a short one, is held with unflinching tenacity. As its primary article, she "believes in God, giver of bread, meat, money, and health," and, as corollaries, "in the Church of England, in heaven and hell," and hates "Popery, priests, and the devil." To the sign of the cross she objects that she "couldn't sleep with them things on her," and prefers to abandon all care of her child rather than submit to it. She spreads the story of her grievances, however, and it is not long before the "Protestant Detectoral Association," hearing of this new encroachment of "the beast with seven heads," sends an agent to Mrs. Ginx to get the full, true, and particular account of her wrongs. He has been told that "the child was carried off from his mother's bedside in broad daylight by a nun, accompanied by two priests and a large body of Irish;" and, though somewhat disappointed to find the case not precisely as represented, finds that it "looked bad enough, and might be made worse. It was the very case for the Protestant Detectoral Association." A writ of *habeas corpus* is obtained with some difficulty, and the baby is produced in court, enveloped in a blanket embroidered with little crosses and carried in Sister Pudicitia's arms. It is so clearly shown that the father gave away the child, and has no desire to reclaim it, that the nuns are allowed to carry it home in triumph. Their victory is a costly one, however. Their windows are broken by a mob, and, worse than all, their very souls are wrung by the irreverent way in which the baby himself, unmindful of all proprieties, ejects the "consecrated pap" on which they feed him over a chasuble in which they wrap him on the occasion of "laying him on the steps of the altar," in order that he may "assist" at the Mass offered for his preservation. They give him up, therefore, voluntarily, to the "Detectoral Association," and that body prints placards and calls monster meetings in order to decide what shall be done with the "Great Protestant Baby." A kind-hearted duchess provides fine linen for the child, and he is presented to the meeting assembled in "Philopragmon Hall," lying in a cradle, and with his six-weeks-old head resting, not too comfortably, we may suppose, on a Bible. His new friends are unable to come to a mutually satisfactory conclusion as to the disposition to be made of him. From the Baptist who thinks the first thing to be done is to "rebaptize him in a sufficient quantity of water," to the radical Mr. Ogle who thinks a good secular education should be provided for him, there is no intermediate shade of opinion which does not insist upon a hearing and a practical concession. The debate is long and stormy, and the baby gets hungry and cross. No member can be found who is willing to carry it home with him to his wife, and it is hurriedly handed over to a strange woman who volunteers "for love of the cause" to give it temporary shelter. Two or three hours afterward, the "Great Protestant Baby" is found by Policeman X. shivering on a doorstep, with only a copy of the *Times* by way of covering. It is presently recognized to be Ginx's baby, and the Detectorals are put as nearly to the blush as nature permits. They recover themselves, however, and the child is made again the subject of a public demonstration. Another Bible and more clothes are provided, thirteen hundred odd pounds are subscribed for his support, and during frequent meetings which are held in the course of the ensuing year—meetings whose expenses are paid out of the funds collected for the child—he is not only made to do duty as a great anti-Popery panacea, but it is pretty nearly unanimously decided that, when he is of an age to be taught, he shall receive a strictly secular education during school-hours, but that for the remainder of the day he shall be visited in turn by preachers of all sects, and instructed by them in their various and peculiar tenets.

But this is no sooner happily settled than a bill, presented by the person to whom the child has been in the interval assigned, so disturbs the harmony of the meetings that a quorum is never thereafter to be obtained, and both the cause and the baby suffer from neglect. The latter is discarded by his nurse and thrown upon the parish. The state of the poor-laws is severely satirized in the history of the fight between two adjoining parishes, each of which desires to get rid of the child and to foist it upon his neighbor. The baby, whose pedigree, as a half-wit in the alms-house remarks, "goes back for three hundred years," and "began with Poverty out o' Laziness in Queen Elizabeth's time," is wrangled over, neglected, and almost starved, until a lucky accident again discovers his parentage. He is at once restored to the unlucky Ginx, who, being on the point of emigration, is by no means pleased to see him, and who, on the eve of sailing, deposits him on the steps of the Radical Clubhouse and leaves him to his fate. Sir Charles Sterling, a kind-hearted but not over-practical philanthropist, brings him into the Club, where he furnishes the immediate topic of various talks on the subjects which he suggests. Among other things, Sir Charles proposes that Government should charge itself with the emigration of a million or two of its superfluous population, and asserts that "but for human selfishness we might hope for an Utopian era—when, while it should be ruled that, if a man would not work, neither should he eat; there should also be brought home to every man the poorer, or weaker, or less competent brother. I never expect to see that. I do hope to see the men of greatest ability pay more generously for the privileges they enjoy. The best policy for them, too. The better the condition of the general community, the better for themselves. You cannot alarm me with epithets. But these views are happily not essential to the support of the emigration policy." The baby, meanwhile, over whom so many people are perplexing themselves, grows up under the patronage of the Club; and, though taught nothing at all, is kept provided with food and clothes. Arrived at tolerably advanced boyhood, and growing tired of alternate petting and snubbing, he helps himself to some

* "Ginx's Baby. His Birth and other Misfortunes. A Satire." Second American from the sixth London edition. New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1871.

of the Club forks and spoons, and decamps at the very time when Lord Munnibagge, the political economist, has just established, in his place in Parliament, "that there is no necessity for the interference of Government in the case of Ginx's Baby or any other babies or persons. The lucid and decisive statement of the Secretary for the Accidental Accompaniments of the Empire has shown how impossible it was for the Imperial Government to take part in a great scheme of expatriation; how impolitic to endeavor to affect the ordinary laws of free movement to the colonies."

The after-history of Ginx's Baby is but brief. Leaving the shelter of the Radical Club at fifteen years old, he tries in vain to take care of himself. "Wherever he went, the world seemed terribly full." There was no room for him in the ranks of honest trade, "and even the thieves to whom he gravitated were jealous of his accession, because there were too many competitors already in their department."

Lounging one night on Vauxhall Bridge, the historian of his unfortunate career was startled by the sudden splash of a human body into the water. "I did not then know what form it was that swilled down below the glistening current. Had I known that it was Ginx's Baby, I should perhaps have thought: 'Society, which in the sacred names of Law and Charity forbade the father to throw his child over Vauxhall Bridge at a time when he was alike unconscious of life and death, has at last itself driven him over the parapet into the greedy waters.'

"Philosophers, philanthropists, politicians, Papists, and Protestants, poor-law ministers, and parish officers—while you have been theorizing and discussing, debating, wrangling, legislating, and administering—Good God! gentlemen, between you all, where has Ginx's Baby gone to?"

Recent Republications.—The honor of a fifth edition which has been bestowed on Prof. Pumpelly's "Across America and Asia" will not be thought unmerited by those who have read this entertaining book of travels. We trust, indeed, that the author is only beginning to find his audience, now that his work—with text unabridged and illustrations preserved—is issued by Messrs. Leypoldt & Holt in a cheaper dress, which is still good enough and handseme enough for all but the fastidious. As our review of it must be tolerably fresh in the minds of most of our readers, we need only call attention to the reduced price which now brings it within the reach of almost any one desirous of owning it. The same house confers another favor upon the reading public by its cheap edition of Taine's "Italy" (Rome and Naples, Florence and Venice—two volumes in one), a book of travel not surpassed of its kind, whether or not we wholly agree with the art-judgments of the author, or think it fortunate for the School of Fine Arts in Paris that it forced M. Viollet-le-Duc to yield his professorship to M. Taine. What every reader may, however, thoroughly enjoy is M. Taine's style, and his descriptions both of works of art and of scenery; and for a small sum one may now make of him a guide and companion in four of the most interesting cities in the world.

We spoke in our last volume of the merits and demerits of Rawlinson's "Manual of Ancient History," the former by far outweighing the latter. It is now reprinted by Messrs. Harper & Bros., and from its authority and its method will be found of great utility as a handbook of reference and as an aid to historical enquiry. Almost every page contains an enumeration of the best sources of information on the subject under notice, and this alone would be of the highest value to students, even if the outline which it supplements were less excellent than it is. The Harpers have added to their hitherto complete edition of Tennyson's "Poetical Works" his recent "Songs of the Wren," with Mr. Arthur Sullivan's musical accompaniment—the libretto, as in most cases, being a good deal inferior to the music. They have also issued the first volumes (The Gospels, 2 vols., and Acts of the Apostles) of the revised edition of "Barnes's Notes," on which the lamented author had been engaged nearly to the time of his death. The volumes are well printed and neatly bound, and illustrated with numerous woodcuts and maps. The remainder of the series is in press.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. republish, in a style resembling that of their uniform edition of Grace Aguilar's works, "The Heir of Redclyffe" and "Heartsease," each in two volumes; and we presume that they intend to follow it with other of Miss Yonge's tales, of which the first is perhaps the best known.

No one volume of the Hans Christian Andersen series which Messrs. Hurd & Houghton are publishing in their always clear and handsome manner will exceed in interest for the nursery the full duodecimo (532 pp.) called "Stories and Tales." It opens with the classic "Picture Book without Pictures," and then come nearly eighty stories of various lengths, and all of the quality which have made Andersen the favorite of both children and parents. Together with the "Wonder Stories told for Children" already issued, it embraces the whole of the author's shorter and lighter pieces.

The "Reign of Law," by the Duke of Argyll, has been reissued, we believe from the English plates, by Messrs. De Witt C. Lent & Co. It is, we need hardly say, an authoritative treatise, which every one must consult who is interested in the discussion of the origin and variation of species.

It is twenty-six years since Professor Longfellow, then a young man, published his "Poets and Poetry of Europe," when European literature was a locked treasure to most people, and translators were just beginning to fumble at the wards. The key turned slowly, and only to a favored few was revealed a glimpse of the riches within. We remember well what pleasure the book brought with its strange foreign flavor; how we "sucked at the flagon," and relished the change from plainer fare. The spirit and grace of the renderings, the skilful analyses of the introductions, combined to give it permanent value, and from that day to this it has held its place as a standard of reference and quotation. The revised edition just published by Messrs. Porter & Coates includes 137 pages of new matter carefully prepared. This supplement, whose only fault is in being a supplement and not an incorporation with the original book, opens with "The Hava Mal," a singular fragment of Icelandic verse. This "Sublime Discourse of Odin" is a series of wild rhythmical apothegms, full of barbarous wisdom:

> "Praise the day at eventide;
> The wife when she is dead;
> The sword when thou hast proved it;
> The maid when she is married;
> Ice when thou hast crossed it;
> Ale when thou hast drunken it.
>
> "In wind cut thou firewood,
> In wind sail the ocean,
> In darkness woo a maiden,
> For many eyes has daylight."
>
> "Small are the sand grains;
> Small are the water drops;
> Small, human thoughts:
> Yet are not these
> Each of them equal,
> *Every century bears but one man.*"

The next department, Danish poetry, contains the beautiful hymn, "Sorrow and Gladness," written by Kingo, and translated by Mrs. Howitt. A brief Swedish chapter follows, then the German, which is unusually rich and full; Brooks, Bayard Taylor, Leland, Dean Trench, and Catherine Winkworth being numbered among the translators. Here we find "The Cherubic Pilgrim," by Angelus Silesius, the mystic poet of the seventeenth century. Next in order comes the Dutch—represented by a single poem—"The National Song," by Hendrik Tollens; then the French, full of charming things, among which we note Mrs. Wistar's renderings of Alfred de Musset, and Cary's delightful version of Bellau's "April." The Italian portion opens with the quaint "Lover and Lady" of Ciullo d'Alcamo, written in the twelfth century, a dialogue after the fashion of our own "Nut-Brown Maid." The translation by Rossetti is admirable and graceful. Mr. Howells contributes some capital work to this department. The chapter on Spanish poetry gives portions of two of Calderon's dramas, and several beautiful versions by Mr. Bryant. A couple of Gil Vincenti's lovely songs from the Portuguese close the supplement and the book.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1871.

The Week.

Mr. Sumner delivered his expected speech on Monday before a crowded house. The speech was rather an attack on the Administration than a condemnation of the annexation as annexation; that is, was rather a condemnation of the means than of the end. He went over much of the ground traversed in his former speech, and showed conclusively, by extracts from official correspondence, and other testimony, that Baez is an adventurer, without any proper authority or color of authority to sell the Dominican territory; and that his antecedents are all of a nature to make him an object of suspicion, and prevent any government entering into any negotiations with him which *de facto* power simply on his part would not be sufficient to sustain, and negotiations for the cession of territory are certainly in this category; that his position at home is so insecure that he made repeated appeals for the armed support or "the moral support" of armed vessels of the United States, both against domestic revolution and foreign attacks; that this was afforded him freely before the annexation treaty was submitted to the Senate, and has been afforded him ever since; and that threats of a very violent kind, conveyed on one occasion, against all usage, through an admiral to the President personally, have been addressed to the Haytian Republic, to prevent its interfering with and molesting the Baez régime in Dominica, rendering the conclusion inevitable that if a state of war really exists between Dominica and Hayti, we have become parties to the quarrel. Mr. Sumner concluded with the very just observation that if President Grant "had bestowed on the state of the South one-half the zeal, will, personal attention, personal effort, and personal intercession which he has bestowed on his attempt to obtain half an island in the Caribbean Sea, the Southern Ku-klux would have existed in name only." There is a painfully large amount of truth in this. It has been said that Mr. Sumner should have waited the presentation of the Commissioners' Report before making his speech. This is an objection which may perhaps be made on grounds of taste, but hardly on grounds of justice. Nothing the Commissioners can say, or can have learnt, can shake the force of Mr. Sumner's criticisms of the course pursued by the Executive in trying to bring annexation about.

The Secretary of the Navy has been trying to do away with the effect of Captain Temple's letter to Senator Wade, announcing that there was a state of war between the United States and Hayti, first by throwing doubts on its authenticity and then by declaring that its inferences are not warranted by facts, and finally by citing Mr. Madison's occupation of West Florida, in 1811, as a precedent justifying the course of the Executive in San Domingo. We do not know what facts may be still concealed, but, on the facts now known, there is no manner of doubt that the relations the President has entered into with Dominica do amount, or would amount if he had the constitutional power to do what he has undertaken to do, not only to a defensive alliance with, but to a guarantee of, Baez's government, and do place the United States in hostile attitude towards Hayti as an enemy of Dominica, and would compel the United States forces to protect Baez against a rising of his own citizens. The Secretary's theory is that the United States, having entered into negotiations for the purchase of a "valuable acquisition," is bound to see to the security of "the acquisition" till the bargain is completed, which is simply, applied to the present case, a monstrous doctrine, because, in the present case, the title of the vendor is disputed. If A offers C a horse for sale very cheap, and B comes up during the negotiation and claims the horse, and offers to show that A stole it and is a noted horse-thief, the part of C, if an honest man, is certainly not to draw a pistol and offer to protect A against all comers till he can hand the animal over, but to stand aside and wait till the question of ownership is settled. If Baez be really a rogue, it is hardly becoming for the United States to act as his "pal." Besides which, Mr. Madison's occupation of West Florida was not a case in point. In that case, the United States claimed the territory under a treaty with France already concluded, and occupied it lest the other claimant, Spain, should do so. In this case, we have no title whatever to St. Dominica, or color of title, or any good reason, in law, morals, or usage, for protecting Baez either against home or foreign enemies.

The Republicans in the House are reported to have agreed upon the introduction of the bill known as Mr. Shellabarger's, for the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment and "other purposes," with a view to the suppression of Ku-klux outrages at the South. The first section gives any person who is deprived, under any color of law of any State, of his rights under the first section of the Amendment, the right to sue for redress in the United States courts. The second section provides that if two or more persons combine, in any State, to deprive anybody of his rights under the Constitution and laws of the United States, by acts which, in a place under Federal jurisdiction, would amount to murder, manslaughter, arson, assault, perjury, etc., they shall be held guilty of felony, and liable to $10,000 fine, or imprisonment, or both, at the discretion of the court. But here the legislators enter on more difficult navigation. The third section provides that wherever insurrection, or domestic violence, or unlawful combinations or conspiracies, shall so far obstruct or hinder the operation of the laws as to deprive any *portion* or class of people of any of their rights under the Constitution, etc., and the State authorities shall be unable, or fail, or refuse to protect them in their rights, the President shall employ the United States forces, or the militia, or such *other means as he may deem necessary*, in suppressing such combination. The fourth section provides that where such combinations shall overthrow or set at defiance the State authorities, or where these authorities connive at, or are in complicity with, the combinations, the President may, *in his discretion*, declare the State in rebellion, suspend the *habeas corpus*, and proclaim martial law.

When one reads Mr. Sumner's account, in the same paper in which we find the copy of this bill, of the usurpations, crimes, and misdemeanors committed by General Grant in the San Domingo matter, and remembers that the Republican party is hot from the impeachment of Grant's predecessor—whose accession to the presidential chair they hailed in the midst of their mourning over Mr. Lincoln as that of a staunch patriot—for other monstrous abuses of power, usurpations, conspiracies, and abuses of discretion, one reads this bill with perfect amazement. Considering, too, the vagueness of the terms in which the contingencies which are to call for the exercise of these extraordinary powers are described, and the wide latitude of construction of which they are capable, the facility with which evidence satisfactory to one man, hearing in secret, and not obliged to give any reason for his decisions, may be trumped up, we need have no hesitation in saying that if the party passes such an act as this, it will finish its career by a crowning stroke of folly, and will have put into the hands of the Democracy a terrible weapon, from which the negroes at the South will be the first to suffer. We beg the attention of our readers to this prediction, and ask that it may be remembered. We shall make one more, and that is, that neither this act nor any other piece of coercive legislation will pacify the South; that a year hence, if nothing better is attempted, the state of things will be very much what it is now; and that no matter how long coercive legislation is persisted in, and other means neglected, the same problem will still stare the American people in the face, aggravated by time and by the steady social and political demoralization and disorganization which a prolonged struggle between military force and discontent always brings with it. It would be cheaper to bring home every carpet-bagger and Northern man now engaged in Southern politics, and set him

in business here, than go on as is proposed; and it is the presence and activity of these men which is doing, and has done, most of the mischief.

A body of Republicans of high standing and character in Cincinnati have formed a society called the "Central Republican Association of Hamilton County," and have drawn up, signed, and published a declaration of principles which, whatever the fate of the Central Association may be, certainly expresses the opinions of a large, growing, and influential portion of the Republican party. Everything that wears, in the remotest degree, the appearance of an attempt to form a "third party," of course, is sure to call out a certain amount of abuse and derision, and we observe that the Cincinnati *Commercial*, though a warm friend of most of the ideas contained in the manifesto before us, is disposed to sneer at the movement as a mere work of doctrinaires, and unlikely to attract much popular attention. But we believe this might have been said in the beginning of every movement which has made much stir in politics since the dawn of civilization. The first man who raised his voice against eating prisoners of war had, we may be sure, a very small following, and must have often doubted whether he was not a fool for his pains. Ideas that "take the people by storm" and excite wild enthusiasm the first minute are almost always stupendous pieces of folly, of which everybody is heartily ashamed in three months or thereabouts. There is no "divine afflatus" in politics. The Ohio Republicans have got hold of one opinion, certainly, which has a world of strength in it, and that is, that the next party that is formed will have for its object the *purification* of this government—that is, the suppression of corruption by hook or by crook.

The "views and principles" of the Central Association include opposition to the further continuance of the policy of disfranchisement at the South as "incompatible with a proper regard for the fundamental principles of republican government and sound statesmanship;" the imposition of duties on imports for revenue only and no other purpose; hostility to the present protective system "as promotive of corruption in legislation and plunder in high places," besides other evils; civil-service reform, meaning by this the total withdrawal of the public service from the political arena. "We further believe," say the signers, "that party nominations should be made only when party principles are at stake, and that the custom of applying party or political tests to candidates for merely local offices degrades the standard of public morality, lowers the tone of political affairs, breeds corruption and inefficiency in office, and transfers the people's right to choose their own municipal rulers and representatives to the fraudulent lottery of caucuses and conventions, which, instead of facilitating, impede, clog, and obscure the expression of the popular will." The remaining section urges on the Republican party the duty of taking measures for a return to specie payments. Mr. Parke Godwin, in a letter to the *Evening Post*, advocates an addition to this platform, in the shape of a protest against the growing disposition of the General Government to interfere in State affairs.

The San Domingo Commissioners have got home, and it is said are going to report unanimously in favor of the annexation of that lovely island. They must have been astonished when they got to Washington by Mr. Sumner's speech, and they must have been gratified and confirmed in their opinion by the state of the South. The calm, peaceable, and highly prosperous condition of that region, and the entire absence of all trouble in the public mind concerning it, certainly leaves the Government plenty of time for the absorption of San Domingo, and indeed, for that matter, of the entire West Indies. We shall not be working up to our full power, and have half as much in our hands as we can manage, till we get all those interesting islands under our wing, and then, if the possession of San Domingo would clear off the National Debt, as General Grant says it will, the possession of the others would give us a surplus that would enable us to pay off all the national debts of all Europe without feeling it, and make the whole civilized world our debtor. There is enough in this prospect to make the coldest and most cynical weep tears of enthusiasm.

Governor Holden has been found guilty by the North Carolina Senate, but rather for the manner in which he carried out his measures of repression than for his resorting to them; that is, it is the conduct of his troops rather than his calling them out, which has brought him to grief. It is curious and highly illustrative of the unfortunate condition in which the public mind has got with regard to the government of the South, that it was gravely announced, after the verdict was rendered, that he had gone to Washington, and talked of "appealing to the courts." Whenever things do not go right with a Southern man nowadays, he is apt to say either that the Ku-klux have done it, or the horrid radicals; in either case, the Government at Washington is to set matters to rights.

The controversy between Mr. Field and General Barlow has ended in Mr. Field's announcing his willingness to meet his accuser before the Bar Association, as the tribunal best fitted to pass on the matters in dispute. This is perhaps the best termination the newspaper phase of the discussion could have had, and we have no doubt that the appeal to the public, even if it has no other result, will encourage the Bar Association to do its duty in the matter. There is, of course, a strong desire in some quarters to make it appear that the Association can do nothing in an affair of this kind, inasmuch as it has no legal authority; but this is a great mistake. It cannot expel a member from the bar, but it can inflict a penalty of the severest kind on any lawyer whom it finds guilty of misconduct; and we hope it will not shirk its work, and, in lieu of a clean-cut decision, treat us to general reflections on the defectiveness of human testimony, on the weakness of human nature, and the tendency of all human questions to have two sides. If it evades any of the responsibility which is fairly put upon it in this first case of importance which comes before it, it will consign itself to general ridicule and contempt. There is one thing which, we think, it is safe to assume, whatever be the merits of the Barlow-Field controversy, and that is, that the overhauling which the morals of the bench and bar are undergoing will make the business of "receiving" people's property, under "orders" from Barnard, a little less attractive than it has hitherto been. We think the Bar Association, or some association, could hardly do better work than employ counsel to watch the practice before this notorious functionary, and let the public know what is going on. It is not possible, perhaps, to put *him* to shame, but "manipulating" him ought to be made hot work for members of the bar, and, unless we are greatly mistaken, it will be hereafter.

We made some comments a fortnight ago on the Tweed monument project, in which we, excusably enough, did injustice to several respectable men whose names appeared to the address, or whatever the document was called, in which the proposal was made. It appears that their names were put to it without asking their leave—a practice which, we believe, is by no means uncommon in getting up petitions and addresses, and which is resorted to in the confidence that the victims will either dislike or not think it worth their while to come out with a disavowal. Nevertheless, we cannot help saying that any man who lets his name stand to a paper to a certain extent assumes the responsibility that is put upon him, or we should say so if the signing of papers, not binding one to pay money, had not ceased to have any significance or importance in many persons' eyes. It would not be by any means difficult to obtain a very respectable list of signatures in this city of the same persons, within a single week, to three papers; one a petition asking the Governor to pardon a convicted robber; another a recommendation to the President to give him a place of trust and profit in the Custom-house; and the third a letter to the criminal himself, asking him "to name a day when it would be convenient for him to receive his friends."

The week has been a quiet one in the great trade circles. The falling-off in the cotton receipts, which, however, still continue large, and the liberal exports to England, have kept the price from declining further. Breadstuffs continue firm, owing to the comparatively limited stocks on the coast; but the early opening of the canals and the

large accumulations in the interior justify the hope that supplies will soon increase and prices recede to the figures of last spring. Provisions of most kinds are lower, but butcher's meat, after the recent heavy fall, has not declined further, although the great decline has led to the failure of some of the oldest cattle-houses in the country. The magnitude of this trade may be judged by the fact that one firm is reported to have failed with liabilities exceeding one million of dollars. The general trade for domestic consumption has been active and encouraging, though both in cotton and woollen goods gradual reductions in price are the order of the day. There is nothing definite in the news from the coal regions, though there are plenty of rumors concerning arbitrations and settlements.

Money keeps easy and abundant. The bulls in the stock market are having everything their own way, putting up one stock after another in rapid succession, but without any good reason except that they have the power to do it. So dead, however, is the speculative element, that in spite of the great advance in prices the outside public holds aloof and gives the great speculative ring combinations but little opportunity to sell their stocks. Secretary Boutwell's conversions of the old six per cent. bonds into the new five per cents. have somewhat increased, but they are confined almost exclusively to the operations of some national banks. Wall Street is full of rumors concerning the Secretary's plans for the ensuing month in aid of this funding measure. From Europe so far the accounts are not favorable, no doubt influenced somewhat by the condition of affairs in France. The total amount of subscriptions is announced to be $42,000,000.

The crisis in Paris, in so far as it has any political character—that is, any motive beyond a desire to live without labor, and a dislike to pay rent—is a rising of the city against the country. The Assembly is undeniably the product of universal suffrage, but, as its political complexion is not agreeable to the artisans of the capital, they rise against it as remorselessly as they would against a despot; and, sooner than be governed by the majority of Frenchmen, would like to make Paris into a separate republic. Indeed, the present outbreak is strictly analogous to the outbreak of June, 1848, and was sure to come sooner or later. In 1848, the city Socialists had also found out that the National Assembly were reactionary and "traitors," so they revolted, as they are now doing, and fought desperately; but at that time the Assembly had Generals Cavaignac and Changarnier and 100,000 regular soldiers at its command. The late vote in Paris is, of course, a farce. No permanent government is possible in the capital, except under strong military protection, inasmuch as the Reds claim the right of always superintending in person the proceedings of their legislature, and turning it out of doors whenever it goes wrong. The appearance of our old friend Cluseret as "Minister of War" is one of the most comical incidents of this strange situation. The long delay of the Thiers government in taking any decisive action of course greatly helps the revolt and increases the chances of civil war extending over the whole country. All depends now on the success the Versailles government is achieving with its military organization. The talk of the Duc d'Aumale as a successor to Thiers is perhaps premature, but he is really the only man of character and ability in the foreground: and the disadvantage of his being a prince of the blood, and it *is* a great disadvantage at this crisis, may be lost sight of as the case grows more desperate, and property becomes more seriously alarmed. In the meantime, provisions must begin to be very scarce in Paris; and when "The People" gets hungry, there will be what the reporters call "lively times."

While the disorders in Paris culminated, on Wednesday the 22d, in a massacre, the Assembly, at Versailles, was deliberating in the most helpless condition. Most of the forts around Paris were occupied by the rebels; portions of the regular force openly fraternized with them; others could not be trusted; General Chanzy and others were kept as hostages in Montmartre; Lyons and Marseilles showed signs of a readiness to follow the example of Paris; and, to augment the perplexity, Bismarck, in a letter sent to Jules Favre, complained of infractions by the insurgents of some of the peace stipulations and threatened to treat Paris as an enemy should violations of the preliminaries continue to take place. In spite of all difficulties, however, the Assembly seemed disposed to reject all "compromise with the guilty," and Thiers, in repeated proclamations, assured the people of his determination to preserve the sovereignty of the nation intact. The loyal people of Paris, too, began gradually to awaken from their lethargy. At a meeting of mayors and deputy mayors, Admiral Saisset was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of the city, with General Langlois as Chief of Staff, and Schoelcher as Chief of Artillery—all three deputies to the Assembly from the city of Paris—and the loyal Guards soon succeeded in occupying a number of important positions, and narrowing those of their adversaries. On Thursday, the Assembly adopted a plan proposed by the Government for the organization of volunteers, under the terms of which every department of France was ordered immediately to send a battalion to Versailles. The insurgents, on their part, made preparations for strenuous defence, and appointed Colonels Duval, Brunel, and Endes their generals, and Menotti Garibaldi—to his honor be it said, in his absence—their commander-in-chief. Alarms and arrests were frequent, and collisions seemed imminent.

Before, however, proceeding to extremities and "inaugurating the horrors of civil war in Paris," which, in fact, it could hardly yet contemplate in earnest, the National Assembly was entreated by the mayors, in a communication, to give them full powers to settle affairs. And whether these full powers were distinctly granted, conditionally or unconditionally, or not, negotiations were immediately entered into with the insurgents, which, on Friday, resulted in the leaving of the mayoralties in the hands of the occupants, on condition of their consenting to the holding of a communal election, as well as to the election by the National Guard of its commander-in-chief, and in a promise on the part of the insurrectionary Central Committee to disband their organization.

On Saturday the Central Committee, the Paris deputies to the Assembly, and the mayors and deputy mayors, issued a joint proclamation ordering the communal elections for the next day, and urging all citizens to vote, and "give the voting a serious character." The elections accordingly began on the morning of Sunday, the 26th, and passed off without disorder; and the Central Committee resigned its functions, "yielding to the newly-elected Municipal Government." The barricades were left standing, but the cannon were withdrawn or turned inward. Simultaneously, however, Admiral Saisset disbanded the battalions of loyal National Guards, and left for Versailles, preceded by General Chanzy, who had been released from prison. Flourens, in Paris, issued a manifesto, demanding the creation of an army composed only of National Guards, while at Versailles the members of "the Republican Left" resolved to stand by the Government "so long as it remains true to the Republic." And the unfortunate Government itself issued a proclamation to the prefects, assuring them that "order conquers disorder, and the Republic triumphs over anarchy." Anarchy, also, in the meanwhile had triumphed at Marseilles.

The result of the election was an overwhelming victory of the insurrectionists. The candidates of the Central Committee were elected in all the arrondissements except three, ond among the successful candidates were Blanqui, Flourens, and Pyat. The vote was, however, very light, more than a majority of the qualified electors abstaining from voting, under the pressure of a movement in which really insane men like "General" Lullier, and men of insane ambition and recklessness, like General Cluseret, played a conspicuous part. There were also insurgents in the Montmartre and Belleville districts, who abstained because they considered the doings, even of their Central Committee, as reactionary, and preferred keeping guard over their cannon, soon to be used against the new "free and autonomous" Republican municipality. The minister of War, Leflo, has resigned and General Faidherbe has been summoned to Versailles. The Germans have stopped their retrograde movements, and their outposts have been advanced to Vincennes.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF GOVERNMENT AT THE SOUTH.

We had a discussion last June with the Charleston (S. C.) *Daily Republican*, the official and leading Radical paper of the State, about the character of the State government. We said a great many unpleasant things about the State Legislature and the State officers. We accused them of gross ignorance and dishonesty, and made open proclamation of our belief that such a government as they were carrying on could not possibly last, and that it was in its very constitution an offence against civilization. We challenged the *Republican* to tell us how many of the State legislators could read the "Pilgrim's Progress" intelligently, it being, perhaps, the easiest reading in the English language, and they being the lawgivers of a large and wealthy commonwealth, beset by some of the gravest social and political problems. It did not dare to answer the question; but treated us, in reply, to one of the usual bursts of rhetoric about the negro members of the legislature (a majority, we believe) having had a progress of their own "quite similar to Bunyan's," and so on, and informed us that "dozens and dozens" of them could write far better articles about South Carolina politics than had ever appeared in the *Nation*.

We said, in reply to this sort of talk, that we were among the number of those who advocated the extension of the franchise to the blacks as a means of protection, and as a sign of their equality before the law, and that we believed that this would in the long run have proved sufficient for their protection. It would have furnished the whites with a powerful reason for conciliating them and treating them kindly, and would have, in all probability, prevented the appearance of race lines in party politics—perhaps one of the greatest misfortunes that can happen a community—and it would not have excluded from the service of the State the great number of educated, experienced, and *honest* native whites which every Southern State contains, and with whose service no Southern State can safely dispense. They are "ex-rebels," but they are not thieves. They have owned slaves, and revolted in defence of slavery; but they are influential, economical, and trustworthy in the management of State affairs, and it was of the first importance not only to the negro, but to the whole Union, that, during the transitional or reconstructive period following the war, they should neither be driven into hostility to the local government nor prevented from giving it the benefit of their experience and ability.

Nothing would satisfy the hot-headed majority in Congress, however, but to drive these men into private life, and hand over the government to ignorant negroes and worthless Northern adventurers; and the pretext on which this was done was, that this was the only way in which the blacks and the Unionists could be protected in the enjoyment of their lives and property and in the exercise of the franchise. It was quite useless to point out what anybody's experience of human nature might have told him, even if he knew nothing of the lessons of history, how futile any such expectation was. The whole American system of government and society is based upon equality, conciliation, and compromise. Everybody is allowed to vote—even the foreign rabble of this city—not because people believe their voting does no mischief, but because their exclusion from the franchise, by exasperating and embittering them, would do more. The very execution of the laws in a country where all the officers of the law are drawn from the body of the people and return to it, and where the Government has no armed force at its disposal, depends on the general sympathy of the community with the legislation and its respect for the legislators. In all that relates to the government of his own State, these truths are familiar as household words to every man at the North. Anybody who proposed here to disfranchise even "Reddy the Blacksmith" because he was a "bad man," and vexed his neighbours, and was disposed to knock people down on their way to the polls, would be laughed at. Nevertheless, an expedient which, proposed as a remedy for grave political evils in any State in the North, would excite laughter, and does excite laughter, when the well-known "educated American" who has "lived long in Paris" ventures to hint at it, was solemnly applied to the whole South at the close of the war.

The American remedy for bad government is to give the government the largest possible popular basis, and let the majority get out of their difficulties as best they can; but the remedy applied in the South was a feudal one, and consisted in sifting the population, and letting nobody take part in the government who could not give proof of what the Puritans called "constant good affection." The republican cure for discontent is to call the malcontents into the council-chamber and hear what they have to say, and try to soothe and conciliate them—in short, to treat them as brethren. The monarchical remedy is to shoot them down, or lock them up, or impose disabilities on them till they "repent" or confess they have done wrong, and promise to do better—till, in short, they kiss the rod or lick the dust. Every American is familiar with the former, and has always practised it in politics and business and society; nevertheless, the very first occasion on which the country was called on to deal with discontent on a great scale, the monarchical remedy was resorted to, and the republican one unhesitatingly thrown aside as worthless, and everybody denounced as "unpatriotic" who said a word in its favor. Everybody knows, too, what a misleading thing faction is, and how apt intense personal feeling is to cloud the judgment, and yet we see Congress listening with deep attention and respect to the opinions of the frantic Unionists and colored men who come up hot from internecine contests with their neighbors as to what ought to be done with the South—and their opinions, of course, all run in the same direction: their enemies ought to be kept down with the strong hand, and cowed and humiliated—a process we should all of us like to see performed on our enemies, but to which in sensible communities we are not treated.

One other curious departure from democratic doctrines has been displayed in our mode of dealing with the South. The democratic theory of human nature is that it is, on the whole and at bottom, good; and that for social and political purposes you cannot do better than trust to its instincts, and that, where it has shown itself in a bad light, it has been due to the corrupting or maddening influence of oppression. But during the war—as was not wonderful—the belief sprung up that human nature among slaveholders and rebels was hopelessly and incurably depraved, and that the usual reformatory influences might be brought to bear on it in vain; and that the only arguments of any value in dealing with men who approved of human bondage, or bore arms against the United States, were the halter and the prison and the test-oath. That this opinion should have held its ground during the heat of the rebellion was not surprising; that it should be allowed to influence the policy of the United States in dealing with so weighty a question as the pacification of the South six years after the war is over, is, we do not hesitate to say, discreditable to our good sense. Southern human nature is like other human nature. It is affected in just the same way by the same influences. It loves life and ease and security, is grateful for kindness, expands under confidence, rejoices in the growth of civilization, and is maddened by injustice or hostility—not, perhaps, in all cases in the same degree as Northern human nature, but in *some* degree; and when we say this, we furnish the key to the Southern problem. Slavery is a bad thing, and rebellion is a bad thing; but, were they twice as bad, they could not convert Southern white men into fiends. They may have rendered them exceptionally difficult for Northern men to deal with, but this is no excuse for refusing to deal with them by the ordinary methods.

These were all *à priori* arguments when used five years ago; they have now been justified by actual experiment. The proscriptive system for the protection of life and property at the South has been tried and has totally failed. The disaffected have not grown good, and learned to love the blacks; they have grown worse, and have taken to killing the blacks wholesale, and society is on the brink of disorganization in several States. The remedy is still the same. We must still, if we would end confusion, resort to the method to which we should have resorted five years ago: we must hand the Government over to the people, and let the persons who have most influence and knowledge and are most trusted by that portion of the community whose co-operation is most necessary to the proper conduct of the Government, administer it if they will, and as best they can. The notion that any permanent good can come of martial law or proscription, or that they prepare the way for anything but more martial law and more proscription, is a dangerous and monstrous delusion, and we are glad to have another opportunity of denouncing it, in the certainty that if allowed

to govern our policy at the present crisis, the next five years will illustrate its folly still more strikingly than the last five years have illustrated it.

As to its results during the last five years, we shall cite as a witness our old friend, the Charleston *Daily Republican*, whose present plight ought to be a warning to unscrupulous party organs everywhere. The solemn confessions it is compelled to make now, at the eleventh hour, in the presence of the misery and disorder into which its friends have plunged the State, is as striking an exposure as we have yet seen of the mendacity and charlatanry by which the work of reconstruction at the South has been thus far, though we hope not fatally, hindered. It thus enumerates the evils from which the State has been suffering, and which furnish excuses to the Ku-klux:

"1. In our State the superiority of numbers threw the government almost absolutely into the hands of the colored citizens. The late slaves practically ruled the late masters. This was a calamity. It was a repetition of the old curse of South Carolina, namely, the ruling of one race by another. True, slavery had been abolished, but there are sometimes oppressions in the name of liberty, and these real oppressions, and fancied oppressions too, the whites keenly felt.

"2. The evil will be seen to be the greater if we look at the real condition of the colored people as they emerged from slavery. Their training had certainly not been of a kind to make them statesmen. We speak of the great body of the colored people. We speak kindly. There are men among them well up in statecraft, but the colored people, as a people, were not only untrained in the schools, but untrained in the commonest matters of politics and government. They were ignorant and easily misled. Their political instincts were, it is true, in the right direction, that is, on the side of liberty; but they had to trust some one as leader, and unfortunately they too often trusted the veriest scoundrels simply because these pretended to bear the dear name of Republican. The Republican party had given to them liberty, and they were grateful to that great party for that great work, and implicitly trusted those who bore the standard of that party. They are learning wisdom in this matter; learning that some wolves go about dressed up as sheep."

After, however, complimenting the negroes on their social advance, it goes on to say:

"But that they have made great mistakes must be admitted. They undertook too much. They were not fitted to do everything in ruling South Carolina. And demagogues led them not only to believe that their late masters were in every case their foes, and therefore to be excluded from every office, but also led them into the fatal blunder of putting men in office simply because they were colored. This matter of color has had much to do with our politics. In the last election many of the men elevated to office were placed there for this one simple reason, that they were colored. Some of these had no fitness whatever for office.

"3. Corrupt and incompetent officers. This we have too often admitted and condemned to need to give a fresh admission and condemnation now. The evil is of startling magnitude. It not only affects the legislature, but through other ranks, down to trial justices, etc.

"4. Heavy taxation, in part made necessary by bad measures passed by the legislature.

"5. The militia, so organized that, as claimed, the whites have not the same advantages as the colored people."

Speaking of the governor's appointees, it says some of them "had better hammer stone in the penitentiary" than hold office; and speaking of the elected officers, it says "many are ignorant or degraded, and altogether sold to the devil."

We might be told that phenomena like these may be witnessed in New York, which is true. But in New York no one is disfranchised, and we may add that, were decent people in New York hot-blooded, like the same class in South Carolina, and did they believe, as the South Carolinians do, that Ku-kluxing would work reform, they would be busy at it day and night, and many a hardened ruffian would be yelling for Federal troops to save him from the consequences of his villany. We say deliberately, too, that we believe a community which sits down, as we do, under some of the evils from which we here suffer and of which we hear every day, is doubtless wiser than the South Carolinians, but it is very doubtful whether it is healthier in spirit. We seek neither to defend nor palliate Ku-kluxes, but we cannot allow the persons who sow the seeds from which Ku-kluxery naturally springs to throw the whole blame on the men who engage in it.

MATERIAL INTERESTS IN FRANCE.

The rapidity with which nations recover from the material effects of the longest and most destructive wars, is a standing marvel to all who have not carefully investigated the relation of the annual production of wealth to the accumulated savings or capital of a nation. We hear a great deal of older nations possessing the inherited wealth of generations, as if any large proportion of the existing wealth were of great age; while the truth is that the whole of our inherited wealth is utterly insignificant, and that almost all our wealth is, as it were, the product of yesterday. It is no exaggeration to say that the average age of all the wealth in the world probably does not exceed, if it reaches, five years. Nor does it need a profound investigation to convince any one of the general truth of this statement. Of what does our wealth consist? Buildings of every description constitute the most permanent of all important classes of our wealth. Yet even in the oldest countries of Europe, unless they are in utter stagnation, the new buildings erected annually form a very important percentage of those already existing, and tend to lower materially the average age of all, while the old ones, with the comparatively rare exceptions of a few substantial palaces and churches, need so many repairs to keep them habitable that they may fairly be said to be remade every few years. Next to buildings come railroads, ships, machinery; yet railroads are practically rebuilt every seven years, the average life of ships, especially wooden ones, is even less, and it needs no mechanic to tell that there is no machinery of any description that is not constantly wearing out, despite of repairs, or rendered valueless by new inventions and improvements. The whole of our agricultural wealth, farm-houses, barns, implements, cattle, animals of every kind, crops, and fences are all but a few years old; and a very large part of them, the crops and all the increase of the herds, are the creation of the year. These examples suffice to point out the falsity of the general belief that the wealth of the world is of great age, and to make it evident that all existing property is of comparatively recent production. But we derive even more positive evidence from a comparison of the results furnished by actual statistics. These show that in the United States, for example, the annual production of wealth is equal to nearly three-fourths of all existing wealth, so that if it were possible to save all we produce we might double our existing wealth in fifteen months, or, if it were possible to produce without capital, we might destroy every vestige of property now on the earth, and in fifteen months our labor would reproduce the whole. Of course it is impossible to produce without capital; but then war, even in its most destructive form, cannot destroy more than a very small portion of the total wealth or capital of a great nation. Of course, too, it is impossible to save all we produce; but it is easy to see that an economical people, under the pressure of necessity, can make much greater savings than they have ever made before; in other words, consume a much smaller proportion of their product than they were in the habit of doing.

By a consideration of these facts, the marvel of the rapid recovery of peoples apparently ruined by war is easily explained. The time of war itself compels many privations and economies, which amount in some form or another to an increased national saving, while the return of peace stimulates to intenser activity and to closer economy. When it is understood how great production is, compared to capital, it is no longer difficult to understand how even a slight increase in production, a slight decrease in consumption, can quickly repair even serious injury to the accumulated capital. A nation like the United States is in a position similar to that of an individual whose capital of $100,000, joined to his labor, produces him an income of $75,000 a year. If by any accident his capital is reduced one-fourth, increased labor and increased economy will speedily enable him to replace the deficiency out of his earnings. But in order to do this, it is of course necessary that his income should be large, that he should be able to reduce his expenditures, and willing to work harder than before. It is upon conditions similar to these that the ability of France to recover from her losses by war chiefly depends. If the income of France is large; if she is able and willing to reduce her expenditures, we shall witness in France, as in other countries desolated by war, a rapid recovery of prosperity, a rapid reproduction of the property destroyed.

Unfortunately for France, her annual production is comparatively limited. In no country of Europe is there so large a proportion of small property-holders, whose cultivation has been carried on for the last fifty years by the same methods and with the same implements as

under the elder Napoleon. Agriculture has been reduced to a system of almost Chinese minuteness, but rendered, by exhaustion of the soil, by competition with more intelligent nations, and by the steady process of deterioration of man and beast, so unproductive as barely to furnish subsistence to the owner in return for the most exhaustive labor and in spite of a truly proverbial economy. This extreme subdivision of the soil prohibits every improvement, and results, or has resulted, in stagnation of production, of wealth, of population, and intelligence. It is among these rural districts that the advent of children, threatening the division of the ancestral half-acre, is dreaded far more than among the city shopkeepers. It is here that mothers habitually sell their own babes' food to nourish the children of strangers for pay. It is here that the recruiting sergeant gathers those conscripts whose simple bravery and patient endurance and ignorance form the marvel of those who have accompanied them on the march and to the battle-field. It is here that a woman and a cow can still be occasionally seen harnessed to a plough *à la Louis Quatorze*. It is among these rural districts, living still in the traditional light of the First Empire, that the Third Napoleon found his chief support. It is here that was rooted the power which, by means of the plébiscite, enabled him and his confederates to overrule the intellect of France; to undermine its sense of honesty; to corrupt its official morality, and lead it into a ruinous career of self-adulation and self-deception. What can be expected from these regions in the way of aid to restore the waste of war? But little. A production forced, these many years back, to the greatest height of which the average intellect of the producer is capable, and not to be increased by any known method, save a total revolution in the ownership of land, not conceivable except as the result of widespread famine; a consumption limited, for generations past, to the veriest pittance that will keep body and soul together, and not to be diminished save by actual starvation—what prospect do these conditions offer of the increased production, the diminished consumption, by which alone the war's destruction can be repaired? Very little.

The success of the national loans of Napoleon III. has done much to deceive the world concerning the condition of the French people, and especially concerning what has been called "the reserved financial strength" of the country. In the first place, this course of incessant borrowing to make up the chronic deficit, even in times of peace, is the most striking evidence that the sources of taxation were exhausted, that it was found unsafe to wring more money from an impoverished people. Disinterested foreign economists have long since pointed out this danger of collapse in the French financial system, from its inability to bear the slightest additional tension; and their prescience is confirmed in the strongest possible manner by the desperate measure adopted by the new Government of raising a large income from duties on imports, which in France, more than any other country, consist of the raw materials of industry. In the next place, these Imperial loans, astounding as was their success at the time, have really proved to-day the chief source of French weakness. From 1815 to 1851, France was virtually in a continuous ferment, inspiring no faith among her own people in the permanence of her institutions. It *is* the unquestioned merit of the Second Empire that, since Waterloo, it alone succeeded for nearly twenty years in convincing the people of its permanence. Prior to its advent the French, who practically know no savings-banks, who had no opportunity to invest in land, who were too ignorant to purchase improved tools and implements, even had their restricted land-ownership permitted the use of them, were very largely in the habit of converting their petty savings into coin and hoarding it. It was these accumulated petty savings of generations that the loans of the Empire drew from the people *and wasted*. This "reserved power" of the nation has been looked upon as the measure of the people's annual saving. It has been constantly represented by the Imperial press as unmistakable evidence of the continued growth and prosperity of the people, whereas it was really only an evidence of their growing faith in the Empire—a faith which, like most French faiths recently, has proved a delusion. As a proof of the growing annual savings of the French people it is comparatively valueless, and cannot offset the evidence to the contrary furnished by their admitted inability to bear further taxation. In considering the course of France with regard to her debt, these facts will assume increased importance; they are referred to here chiefly to show that the argument in favor of a probable rapid recovery in France, based upon the evidence of these loans, is far from conclusive.

Surveying the condition of the agricultural population in France, we are constrained to conclude that the prospect of a rapid revival of prosperity is decidedly discouraging. But the farmers do not constitute the whole of France; the industrial resources of the nation are great. But even here the prospect is gloomy. Two of the wealthiest of its industrial provinces are precisely those taken by the enemy—Alsace, with its cotton-printing and wool-dyeing; Lorraine—of which a third is gone—with its coal and iron; and those that remain are to resume after peace with the superadded burden of fresh import duties on the raw material which they manufacture, rendering competition in the markets of the world next to impossible. The drawback resulting from a six-months' interruption to manufacturing, which in itself gives a powerful advantage to a competitor, will thus be aggravated by the inability to resume the competition even on the same terms that prevailed before the war.

A great nation like the French is not ordinarily ruined by a six-months' war, nor by the loss of two provinces; but when the war is both the result and the final evidence of years of bad government, when it follows upon a long period of financial exhaustion, disguised by the most reckless appliance of all the ingenious devices known only to French finance, then we must not be misled into anticipating as rapid a revival as, for instance, our own Southern States witnessed after a war far longer and more exhausting. Without taking into account the Prussian indemnity, which, from its peculiar nature, requires a more extended consideration, and is likely to have most disastrous consequences, the prospect for the material welfare of France must be considered as gloomy in the highest degree.

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE PRUSSIANS.

THE reports of Colonel Stoffel, of the French Staff, who resided for two or three years in Prussia, as French Military Commissioner, after 1866, on the Prussian military system and the condition of the Prussian armies, have often been referred to in our columns. They were discovered amongst the Imperial papers in the Tuileries, a majority of them, it is said, unopened. Had they been opened and read, and believed in, there is no doubt the war of 1870 would not have been attempted, for they would have shown it to be ridiculous to pit the French army against the force Prussia was prepared to bring into the field. Only extracts from them have seen the light until very recently. They have, however, now been published in full, and as the Prussian success in the late war is one of the most extraordinary phenomena in history, and will probably gain rather than diminish in interest as time wears on, and as the *Nation* has steadily contended from the very outset that its causes were mainly moral, and were to be found in the very constitution of Prussian society and in the habits and training of the people, even more than in the superiority of Prussian strategists or the excellence of the Prussian military organization, we shall take leave to justify our position by a more extended notice of Stoffel's reports than we have hitherto been able to give.

In April, 1868, he pronounced the Prussian army superior to the French, in the most positive manner, and predicted this would be found to be the case "if war broke out to-morrow," putting aside, of course, all conditions, such as the comparative skill of the commanders, which could not be foreseen. The elements of superiority, he says, of one army over another are "moral and material." The moral ones lie in the character, temperament, traditions, history, and education of the nation at large; the material, in the organization of the army, the military training of the officers and soldiers, and in their arms and equipment.

The moral superiority of the Prussian army to the French he ascribes to three things: 1, the compulsory service; 2, the high state of popular education; 3, the strong sense of *duty* diffused through the Prussian people. After speaking of the respect with which the army and everything pertaining to it are treated in Prussian society, he goes on to say:

"To speak only of the officers, what a fine example they present to all the other classes. Do we see there as elsewhere those who are distinguished by birth or fortune living in lamentable idleness? Far from it. The members of the richest families and the wearers of the most illustrious names serve as officers, endure all the hardships of military life, and thus preach by their example. In the presence of such a spectacle,

not only does one find one's self forced to esteem this serious and rough people, but one comes almost to dread the strength which such institutions must give the army."

Coming to the question of compulsory education, he says:

"The Prussian nation is the most enlightened in Europe, that is, that in which education is most widely diffused through all classes. . . . In France, where we are so completely ignorant of all that relates to foreign countries, we have no idea of the amount of intellectual labor of which Northern Germany is the scene. Not only do common schools abound, but, while in France the centres of intellectual activity and production are a few great cities only, Northern Germany is covered with them, and indeed, to enumerate them all, one has to go down to towns of the third and fourth rank."

He then combats and ridicules the French notion that hardy peasants make better soldiers than educated men, and says that nothing did more to give the Prussians the sense of superiority which made their victories easy in the war of 1866, than their discovery of the ignorance of the Austrian troops. From that moment they had the utmost contempt for the enemy.

What Colonel Stoffel says of the German "sense of duty" we shall quote entire, as we have often dwelt on it ourselves, and endeavored to show the important part it plays in politics, and the folly of trying to substitute for it simple liberty and individualism:

"I have still to point out a quality which peculiarly characterizes the Prussian nation and contributes to increase the moral value of its army—I mean *the sense of duty*. This is developed in such a degree among all classes that one never ceases to be astonished by it, no matter how much one studies the Prussian people. It is not my province to investigate the causes of this trait; I confine myself to mentioning it. The most remarkable illustration of this devotion to duty is furnished by the employees of all grades in the different branches of the administration of the monarchy. They are paid with surprising parsimony; they are generally burdened with families; and yet they toil all day long with indefatigable zeal, without complaining, and without appearing to desire an easier position. 'We take good care not to meddle with it,' said M. Bismarck to me one day; 'this laborious and badly-paid bureaucracy does the best part of our work, and constitutes one of our principal forces.'"

He sums up the elements of superiority possessed by the Prussian army as follows:

"1. The deep and healthy sentiment that the principle of compulsory military service diffuses through the army, which contains all the manliness, intelligence, and living strength of the country, and regards itself as the nation in arms.

"2. The intellectual level of the army, which is higher than in any other country, owing to a wider popular education diffused through all classes of the people.

"3. In all ranks and conditions a stronger sense of duty than is to be found in France.

"4. The special services, for the working of the railroads and telegraphs and the care of the wounded, which are organized permanently with the greatest pains, and without diminishing the number of the combatants.

"5. The greater effectiveness of the infantry fire, owing to the peculiar temperament of the North Germans and the great pains taken with the rifle practice.

"6. The superiority of the materiel of the artillery, both as regards precision, range, and rapidity of fire."

There is, perhaps, nothing more interesting in the reports than what Colonel Stoffel tells "of the composition of the Prussian staff," which he pronounces by far the best in Europe. The manner in which it is made up is thoroughly Prussian, and, indeed, is an excellent illustration of the whole Prussian system. No officers are educated specially for it before entering the army, nor is it a separate organization properly so-called. It is simply a collection of officers of proved talents and acquirements, selected from the whole army and retained at headquarters for the performance of staff duties. General von Moltke was then, as he is now, the head of the staff, and he does as he pleases about its organization and duties. Any lieutenant who has served three years in a regiment, and thinks he has in him the makings of a staff-officer, can present himself for admission to the Military Academy, at Berlin, and, if he can pass the required examination, he enters. The average annual number of candidates is 120; the average number of those who succeed in passing is 40. Once in, the student finds himself plunged into a vast range of studies which, of course, nobody who has not a strong head and thorough preparation can hope to manage. The course embraces tactics, theoretical and practical; military history; armament; fortifications, permanent and temporary; the history of sieges; topographical surveying; military geography and administration; and then, as accessory studies, mathematics, geodesy, universal history, literature, the elements of philosophy, general geography, chemistry, experimental physics, and French, English, and Russian. The course lasts three years; nine months of each of the first two are given to study, and the remaining three months (in autumn) are passed with the regiment in the field manœuvres. In the third year, instruction is given in the duties peculiar to the staff, and a month is passed with the professors in a journey through some rough country, which is carefully studied with reference to reconnoissances, outpost duty, and the encampment of troops; and the students are practised in sketching.

The school course over, there takes place what is called the "first choice." The officers all go back to their regiments without examination or classification, but the professors nominate twelve to the General as the most studious and capable of all, taking care to select them in as nearly equal proportions as possible from the three arms of the service. After they have been six or eight months with their regiments, in complete ignorance of what is in store for them, General von Moltke selects as many of the twelve as have showed most aptitude and zeal after leaving the Academy, and summons them to Berlin for actual service on the staff under his own eye. Here they find themselves in a kind of school of which he is the head master. They live with him, and he makes himself thoroughly acquainted with each man. Moreover, he gives them lectures on their duties and on the various subjects with which they have to be familiar. He makes them write essays or memoirs on prescribed questions, and these he criticises before the whole staff, without revealing the name of the writer. In fact, the greatest pains is taken through the course not to awaken jealousy or emulation, and not to create either depression or vanity. This trial lasts eighteen months or two years, and the candidates are again sent back to their regiments, still in complete ignorance of their chances or of the impression they have made. But the General has already marked his men, and they find themselves, after a few months, promoted to the rank of captains, and are ordered to prepare for staff duty and wear the staff uniform. The others hear nothing more about this episode in their career, but remain in their regiments. After such trials as these, it may be readily imagined that the Prussian staff is a remarkable body of men. No wonder Colonel Stoffel, after a saddening comparison with it of the officers of the French *état-major*, concludes by saying, as his closing admonition, "*Méfions nous de l'état-major prussien!*"

The events of the war have, of course, justified his previsions very remarkably, as they have also justified those of General Trochu, who has had a sad personal experience of his own skill as a prophet. Trochu's book is full of allusions to the extent to which the discipline of the French army has been affected by the decline of the sense of duty among the whole French people. He says distinctly that the craving for equality and the dislike of responsibility to anybody which have spread to such a lamentable degree among the people, have weakened the control of the officers over their troops and made it difficult to count on the punctual and exact execution of orders. Combine this with the neglect of education, and we have all that is needed to account for the ease and completeness of Prussian victories, and for the readiness of the French troops, during the late disturbances, to "fraternize" with the mob. A man has only to occupy himself exclusively for a while with the consideration of his own "rights," and with making the separation of his individuality from his neighbor's individuality as complete as possible, and to deny all responsibility for the way he behaves to anybody but abstractions such as Humanity, or Posterity, or the Infinite, or the Absolute, or the Round, or the Whole, to make himself nearly useless for either war or peace. That there is a tendency in this direction in modern democracy there is no denying, and it is well illustrated by a story told of a gentleman in the South, during the war who, having made himself remarkable by his untruthfulness, and finding his word doubted on a particular occasion, declared "he was willing to have the matter enquired into—in fact, he would rather have it enquired into—at the Last Day."

THE PEACE.

BERLIN, March 9.

PEACE at last, and a glorious peace! *Seven months* have sufficed to achieve the greatest military feat of the century. On August 2, Napoleon at Saarbrücken opened hostilities, and gave his boy Lulu the baptism of fire and blood; exactly seven months later, the Germans marched through the "Arc de Triomphe" into the French capital. It took the great Frederic seven years to give his little kingdom an acknowledged position among the leading powers of Europe, and, a century later, Prussia carries on a short but unusually successful war of *seven weeks*, which, by defeating Austria, prepares the German unity. Great as the conquests of the Seven Years' and the Seven Weeks' wars are, the last *seven months*' war outdoes

both of them in military renown, national glory, and beneficial results for the present and the future.

There is no overbearing assumption in any class of the people; on the contrary, everywhere I observe a feeling of pride and self-respect mingled with modesty, not to say meekness. It is as if each individual were dazzled by the prospects of his own great future, as if he could not yet fully realize the sudden change which has taken place in his own condition as well as in that of the world: but, at the same time, every one feels the heavier responsibility towards his country, and will cheerfully do his duty.

Hitherto, Germany has been the only one of the great nations of Europe which, for the last fifty years, has been sentenced not to work out her destinies by herself from within, but to have her lot cast by outsiders. She has now attained a greatness with which even the proudest, almost legendary, periods of her history can hardly be compared. In the interstate relations of modern Europe, Germany was a mere deadweight. These relations remained the same, or were changed, and no one took the trouble to consider the interests or ask the consent of Germany. To-day, in all great political questions, the eyes of Europe will first be turned towards her. Germany, for the first time since the days of the Reformation, feels in her veins the life-breath of history—a feeling which is in itself the greatest bliss for a people. Although she had in the me ntime seen a great hero who ennobled his people, her outward position re ained almost unchanged, as Frederic was politically confined to a very small sphere of action. She had, too, an incomparably grand national uprising, but, owing to the jealousies of her allies, and to the narrow-mindedness of her own rulers, her destinies were not directed into a new and broader channel. This war at last has removed the artificial obstacles which for centuries had created dissensions and enmity between the different parts of the country. Henceforth but a single breath of life will inspire the popular organism. All the various springs of life of the German people have wonderfully revived in the recovered consciousness that in future they will unitedly strive for a noble and promising commonwealth, and not merely for the satisfaction of private interests and wants. Instead of studying foreign countries, or looking for their examples abroad, the Germans will now build their own house, and lay its solid foundations by drawing from the inexhaustible sources of their own nationality.

The same stern sense of duty, and the same incessant discipline of body and mind which have won the victories of this war, will enable the Germans to maintain their higher position in peace, and to devote their energies to the home-work of internal progress and freedom. The first consequence of the downfall of French military glory will be a different and better appreciation of true heroism. It was chiefly due to the French Revolution and its subsequent wars that only military bravery and warlike deeds were taken for heroism. A Napoleonic marshal or general, with tight trowsers and top-boots, big sword, and cornered hat, butchering his fellow-beings by the dozen, and wading through a sea of blood, was enthusiastically cheered as a great man. What benefit has the world derived from these generals? What has remained of their achievements? If we forget the harm they have caused their country by inspiring it with the thirst for military renown and exploits, their name is all that is left of them. Unfortunately, these foolish notions had spread over the whole civilized world. Recall, in the history of your last war, the comparisons which were drawn between the Napoleonic marshals and your own generals. Little Mac was for a time the Napoleon of the Union army, Sheridan its Murat, a third one a Ney, and Stanton was proclaimed by Gurowski the American Carnot, the organizer of victory. I trust that the overwhelming defeats of these "sabreurs" by a popular army, by the disciplined farmer and workingman, will make the civilized world throw off these reminiscences like evil dreams. It will now understand that one Washington doing his duty to his country simply and modestly is worth more to mankind than a dozen Napoleons; that the name of one Lincoln, dying at the post of his duty, weighs heavier in the scales of human progress than hundreds of successful generals; and that the modest tiller of the soil, a Western farmer, does more for the lasting benefit of his fellow-citizens than a dashing colonel making the most brilliant charge in a war of conquest.

It is a most cheering observation, which I daily make, and which augurs well for the future, that, in spite of all the military exploits of the last seven months, people here are imbued with this peaceful spirit, that the Cæsarian idea has not taken the least hold on them, and that the universal desire, manifested publicly and privately, is to resume the daily business which was so frivolously interrupted by the war. For this reason, peace was welcomed by all as the great harbinger of a well-deserved tranquillity, and of the return to the accustomed pursuits of civil life. The great event was celebrated here with more than usual splendor. Being announced beforehand, the illumination and public demonstrations assumed more of an official look than on former occasions—as, for instance, after the surrender of Sedan. Among the flags of all nations waving from houses and balconies, I noticed many American; but it struck me that the latter were not greeted and cheered as enthusiastically as formerly. When passing Wilhelmstrasse, opposite Behrenstrasse, I heard one of the crowd, pointing to the Stars and Stripes, cry rather ironically, "Better hoist a Remington rifle and a gold-bag; that's what the Americans are after." From the fashionable quarters I went to the far-off districts, where the poor people live, and where, on that evening (March 3), they demonstrated their joy by putting a few lighted tallow-candles into their front windows. The Berliner is a good-natured fellow, rather saucy here and there, but neither rough nor uncivil. There was no insolence or animosity towards the French in the tableaus or transparencies with which the houses and doors were decorated, only an unlimited hatred for Louis Napoleon as the instigator of the war. In the eyes of the people, he is the evil principle, the devil incarnate, the prince of hell. The German traditions of the old Napoleon, still alive in the hearts of the fathers and grandfathers of the present generation, are almost unconsciously interwoven with the deep exasperation felt by the Germans of our days against the prisoner of Wilhelmshöhe, making him the representative of all that is mean, cruel, and despicable in human nature. In one of the rougher pictures I saw old Louis as Mephisto; in another he appeared as an old, worn-out organ-grinder, his wife, with a tin plate in her hands, singing and standing at his side, and his boy sitting as a monkey on the organ; in still another, Napoleon on his knees before King William, imploring his grace. Whenever the latter and Bismarck appeared on the same tableau, they were sketched as giants, while Napoleon was the dwarf *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

Bismarck has to-day returned from Versailles. He looks well and hearty, and is far from being feeble or in broken health. The most extraordinary exertions of mind and body seem to have a rather strengthening influence on his constitution. The King will be back before the 20th of this month, and open the Imperial Diet in person. From good and trustworthy authority, I can state that he is rather worn-out and subject to nervous attacks, which often for days unfit him to attend to his business. He will be seventy-four years old on the 22d inst., and has certainly, for his age, admirably stood the hardships of the campaign. After the return of King or rather Emperor William, Berlin will pass through a new series of public festivals, such as reception of the troops, a day for thanksgiving, etc.

Our "Landwehren" are leaving France, and will all reach their homes before the end of this month. The conditions of the peace are carried out strictly and exactly on the part of Germany. As you will have expatiated upon them, I confine myself to the statement that our people consider them just and reasonable. Let me here correct a mistake in relation to the motives which made the Germans enter into Paris. They did not originate in personal vanity or in any military ambition. It was at first not intended to make Paris undergo this humiliation, but the haughty tone of her press, and the supercilious cries that the "holy city" had only been conquered by hunger, not by the German barbarians (who, however, by sundry operations and movements around the city had created a famine), changed the minds of the powers who dictated the peace. Bismarck is too sober a man to allow legends to be invented, at Germany's expense, in this age of steam and telegraphs. Paris, therefore, had to see, to feel, and to suffer the presence of the hated foe, thus directly admitting that she was beaten, and giving the lie to her own bragging. But there was another and still more important end to be gained. The Assembly at Bordeaux, not suffering under the immediate effects of the German occupation, might have wasted days and weeks before mustering the courage to swallow a peace so disagreeable and humiliating to the French vanity. Bismarck, therefore, on becoming aware of this disposition, concluded to avail himself of it to his best advantage. Every day of war spared was a clear profit to our army. For these reasons he made the stay of our troops at Paris dependent upon the signature of the preliminaries of peace. This condition exerted a wholesome pressure upon the Bordeaux Assembly; within twenty-four hours it accepted the terms. The apprehension that Paris would be subject to a longer occupation by the enemy did away with long speeches, theatrical declamations, and time-killing amendments. Thus the representatives promptly performed an unwelcome duty, which

so deeply concerns the inner and outer life, the present and future of the whole nation. As soon as the resolutions of the Assembly were submitted in writing, Bismarck ordered the withdrawal of the German troops, which had, for twenty-four hours only, occupied the most fashionable quarter of Paris. The mob behaved as cowardly as usual, hissing and crying when the troops had turned their backs, and running away when they lifted a sabre or a bayonet; ill-treating defenceless women, and singing the Marseillaise. But no matter; the end has been reached, and a prompt understanding been brought about. Our armies are on their way home, and, as we all most ardently hope, never to return again to France to defend themselves against so frivolous an attack as the last one. The French will cry for vengeance, but let us likewise hope that they will soon find better employment for their leisure hours, which at present, it seems, fill their whole day.

Correspondence.

RULOFF'S SCHOLARSHIP.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Observing among your "Notes" in No. 295 of the *Nation* a few remarks about the literary attainments of the murderer Ruloff, I bethought me of a few particulars in my personal knowledge of the man which you may possibly think would be interesting to your readers. Indeed, I cannot help surmising that the "observations on a certain philological treatise" written by Ruloff while "imprisoned in a New York penitentiary," to which your note refers, are a production about which I was personally interested. If I am right in this surmise, the report given in your note is somewhat inaccurate. At all events, I will furnish you a brief statement of what I know, and you can make what use of it you please.

At a time (1850–1) when the writer of this was a student of theology at Auburn, and was in the habit of making frequent visits to the State prison with the chaplain, he became acquainted with Ruloff, who was serving out there a ten-years' term of imprisonment. The prisoner was reported to be a remarkable scholar. He was thick-set and powerful in bodily appearance, had a broad face, large mouth, and small, brilliant eyes, rather widely separated. A little fluid-lamp used to be hanging at the grating of his cell-door, a special favor conceded to his well-known love of study. He would always come briskly up to the door for a talk; was quick in perception, impatient to reply, and had a habit of setting his head on one side, with a keen, scrutinizing look, while addressed, that gave one the impression of his intention to make a pounce the moment the sentence was finished. Often he caught the word out of the speaker's mouth, and poured forth a voluble reply of his own. His language was good, with a dash of sarcasm, and what he knew, he appeared to have well in hand. About that time, the writer, as a candidate for licensure, had been assigned themes for certain trial-pieces to be presented to the presbytery. One in particular was a critical essay upon a certain passage in the Book of Acts, in the treatment of which the young theologue supposed himself to have displayed great learning, and had completed his essay with vast parade of authorities and quotation of Greek authors. This essay the chaplain wished might be shown to Ruloff. It was shown to him, and he retained the MS. a few days, after which its author went to talk with the learned prisoner about it. But the author, in *that* talk, stood no more chance of shining than Bill Nye did in playing with the "heathen Chinee." The learned prisoner was up to his eyes in Xenophon, and Plato, and Sophocles, and Euripides, where the young theologue was only ankle-deep; and the latter left somewhat disgusted with the ways of these convicts. In the sequel, Ruloff prepared a review of the critical essay itself, and lent it to the writer, who has always regretted that he did not make and preserve a copy of it, for it was a remarkable production. I showed it, however, to Dr. Henry Mills, the most learned linguist in the theological faculty, who, while censuring the perversity of Ruloff's argument, expressed unfeigned surprise at his unusual knowledge of Greek. Written in a firm, beautiful hand, scrupulously correct in punctuation, and sprinkled over plentifully with Greek quotations (the characters of which were deftly and elegantly formed and carefully accentuated), it was a manuscript to attract a scholar very powerfully. Ruloff had a considerable quantity of books in his cell, the product of over-earning at his work. I do not think he quoted "from memory," as your note intimates. Nor, in spite of all his attainments, do I think he would have passed for what De Quincey calls "a sound, well-built scholar." He was ingenious, penetrating, persevering, curious, but crotchety, perverse, and immensely opinionated. As to the essay he wrote in review of mine, I remember that he objected, on some frivolous ground, to nearly every one of my positions, controverted all my grammatical authorities, but, of the Scriptural passage in question, had such excessively refined grammatical views, *that he utterly declined to venture on any rendering or exegesis of his own.*

One little memorial, a very trifling one, of this remarkable criminal I retain. It is a scrap of paper containing, in his own handwriting, a note on some words in the "Memorabilia" of Socrates (i. 1, 9). I transcribe it as a curiosity:

"*ἐπὶ ζεῦγος λαβεῖν*] rendered by Kühner, *ad vehendum adhibere*, as *ἐπὶ δεῖπνον* (as he says) *may* sometimes be rendered *ad coenandum*. This passage, however, seems capable of a less constrained interpretation. Compare also *ἐπ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα* (Mem. Soc., i. 2, 9), and *ἐφ' ἃ ἥκομι* (ii. 3, 13), as these all require (perhaps) a common treatment."

I really think that this little scrap, when we consider that it was penned behind the grating by a man who has been convicted of the most horrid crimes, and will probably soon die on the scaffold, deserves preservation.

I remain, dear Mr. Editor, yours truly,

William Waith.

Lancaster, Erie Co., N. Y., March 20, 1871.

THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In the *Nation* of March 23, p. 190, I find the following: "A resolution has been passed by the Massachusetts Legislature protesting against Mr. Sumner's removal from the chairmanship."

No resolution relating to the matter has passed either branch of the Legislature of Massachusetts.—Yours truly,

Horace H. Coolidge,
President of Massachusetts Senate.

Boston, March 25, 1871.

[Owing to an oversight of the printer, we said "Legislature" instead of "Senate," which would have been still an error, but not so great a one as we actually committed. The resolution was, we believe, introduced in the Senate, and we are glad to hear was not acted on.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

Citizens of Baltimore have contributed to the French Relief Fund the expenses of translating and publishing in English the London discourse of Father Hyacinthe on France and Germany, of which we pointed out the merits the other day. Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Sons are the New York agents for the sale of this pamphlet, the gross proceeds being devoted to the charitable object for which the discourse itself was delivered.——Messrs. E. H. Butler & Co., Philadelphia, will reprint from the Proceedings of the London Philological Society the lecture on Pennsylvania German with which Professor Haldeman lately finished his course at the University. It shows that this so-called "Dutch" dialect is the German of the Pfalz and of Suabia, in nearly the same state that it was brought to Pennsylvania by the emigrants from those parts nigh two centuries ago. The infusion of English is much smaller than is commonly supposed. As Professor Haldeman's lectures (on comparative philology) had but a small audience, there is good reason for giving one of them at least a wider publicity.——Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. compete with the Messrs. Harper in reprinting the vivacious "Diary of a Besieged Resident in Paris," Earle's "English Premiers from Walpole to Peel," and "The Novels and Novelists of the Eighteenth Century," by William Forsyth; and they have also in press the following selections from the English storehouse: Mr. Leslie Stephen's "Play-ground of Europe;" and "Mahommed Ali and his House."——Harper & Bros. will republish Azamut-Batuk's "Fall of the Second Empire;" and also announce "Three Years' Slavery in Patagonia,"

by M. Guinnard.——Chas. Scribner & Co. will publish "Martyrs and Apologists," by E. de Pressensé; and "Experiences of a Planter in the Jungles of Mysore," by Robert H. Elliott.——Michelet's "France before Europe" —a most extraordinary burst of rhetoric, if not all sound and fury, signifying nothing—translated under the author's revision, is to be published by Messrs. Roberts Brothers; with Arthur Helps's "Conversations on War and General Culture."

—His native country is about to do justice to the memory of Benjamin Thompson, Count of Rumford, who, whether as a philosopher or as a statesman, must be reckoned one of the greatest men America has ever produced, though no one here has yet thought of erecting a monument to him. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences are about to publish a memoir of him, and, for the first time, an edition of his collected works. The Memoir is by the competent hand of the Rev. Geo. E. Ellis, and will form a volume of more than 600 pages, illustrated with many engravings. This will be issued in two styles—a medium quarto, on extra fine paper, costing ten dollars; and an octavo, uniform with the Works, at five dollars. The Works will be contained in four volumes, at five dollars each. Notwithstanding the fact that some of Rumford's published writings passed through several editions, it has been found exceedingly difficult to obtain them for the use of this edition. Of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Essays, transcripts had to be made from the only known copies of them in the Library of the Royal Society; another was copied from a volume in the British Museum; and still others were derived from various collections in France and Germany. A large outlay has been made in this enterprise, and it is almost an act of patriotism to lend it support. Subscriptions may be sent to the Academy (in Boston), or to the publishers, Messrs. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

—Among the other blessings of this favored country, the opportunities for the study of physical science must be counted not the least. Without quitting the boundaries of the United States, the geologist and the mining engineer can find nearly all the conditions necessary to their instruction. Nowhere in the world are there grander examples of volcanic and glacial effects, of denudation and erosion, submersion and elevation, and, in consequence, clearer revelations of the formation of the earth's crust and the history of the growth of continents. But while the traces of glacial activity in past ages are common and widespread throughout the United States, hitherto it has been supposed that there were no existing glaciers between the 49th parallel and the Gulf, and that the student of geology must still revert to the original field of observation among the Alps. This mistaken notion has been corrected by the discoveries last fall of the "United States Geological Exploration of the 40th Parallel," of which a summary account has been given by Mr. Clarence King in the *American Journal of Science and Arts* for March. Mount Shasta, in Northern California, was the first height to reward the researches of the expedition among the extinct volcanoes of the Pacific Coast. Although this mountain had been previously and often ascended, the southern side had been the usual mode of access, and, as it proves, "an east and west line divides the mountain into glacier-bearing and non-glacier-bearing halves." "From the crest, a point 14,400 feet above the sea-level, I walked out," says Mr. King, "to the northern edge of a prominent spur, and looked down upon the system of three considerable glaciers, the largest about four and a-half miles in length, and two to three miles wide." Mr. Arnold Hague at the same time found, on the southern slope of Mount Hood, in the Cascade Range of Oregon, smaller but not less interesting glaciers; and Mr. S. F. Emmons subsequently explored on Mount Rainier, in Washington Territory, the grandest of all. "Ten large glaciers observed by us," he says, "and at least half as many more hidden by the mountain from our view, proceeding thus from an isolated peak, form a most remarkable system, and one worthy of a careful and detailed study." These glaciers have all the marks of motion, such as longitudinal and transverse crevasses, lateral, terminal, and medial moraines; with ice-caves and chasms only to be crossed by "snow-bridges similar to those in the Swiss glaciers," and which "lend a spice of danger to the whole examination." The coming season, we believe, is to be improved by the Exploration in making monographic surveys of Mount Baker, Mount St. Helens, and Mount Adams, and, probably, San Francisco Mountain, giving us, at the close of the summer, "a complete series of maps and studies of all the great isolated volcanic cones of the Western United States."

—The absence of glaciers in the Cordillera north of latitude 36° is attributed by Mr. King to the almost invariable west wind that sweeps the entire region, and "whose lower strata have been deprived of their moisture by the warm ascending currents of the valleys." The powerful evaporation which is thereby constantly produced in the high land between the Rocky Mountains and the California Sierras is tolerably well known. In the neighborhood of the Humboldt River and Lake we believe it amounts to an inch an hour, and the effect of this on the human fluids may be imagined: the lips crack and the hands are chapped as with cold. How this would act on a population permanently settled in those parts remains to be seen; but it would seem likely to exaggerate all the physiologic phenomena ascribed to the general dryness of the air in this country, as contrasted with that of Europe. A correspondent of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, deprecating the filling in of the Back Bay tract, and urging the reservation of what remains, translates a paper read before the Helvetic Society of Natural History by M. E. Desor, of Neufchâtel. This naturalist had visited America, and he discusses the differences in the climate of Switzerland and the United States as experienced by emigrants. He says the American habit of washing the clothes every week arises from the facility with which linen dries even in winter. On the other hand, our bread dries too rapidly; but then it does not mould, and our cellars generally keep provisions well. Germans are struck with the infrequency of arborization in the frost on our panes, just as they are astonished at being obliged to resort to the hair-dresser's for pomade and Macassar oil if they would keep their hair moist. Houses newly built can be occupied almost immediately, varnish and paint dry more quickly than in Europe, and wood for cabinet-work must be chosen much more carefully, and joined with a stronger glue. Tanners dry their skins more easily, and so shorten the operation. Collections of birds and animals need much fewer precautions against dampness. M. Desor also seems to extend to man an observation of Buffon's, that "the animal species of the American continent were in general smaller than their congeners of the old continent, while nearly the reverse was true of plants." At all events, the Yankee type is opposed to *embonpoint*, and foreigners who live here long lose flesh. The American may be detected by his neck, which is slender and seems longer than it is. The hurried and nervous movements of the Americans may be traced to the dry air caused by the prevailing west wind, and so may their nervous irritability. It may be assumed also that this has much to do with the craving for stimulants and the drinking habits of the people; and finally, thinks M. Desor, with the national susceptibility.

—The most popular English publications of the past month have already been named among the announcements of our publishers here, who on the arrival of each foreign mail strive with each other in pre-empting the choice lots. A few select works may still be mentioned. The Duc d'Aumale's "History of the Princes de Condé in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" has been translated by Robert Brown-Borthwick, and should now be out. "The History of India, as told by its own Historians," is edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, by Prof. John Dowson. The Rev. E. J. Eitel, of Hong-Kong, is the author of "Sketches from Life among the Hakkas of Southern China," in five parts, treating of the topography and language; customs and manners; religion; superstition, including spirit-rapping; and literature, including popular songs. "A Hand-book of Chinese Materia Medica" and "A Vocabulary of Proper Names in Chinese and English," are by F. Porter Smith; and Rev. Justus Doolittle's "English and Chinese Dictionary" is now nearly off the press. W. R. Morfill's Oxford lectures on "The Slaves: their Ethnology, Early History, and Popular Traditions," have been made into a book, and contain also some account of Slavonic literature. A brief bibliographical essay on "The Literature of the Lancashire Dialect," by Wm. E. A. Axon, may be mentioned together with a second series of Wm. Bottrell's "Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall," which awaits the requisite number of subscribers; and the second edition—"thoroughly revised and corrected by the author, and extended to the classical roots of the language"—of Hensleigh Wedgwood's "Dictionary of English Etymology." Mr. Wedgwood has had, he says, "the benefit of the very learned and very judicious annotations of Mr. Geo. P. Marsh," whose views have in many cases been adopted. Mr. Axon also publishes "Statistical Notes on the Free Town Libraries of Great Britain and the Continent." Medical works worth reading are: "Physiological Essays" (on drink-craving, differences in men, idiosyncrasy, and the origin of disease), by Robert Bird, M.D., Bengal Army; "Neuralgia, and the Diseases which resemble it," by Dr. F. E. Anstie; and the following correlated works: "Matheran Hill" (near Poona, a favorable resort for invalids), its people, plants, and animals, by J. T. Smith; "Pau and the Pyrenees," by Count Henry Russell; and "Water

Supply: a Comprehensive Treatise on the Water Supply of Cities and Towns," by William Humber. Finally, Americans might find this book a guide to hygiene: "Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel, and Exploration," by W. B. Lord and T. Baines.

—Some Milanese students last year celebrated the marriage of a favorite professor by publishing a collection of inedited poems of the older Italian poets ("Rime inedite d'ogni secolo, pubblicate nelle faustissime nozze del prof. cav. Giovanni Rizzi colla signorina Carlotta Cella.") We quote the entire title for its prettiness, which could hardly be rendered into English. The thirteenth century is represented by a love-song of Frederic II., King of Sicily, drawn from the most ancient repository of Italy's poets and troubadours, a Vatican codex; and a sonnet of Guido Cavalcanti's, taken from Bolognese MSS. The latter source also supplies a sonnet to Messer Cino da Pistoja and a hymn to the Deity, attributed more or less doubtfully to Dante, together with two of Petrarch's sonnets and a song by Ricciardo degli Albizzi; and from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Impériale in Paris is taken a lyric poem on Italy by Franco Sacchetti—all illustrating the fourteenth century. For the fifteenth stands Niccolò Malpigli, in a sonnet against the Court of Rome; for the sixteenth, Tasso, in a sonnet ("contro la sua donna"); for the seventeenth, Tassoni, in a sonnet, the gem of the collection, in which the shade of Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, addresses Italy; and for the eighteenth, Giuseppe Baretti. A poem by Prof. Lignana is the only one by a living author, and is the voice of the present age. The volume is elegantly printed.

—Cesare Paoli, who last year published Massimo D'Azeglio's Letters to Giuseppe Torelli, now edits a compilation from the miscellaneous writings of the latter which will be found agreeable reading. D'Azeglio likened Torelli's style to Blondin's free and easy movements on the tight rope, without ever tumbling into Niagara. Dr. Channing's address on "Self-Culture," delivered in Boston nearly twenty-five years ago, has been translated into Italian by Alessandro Rossi, a senator of the kingdom, and a leading manufacturer, conspicuous for the interest he has shown in the welfare of his operatives. The introduction states that the translator's object was to benefit principally the laboring classes—a labor of love in which he has been preceded by others of his countrymen, who have turned to the United States for examples and doctrines calculated to elevate the Italian character.

—We not long since drew attention to the quiet but effective manner in which Russia was extending her Asiatic frontiers, and recent Russian papers afford ample proof of the existence of that desire for "annexation" to which we alluded. One of those chronic insurrections ever prevailing in China recently "came to a head" near the Chino-Russian frontier, at a place called Ouliassoutai, much frequented by Russian traders, who were represented and protected by a consul. The rebels surrounded the town, and the Russians, knowing its utterly defenceless character, took to flight, followed shortly after by the consul and his family, who made a narrow escape to the town of Biisk, with the loss of all their property, and in a very exhausted condition. The Russian journals which record the affair speak of it in terms of indignation, and "urge the Government *to extend the Russian frontier towards the centre of China*, in order to 'civilize' the northwestern districts of that country, and thus *take the only effectual means of developing the Russo-Chinese trade.*" Judging from the advances of the past few years, the absorption by Russia of a large portion of China proper is but a matter of time.

—In some recent remarks upon the extension of the telegraph in Eastern Asia, we spoke of the indecision prevailing as to the route of the cable shortly to connect Singapore with Hong-Kong, the Franco-Prussian war rendering the future status of Saigon a matter of considerable uncertainty. The conclusion of peace, however, has again reanimated local enterprise, and a deputation from the Government of the Colony has proceeded to Singapore to arrange, if possible, with the telegraph company that the cable shall touch at that port. As the naval headquarters of France beyond the Straits of Singapore, Saigon may well desire to be thus placed in communication with the outer world. But, unless some guarantees of neutrality in case of war be entered into, it is by no means certain that the British shareholders, whose interests in China are overwhelming, will consent to thus jeoparding the safe transmission of intelligence at the very time when secrecy would be most important. The French, however, are determined to get Saigon within the circuit if possible, and as the delay of postal communication would be fatal to their hopes, they are carrying on negotiations with the London directors by means of the cable just completed to Singapore. Despite the doubtful result of their endeavors, the action taken shows that Saigon must have made considerable progress since its foundation as a military and naval depot, and that France is alive to the importance of preserving this one *point d'appui* on the shores of Eastern Asia.

—The *Pall Mall Gazette* states that the authorship of the obscene and mendacious Chinese attack on the Christian religion, called the "Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines," has been traced to one Tang Tse-shing, at the time he wrote Treasurer of the Province of Houpe—a post of some eminence. This was in 1862, and that the book should have remained unknown to European residents in China for so long a period seems almost incredible. In 1865, indeed, the French Consul at Hankow did get wind of it, and the free distribution of it to the district magistrates of Houpe and Hounan, and also its sale, were interrupted by proclamation in consequence of his protest. The secret circulation, however, continued, and the book, already well known in the central provinces, has lately been freely sent around throughout the whole of both the northern and southern districts of the empire. There have even been numerous editions, altered to suit local prejudices, the author's nativity being conformably assigned now to one department and now to another. That more trouble has not come of it is therefore surprising, and may be set down by who likes to the credit of the Chinese character. The author, meantime, it has been ascertained, was found guilty of peculation, removed from office, and condemned to death. Although the sentence was not executed, death soon followed from the depression of spirits caused by his public disgrace—a fate not very far removed from that which poetic justice would have assigned to him.

WASHINGTON BEFORE THE REBELLION.*

About the beginning of this century a worthy gentleman of Boston, a lawyer by trade, took a final leave of his friends and removed his household goods to Washington, which had just been occupied as the seat of the National Government, with the intention of spending his remaining days under the droppings of the Capitol. In less than six months he was seen once more in the streets of his native city, and in reply to the jeering enquiries of his acquaintance as to why he had come back again, he made the sensible answer, "When a man has taken a foolish step, the wisest thing he can do is to retrace it as fast as possible!" There were many men doubtless who had dearly purchased as much wisdom as this practical philosopher, but who had mired themselves so inextricably in the morasses in which, according to Tom Moore, they saw the squares of the future, that they could not escape from them so readily as he, and had perforce to remain, many of them to be swallowed up with all they possessed. No subsequent land speculations have been more frantic or more ruinous, in proportion to the wealth of the country, than that which set in soon after President Washington had selected the site of the future capital of the United States, and Congress had adopted it as such. The new city was laid out on a scale calculated for the accommodation of a million of inhabitants, and Oliver Wolcott says, in one of his letters, that the speculators believed, or said they did, that it would in time be the most magnificent city in the world, and very soon have 150,000 inhabitants, New York at that time having less than sixty thousand. The opinion prevailed strongly then which is by no means obsolete now, that all that was necessary to create a city out of a swamp, or a civilized community out of a population demoralized by centuries of slavery and mastership, was a parchment duly engrossed and authenticated by the proper official signatures, without considering the obstacles opposed by the laws of nature, human and material, or of political economy.

These laws, however, would have their way, and Washington gradually settled down into a straggling, shabby, dirty little third-rate Southern town, magnificent only in its distances—by which the Abbé Correa da Serra, the witty Portuguese ambassador, who bestowed its well-known designation upon it, intended the distances between the scattered houses rather than the spaces which separated the public buildings. And this was five-and-twenty years after the early dreams of its grandeur had been dispelled by the hard necessities of its condition. It was not until the railways had made it accessible, say about thirty years ago, that Washington began to pass from the gristle to the bone, and to close up the distances in its ranks, and the period of its greatest prosperity dates from the beginning of the rebellion, which gave it the benefit of the expenditure of large sums of

* "William Winston Seaton, of the *National Intelligencer*. A Biographical Sketch." Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

public moneys, and made it possible as a residence for persons not willing to purchase admission to its society by paying homage to slavery. The society of Washington was as incongruous as its conditions and its pretensions in those days. The foreign ministers brought the best of European refinement of manners and luxury, and the West and South contributed their share of backwoods crudenesses and plantation habits to make the mixture slab and good. There was always a moderate proportion of the best class of well-bred and well educated gentlemen from the North and the South in Congress, but the majority was not made up of such. The resident society was composed, till comparatively recent times, of office-holders and hangers-on of the Government of one sort and another, and a few of the Virginia and Maryland families of the neighborhood, who found even such change as Washington gave them an improvement upon what they had been used to. And these worthy persons would turn up their noses at the casual residents, such as senators and representatives and the like, as an inferior class of beings to themselves, though the pleasure of Congress was the breath of their nostrils, and they lived upon the crumbs that fell from Uncle Sam's table.

It was to such a society and to such a city that Mr. William Winston Seaton came in the year 1812. Being a Virginian of Scottish descent, it is needless to say that he had a formidable pedigree, which mixed itself up with that of sundry lords and gentles of high degree. It is fair to say, however, that his pretensions to gentle blood seem better founded than those of many of the First Families. We presume that the family had rather fallen from its original greatness from the fact, which is rather implied than plainly told, that this scion of it served an apprenticeship in Richmond to the printing business. This introduced him to his future profession of editorship, and after trying his wings in Richmond and one or two other small Southern towns, he established himself in partnership with his brother-in-law, Joseph Gales, in Washington, and established the *National Intelligencer*, for many years as integral a part of the city as the White House itself. A great part of the most interesting portion of this book, as far as it relates to Washington, consists of the letters of Mrs. Seaton to her mother, at Raleigh, N. C., where her father, Joseph Gales the elder, conducted the *Raleigh Register*, which he had established. These letters are very lively and entertaining, and give spirited descriptions of Washington life and persons then prominent on the Washington stage. The accounts of the balls and dinners are very amusing, and such as every young lady, married or single, should give to her relations and friends, and which, to do them justice, they generally do. The dinners seem to have been excellent, in the style of those days before *dîners à la Russe*, and the wines were unexceptionable—comment on which, we are sorry to say, "formed the chief topic after the removal of the cloth." We grieve yet more, however, to learn that it was the custom of ladies to rouge and *pearl* unblushingly, and especially to hear that Mrs. Monroe painted very much and that Mrs. Madison herself was said to rouge. This last statement, however, Mrs. Seaton doubts, as she felt assured that she had seen her color come and go, not, we presume, like that of the lady celebrated in the "School for Scandal," whose color not only came in the morning and went at night, but her maid could fetch and carry it. Nothing of this kind, of course, has been known in Washington since that world before the flood. The balls are very divertingly described as well as the dinners, and they were perhaps more diverting in the description than the reality, if it be true that Lady Bagot, the British ambassadress and niece of the Duke of Wellington, "found them a great bore, and deplored the necessity of sticking pins in herself to keep herself awake at the stupid balls."

During the long Washington life of Mr. Seaton many public characters passed over that stage, some of them of permanent interest and more that vanished from memory as soon as they left the scene. Interesting anecdotes of many of these are preserved in this sketch, but we lend our ears more readily to the accounts of unpolitical characters, such as John Law, the brother of Lord Ellenborough—whom the writer erroneously speaks of as Lord Chancellor—who sank a large fortune he had made in India in the swamps of Washington. He was a special oddity, who always carried a piece of dough in his hands without kneading which between his fingers he could not mold his thoughts into words. His absence of mind, too, sometimes placed him in predicaments embarrassing to others if not to himself, as when he forgot to put on his clothes on coming out of the bath at Berkeley Springs and presented himself to the company in the costume of Paradise. He married the sister of George W. P. Custis, who well might be made a companion portrait of his brother-in-law, had he died long enough ago, and whose extraordinary works of art at Arlington House, which the writer of the sketch forbearingly only describes as "startling," no one can forget who has ever seen them. We should like to have heard even more of Mr. Digges, of Maryland, who went to England at the beginning of the Revolution, and was admitted to the society of the great Whigs who stood by America in Parliament, such as Fox and Sheridan, and spent his latter days in Washington. The writer errs, however, in making the Prince of Wales the leader of the Whigs during the Revolution, as he was but thirteen when the battle of Lexington began and nineteen when the surrender of Cornwallis ended it. We would say, however, that there are very few errors as to facts in this work, considering the great number and variety of them it contains. The writer, if a lady, as we infer, might well enough not have known that the punishment to which the ancestor of Mr. Digges was condemned was the ordinary penalty of treason, abolished only within the present reign, and not a caprice of Queen Bess. A later eccentric was Mr. Fox, a nephew of the great Charles, who was British minister here, and lived the life of a hermit, literally turning day into night, excusing himself, to one who invited him to dine at six o'clock, that he should be happy to do so, but that his people were waiting breakfast for him.

We have nearly finished our notice of the sketch without saying anything about the subject of it. In fact, there is not a great deal to say. The life of Mr. Seaton was an uneventful one, occupied mainly with the engrossing duties of a daily paper and varied only by one or two journeys to Canada and the North, and a short tour in England and on the Continent. His letters, however, while on these excursions, though creditable to his warmth of heart and family affection, are not inspired with that *éloquence de billet* which mark those of his wife. His hand had become so used to handling the heavy guns of the *Intelligencer* that it did not easily accommodate itself to the flying artillery of the epistolary field. He was for ten years or so Mayor of Washington, the most important duties of which office—to wit, obtaining grants and privileges from Congress by his personal influence—he performed so well that the members used to say that if he "remained mayor much longer he would bankrupt the national treasury." He was, however, in all respects an excellent magistrate. His portrait is drawn by the writer of the sketch with a loving, we believe a filial hand, and like those of Queen Elizabeth it has no shadow to it. It is hardly in nature that there should have been none, but it is honorable to his domestic character and manners that the writer should never have discerned it. He was a handsome man, of gracious if somewhat stately and formal demeanor and solid conversation, as we gather from this account of him. Having no other means of acquaintance with him, we should infer that he was rather formidable and the least in the world oppressive in society, and one whom we should prefer to respect at a distance rather than to encounter often at close quarters.

His relations with his brother-in-law and partner in the *National Intelligencer* were most honorably cordial and fraternal, each preferring the other, and knowing no distinction of interest, pecuniary or otherwise. The *Intelligencer*, begun as the organ of Jeffersonian democracy, remained of that complexion until the disgraceful administration of Jackson drove it into the opposition, of which, in its various phases till it crystallized into the Whig party and afterwards, it spoke the political sense and purposes. It was a political force for many years, and its volumes contain much material for history. Its original matter was dignified and decent, if a little heavy, in substance and form, though of course it was informed by the spirit of compromise with the slaveholders by which the Whigs hoped to mount to power. The vexed topic of slavery is skilfully avoided in this sketch, though we think we gather from it that Mr. Seaton was a slaveholder, and it is put forward that he was a promoter of that cunningest device of slavery, the Colonization Society, by which it proposed to strengthen itself by expatriating the free negroes and the slaves whose intelligence made them formidable to its safety. Though he may have accepted slavery as a domestic necessity, as he certainly did as a political one, he could have had no love for it in itself. This we think appears from his being chosen by the French Minister, M. Hyde de Neuville, in 1821, as his agent, to use his own words, "to make free one poor little slave child, in celebration of the baptism of the young Prince who is one day to rule over the Franks." No holier gift, nor one more precious, attended the baptism of the young Duc de Bordeaux, than the freedom of the young girl whom this humane diplomatist rescued from the auction-block of Moses Poor and made it at once his offering and his testimony. The election of President Lincoln and the rebellion, withdrawing at once the Government patronage and two-thirds of the subscribers, gave the death-blow to the *Intelligencer*. It lingered for a while in a moribund

condition, which not even the infusion of new blood could remedy, and it died not very long ago of inanition, and without "the dignity of death" which Mr. Seaton wished for it. Mr. Seaton paid the usual penalty of long life. The shadow of the valley of death fell upon him before he entered it. In 1860, his lifelong friend Joseph Gales died, and in 1863 he lost his beloved and admirable wife, and the next year he parted with the journal which had been so identified with his life for so much of it. And it is sad to think that his last days were darkened by poverty as well as grief. He sacrificed, as he says himself, all he possessed in trying to sustain the paper, and ended fifty-two years of labor with nothing.

The account of Joseph Gales the elder, who was driven from England by the persecutions known as "Pitt's Reign of Terror" along with Priestley and other reformers, is very interesting, though we have not been able even to hint at it. The Sketch is thoroughly entertaining, and it is done gracefully and modestly on the part of the writer. It has one deficiency, however, and to our mind a great one. There is neither index nor table of contents. Should it have the circulation we think it well merits, the publishers will increase the value of the work by supplying this want.

RUSKIN'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.*

Mr. Ruskin must certainly be the despair of his friends. He neither follows any known law, nor is a law unto himself. He cares nothing for what any one may think of what he says, in which he is certainly right, being *always* honest and unselfish; but he cares as little if what he says to-day destroys the results of all that he has said hitherto. He especially delights in disappointing the expectations of every one who has followed his course and expects anything, but he goes so far in this as to upset logic and destroy all confidence in his consistency, and induce a very common belief in his dishonesty. He is a Phaethon who thinks he can drive his father's chariot nearer to the sun than *he* can bring it. Incapable of generalization, alike in art and science, he thinks that his little by-paths and short-cuts are the true roads of progress, and shrieks and rails because the world won't move therein, until the world has ceased to pay any attention to what he says; and in this state he has commenced the publication of a series of letters to the workingmen of England, in which he takes a tone in which very few of his audience can follow him, and which, for better security for their not being read, he publishes himself, and prefaces the book with a note that it will only be sent from Heathfield Cottage, Kent, on the transmission of seven stamps—no discount to the trade, and no other advertisement.

"Fors Clavigera" (key—or club-bearing chance) is a tirade with a tinge of the Jeremiad in it. It begins by accusing England of cowardice and incapacity. She is "afraid of the Russians, afraid of the Prussians, afraid of the Americans, afraid of the Hindoos, afraid of the Chinese, afraid of the Japanese, afraid of the New Zealanders, and afraid of the Caffres; and very justly so, being conscious that our only real desire respecting any of these nations has been to get as much out of them as we could."

All this, with the logical consequences of this, have produced a state of things which Mr. Ruskin will not put up with passively "an hour longer." He disclaims in advance any extraordinary unselfishness; "he has no particular pleasure in doing good; neither does he dislike it so much as to expect to be rewarded for it in another world."

"But I cannot paint, nor read, nor look at minerals, nor do anything else that I like, and the very light of the morning sky, when there is any—which is seldom nowadays near London—has become hateful to me because of the misery that I know, and see signs of when I know it not, which no imagination can interpret too bitterly.

"Therefore, as I have said, I will endure it no longer quietly; but henceforward, with any few or many who will help, do my poor best to abate this misery. But that I may do my best, I must not be miserable myself any longer; for no man who is wretched in his own heart, and feeble in his own work, can rightly help others.

"Now, my own special pleasure has lately been connected with a given duty. I have been ordered to endeavor to make our English youth care somewhat for the arts, and must put my uttermost strength into that business. To which end I must clear myself from all sense of responsibility for the material distress around me by explaining to you, once for all, in the shortest English I can, what I know of its causes."

His keen perception of shams, his intense and penetrating power of analysis, and absolute and uncompromising honesty of opinion, make him a most valuable and trustworthy iconoclast—a breaker of false gods; but to construct new ones, or even find the true ones, he is not the man. His savageness and acumen as critic are in no wise supported by his correctness and knowledge as teacher. He sees always in detail and from very near, growing bitter and morose over the very irregularities and imperfections which make a more comprehensive, ultimate perfection possible. He inveighs against the incomplete without perceiving whether it be in retrograde or in advance; he desires an utopia, and rails at the world because it has not yet made one—incapable of looking back to the old standards, the mile-posts of progress, and impatient that he sees no new ones in advance. He declares that the world has stopped, and that dissolution is imminent; and all this makes him miserable, and morbid, and bitter, because he is at heart intensely philanthropic and benevolent, caring less for his own comfort than his power to do good; and so, with a last word to the workingman, to whose interests he is devoted—word which no one of them will hear or comprehend—he discharges himself of politics as the despair of philanthropy. He makes a summary of his political creed: "There is opposition between Liberals and Illiberals; that is to say, between people who desire liberty and who dislike it. I am a violent Illiberal. Now, though I am an Illiberal, there are many things I should like to destroy. I should like to destroy most of the railroads in England, and all the railroads in Wales. I should like to destroy and rebuild the Houses of Parliament, the National Gallery, and the east end of London; and to destroy without rebuilding the new town of Edinburgh, the north suburb of Geneva, and the city of New York." And, in a maxim which he lays down, he gives us clearly to understand what his practical notions of politics are: "Men only associate in parties by sacrificing their opinions, or by having none worth sacrificing; and the effect of party government is always to develop hostilities and hypocrisies, and to extinguish ideas."

Of course, no one will enter the lists to combat Ruskin's ideas. To practical men they are simple nonsense; to theorists, too unlikely to have any effect to induce hostility. We should as soon think of discussing the practicability of Plato's Republic as of Ruskin's Monarchy; both belong to the same order of ideas, unrealizable creations of fancy, but full of suggestions of intense import. The misery, and wrong-doing, and oppression-enduring around him drive the Englishman into retirement and misanthropy, while they drove the Greek into a cheerful and airy utopia, whose possibility made him a compensation for what was not. The latter was serene, tender, hopeful, the former despairing, vindictive, ironical; the one is full of faith in the λόγος, the other has no faith in anything. What exists of good is to him a still undestroyed relic of simplicity, an oasis of his dead utopia.

"Even with respect to convenience only, it is not yet determinable by the evidence of history what is absolutely the best form of government to live under. There are, indeed, said to be republican villages (towns?) in America where everybody is civil, honest, and substantially comfortable; but these villages have several unfair advantages. There are no lawyers in them, no town-councils, and no parliament." "Notwithstanding, there is agonizing distress even in this highly-favored England, in some classes, for want of food, clothes, waging, and fuel. And it has become a popular idea among the benevolent and ingenious that you may in great part remedy these deficiencies by teaching to these starving and shivering persons science and art." Inveighing against the notion of there being any utility in art, he says: "You may sometimes sell a picture for a thousand pounds, but the chances are greatly against your doing so—much more than the chances of a lottery. In the first place, you must paint a very clever picture, and the chances are greatly against your doing that. In the second place, you must meet with an amiable picture-dealer, and the chances are somewhat against your doing that. In the third place, the amiable picture-dealer must meet with a fool, and the chances are not always in favor even of his doing that."

If Ruskin could but be induced to embody his political notions, now scattered through many writings, and give us the ideal contained in them as an objective creation—something tangible to the perception even of theorists, we are certain that a real contribution to political literature would be the result—a curious antithesis, in all probability, of Plato's Republic.

ELECTORAL REFORM.*

Popular self-government, acting through representation, based on democracy, so far from losing favor, is growing in favor and power all over the world. But some of the results of the machinery to put in prac-

* "Fors Clavigera. Letters to the Workingmen and Laborers of Great Britain. By John Ruskin, LL.D." London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1871.

* "On Representative Government and Personal Representation. By Simon Sterne." Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

tice are being vigorously, and perhaps successfully, criticised. While everybody wants the majority to govern, it yet seems to turn out in practice that the minority has, on some questions, no voice in the legislation of the country at all equal to its strength among the people; while, curiously enough, on other questions, the minority has governed, and perhaps still is governing, the country. It has long been known that the theory of our Presidential elections had not only broken down in practice as to the precise thing it was intended to accomplish, but that the forms of the machinery from which the spirit had departed were well devised for occasionally defeating the popular will.

But this is not the weight of the complaint now made against our electoral machinery. The complaint—and it seems well founded—is that through party government, whether the representatives be elected by districts or by general ticket, a bare majority not only decides, but absolutely excludes, a minority nearly as large from all voice or influence in legislation. The illustrations of this arising in practice have been so frequent both in this country and in England that we need not stop here to repeat them. Hare's work on "The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal," became at once a landmark in modern political science, notwithstanding it is so abstruse, complicated, and detailed as to repel any but the most earnest or the purely amateur political student, and caused a member of Parliament to say of it that, though he approved of the theory, he never could carry the plan in his head twenty-four hours at a time. It was first doubted, then approved, by Mill; and, later, the substance of the plan was urged by Mr. Buckalew in the Senate, and Mr. Marshall in the House, and is recently incorporated, on a limited and perhaps crippled scale, in the new constitution of Illinois. The movement is one of immense importance, is evidently growing in favor, and really seems destined to be adopted wherever the basis of suffrage is tolerably extended.

The object of the work before us is to advocate and explain the proposed reform in the mode of voting, and is avowedly based on Hare's work, which it is intended to simplify and explain. In this statement of the plan and object of the work, the author has been more modest than his execution. While the idea is not new, yet bating some too lengthy quotations from Herbert Spencer and others, the plan of the discussion is in a large measure original. We cannot, in a notice like this, enter into even a statement of the proposed plan of voting. Most of our readers know it under the names of cumulative voting, personal representation, minority representation, etc. Those who have not investigated the matter would do well to obtain Mr. Sterne's book; while those who are convinced, and wish to convince others, will find the matter presented in a strong and clear, and in some respects a new, light. In saying this, we must add that, while the book is so far scientific as to be at once recognized as a respectable contribution to political science, it does not appear to us so systematic as it should be, nor so much so as we think the author could have made it; and that the style, generally good enough for such an investigation, is at times not quite enough elevated—if not careless, just a little too familiar.

The author raises a special issue with the advocates of civil service reform. We do not see the pertinency of this to the question in hand. If he believes in rotation, political appointments, and dismissals, the whole spoils system, this work is not the place to defend such a faith; and the human mind is so organized that some good people would not listen to a writer on any question who advocates such an iniquity as many believe this system to be. But we do not understand the author as advocating the present system in all its results and forms. He denies the extent of the evils charged against it, and denies that so much good as is expected would result from civil-service reform. And the gist of his argument seems to us summed up in the following sentence: "Compared with the importance for weal or woe of the power of the officers who are elected with the power of those who are appointed, the former is so preponderating that the latter sinks into utter insignificance."

When it is a question of degree—of relative importance—in the opinion of the author, and while his own estimate of the relative importance of civil-service reform may be either accepted or doubted by his readers, we cannot see that a book advocating personal or minority representation is the place to throw an obstacle in the way of another reform which is advocated by three-fourths or nine-tenths of the people who will accept Mr. Sterne's views of the necessity of a reformed system of voting. With the reform he advocates put in practice, it would still be possible, under our present spoils system, to have the best of executive and ministerial officers dismissed without any reason, and the worst and most inefficient appointed for the most corrupt reasons. And seeing that, in the long run, "public opinion" will dominate public questions; that, though delayed, it will, in an awkwardly rigorous way, it may be, assert itself at last in *politics* and *legislation;* and seeing how closely home to every man's daily life and interests come the innumerable acts of routine administration, to say nothing of the vast moral, political, and economical questions involved in a corrupt civil service, there may be those who would doubt the relative importance assigned by Mr. Sterne to these two reforms—a question we cannot here further enter into, only repeating that we regard this part of his book as a useless and an unfortunate digression.

Recent Republications.—That a large part of the time spent by boys in fumbling over the lexicon is time wasted cannot be doubted. Neither can it be doubted that much of this time might be saved if teachers would incidentally pay more attention to derivations and the meaning of prefixes and suffixes. For example, the boy comes across the word *salubris;* he looks it out for his lesson of the day, and then goeth his way and straightway forgetteth. Now let the teacher show him that *salubris* is a compound word, that the last part of the word, the *-br=-ber* is found in the Latin *fer-re*, the Greek *φέρ-ειν*, or, still nearer home, in the English *bear;* that the word *salu-br-is* contains exactly the same elements as *safe* + *bear:* let the teacher once point this out and he will kill two birds with one stone. The next time the pupil will remember the word, and—what is better still—new ideas of the beauty and interest of language will begin to dawn upon him. Thus the dreary *crambe repetita* comes a step nearer to the "delightful task" of the poet's golden dream. The practical difficulty is that the ordinary teacher, too much jaded by overwork for deep thought or study, and not much informed himself on such subjects, has no convenient book to lay hand on for guidance. It is just this want that Mr. Haldeman's "Affixes" supplies (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. Revised edition). For the young pupil we fear it might be a little bewildering; but as a manual for the teacher it is full of instruction, nor can the scholar by profession read the work without great profit and mental stimulus. Naturally enough in so multifarious a work, there must be a good deal that is doubtful or conjectural. It is very questionable whether *sincerus=sine+κερώ* (p. 88). We should hardly put the squinancy or quinsy under the prefix *syn-*, as the Q points rather to *κυνάγχη* than to *συνάγχη*. The D of *seditio* can hardly be a "connective"; it hints rather at *sed* as the original form, an ablative, like *prod* in *prodire*. Nevertheless, open as such a work must naturally be to criticism on single points, it is one which nobody who wants to understand his own mother-tongue can afford to leave unread. The general beauty of the book is marred by a feeble Greek type and by some carelessness in the printing. Breathings are sometimes left off, as p. 45, *αμπί*; p. 54, *ανδρία*; p. 20, *ιῶτα*. Accents are wrong, as *καλὐπτω*, p. 43; *κεχηνοτές*, p. 185; *πνεύμα*, p. 20; *φρενίτις*, p. 242. Quantity is violated in *ὕπὲρ*, p. 208; *tĕgo*, p. 58; *plĭco*, p. 89; *cŭcŭlus*, p. 240. The following objectionable forms can hardly be laid to the proof-reader: *moereo* for *maereo*, p. 141; *humeo*, p. 252, *humecto*, *humidus*, p. 104, for *umeo*, etc.; *lamina*, p. 165, for *lammina*. On p. 19, *connecto* is given as an example for the pronunciation of double N. Why are our American scholars so slow to learn that *conectere conivere coniti conuĭvium* are the *only* Latin forms, and that the double N is a barbarism?

The receipt of the fourth edition of Goodwin's "Greek Moods and Tenses" (Cambridge: Sever, Francis & Co.) gives us an opportunity of calling the attention of our readers to its very great merits. It is almost a model of what a text-book ought to be, and the successive editions have enabled the author to correct such errors as the book originally contained. It is exceedingly difficult to make a book which shall be at the same time practical and not superficial; but this Prof. Goodwin has apparently succeeded in doing. The metaphysics of Greek moods and tenses can only be studied with advantage by one who is already well acquainted with the language; and yet so subtle was the Greek mind that it seems almost impossible to explain the practical use of their complex modal system without diving deeper than the undergraduate at least can follow. Hence most Greek grammars have been so abstruse that the pupil had a very misty idea of optatives and subjunctives. But the publication of Mr. Goodwin's book began a new era in the study of Greek in this country. After a thorough course of it, an ordinary student feels as much at home among the optatives as in our own *mays* and *mights*. The greatest service that has been rendered to syntax for many years was the distinguishing of the particular and general conditions—a service for which we are indebted to this book. It is not a little odd that after the acute investigations of German

scholars it should have been reserved for the "practical American" to give the clue to the protasis and apodosis. The more scientific treatment of relative sentences also dates from the publication of this treatise. So, too, the more accurate distinction between the tenses of the infinitive and the different uses of the aorist of that mood belongs chiefly to Mr. Goodwin. Apart from the original ideas contained in it, the chief characteristic of the work is its really practical character and the numerous examples with which each statement is supported, which make it a safe guide for the student either in studying the system or in translating from English into Greek. It is unfortunate that we have nothing of the same kind in Latin. If that could be arrived at, we should have a good foundation for a comparative syntax of the Indo-European languages which would lead the way to a better knowledge of the logical history of the human intellect—an exceedingly curious subject of enquiry.

Chips from a German Workshop. By F. Max Müller, M.A., etc., etc. Volume III. Essays on Literature, Biography, and Antiquities. (New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. 12mo, pp. 492.)—When the first two volumes of this series were published, Professor Müller was planning to follow them up with two more—one on language, and one on general literary subjects. The plan seems now to have been modified by the omission of the third volume, and we are given to understand that the one just issued will be the last. We conjecture that the author has come to realize the presence of too much that is unsound and insufficient in the old basis of his linguistic science to make his scattering contributions to it worth gathering up. The present volume cannot pretend to any such career as its predecessors had, since it deals with subjects comparatively accessible and often treated, and on which the author has no higher authority to speak to us than a great many of his contemporaries. Yet nearly all the essays that it contains are able and interesting. The first is a really valuable sketch of German literature from the earliest times; it was originally published as introduction to a volume of selections from German authors. Then follow several more indifferent papers on special points in German literary history; among them a sketch, rather brief and slight, of the life of Schiller, and an account of the author's own father, Wilhelm Müller, a poet of real merit, though not of wide repute, who died while his more celebrated son was a very young child. Three articles on French subjects come next; the most entertaining of them is that on the Sieur de Joinville and his naïve narration of the deeds and adventures of his king and master, St. Louis of France. The succeeding trilogy shows us England and English matters as seen by German eyes; and many students of English literary and scientific history will be glad to learn something of how Bacon is regarded in Germany, and why. Once more comes a set of three related articles, apparently the result of some summer's residence in Cornwall, on Cornish antiquities and matters connected therewith; these, as involving etymological researches and archæological combinations, have more that is characteristic of Professor Müller in them than anything in the earlier part of the volume. The collection is brought to a close by a lively and appreciative sketch of the life, genius, and labors of the author's patron and life-long friend, Bunsen, from which many will be glad to learn something of the many-sided activity and noble spirit of that truly great man. The friends and admirers of Bunsen, too, will find no small interest in the extended series of letters from Bunsen to Müller, which, under the title of an appendix to this article, fill up the remainder of the volume. But we must say that they seem to us to be crowded in here quite out of place; they are in no sense of the word Müller's "chips," and they are in much too great bulk to constitute a legitimate appendix to a biographical notice, since they occupy more than a fifth part of the pages of the whole volume, and, being in small print, constitute somewhere between a quarter and a third of its readable contents. In the hands of Bunsen's biographer, or as parts of a special and independent tribute to Bunsen, they would have been welcome material; but it was certainly an error of judgment to put them before the world as a part of Müller's collected essays.

The volume, as a whole, will not perceptibly add to Müller's reputation; it contains nothing which, in point of eloquent style and attractive handling, will bear comparison with some of his former productions; but those who may be led by its author's fame to possess themselves of it will find it will repay their study.

Hymns and Poems. Edited by Rev. T. V. Fosbery. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1870.)—Mr. Fosbery is, or was, an English country vicar, and this volume of his was no doubt primarily intended for the sick and suffering of his own communion. He has, for instance, so arranged the pieces which he has gathered together that each expands or illustrates more or less well some phrase or sentence of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. Thus, as that Office begins, "Peace be to this house and all that dwell in it," the first poem is a hymn entitled "Peace," from the pen of Henry Vaughan:

"My soul, there is a country
Afar beyond the stars,
Where stands a winged sentry
All skilful in the wars.
There, above noise and danger,
Sweet Peace sits crowned with smiles,
And One born in a manger
Commands the beauteous files.

"He is thy gracious friend,
And (O my soul, awake!)
Did in pure love descend
To die here for thy sake.
If thou canst but get thither,
There grows the flower of peace—
The rose that cannot wither,
Thy fortress and thy ease.

"Leave, then, thy foolish ranges;
For none can thee secure,
But One who never changes,
Thy God, thy Life, thy Cure."

Our hymnals, by the way, make too little of this fine hymn, though it is perhaps better adapted to their particular purpose than almost any other production of the important school to which its author belonged. The Silurist, as Vaughan was quaintly styled, was one of Herbert's most faithful admirers, not to say copyists; though he rather walked in the same path as his master than trod in his footprints, and was no servile imitator. Like his master and his fellow-pupils, he made hymns and spiritual songs which are full of pith and of a holy thoughtfulness, often ardent with love indeed, but very far removed from the feeble pious sentimentalism of very many modern hymns. They usually have, however, the great faults, considered as hymns, of being unsingable, and of requiring too much of the attention of the understanding. From both of these characteristics "My soul, there is a country," is perfectly free. Perhaps its author was momentarily under the influence of the sweetest of mediæval ecclesiastical poets, Bernard of Morlaix. The latter part of the hymn we have quoted would seem to bear witness that its author was fresh from the reading of the "De Contemptu Mundi," with its mixed, reiterated, and crowded metaphors—blemishes turned necessary beauties—so descriptive of the homesick but rapturous longing of the saints for "the Celestial country," "Jerusalem the golden, the glory of the elect."

The singableness of poems and hymns is not, however, that quality in them which fits them for the readers whom Mr. Fosbery had in mind, and he has drawn very largely from the treasures of the earliest Protestant religious poetry of England—the poetry which bears the stamp of the thoughtfulness impressed on the English religious mind by the English Reformation in general, and by that notable product of it in particular, the English version of the Scriptures.

Later poets than these cannot be said to have been wholly neglected, though they figure in the compilation to an extent not proportionate to the relative quantity, and perhaps to the relative value, of their work and that of the men above referred to. It is, for example, noticeable that Charles Wesley is made to contribute but one piece, and that Watts is not admitted at all. Earlier poets than those of the Reformation school are accorded admission much more sparingly still. But the book seems to us to be a very good one, and likely to do what it is to be hoped it may do—fulfil the compiler's desire of giving comfort and more content to minds that are in peculiar need of both.

Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology. Edited by the Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," etc., etc. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Rivingtons. 1870.)—The title-page designates Mr. Blunt as editor and not as author of this work, but neither a preface nor a note or mark attached to a single article points out a co-laborer, or indicates in what way the editor has been aided in his arduous undertaking. Possibly the term chosen—and chosen from reasons of modesty—is to make us understand that the extensive "dictionary" before us does not, in the main, embody articles originally elaborated from primary sources, but articles presenting in an abridged form the substance of the investigations of others. But be this as it may, Mr. Blunt's publication represents a vast amount of theological learning, well digested, and put into a convenient shape for the ben-

efit of both regular and occasional enquirers into subjects of ecclesiastical interest. Even those to whom the exceedingly narrow Orthodox-Anglican standpoint of the editor may appear far from satisfactory will find it a valuable addition to their books of information or reference in the same field. That standpoint it makes no attempt whatever to cover or disguise; it spurns all coquetting with criticism, and most of all with what it designates as "higher criticism." Thus we read in the conclusion of the warm argument in favor of "Everlasting Punishment:"

"A few remarks may be added respecting the danger of rejecting this doctrine on account of certain *à priori* opinions or objections of our own. . . . If doctrines which, like this, are unquestionably contained in God's Word are to be given up because we think them unreasonable and untenable, the same criterion may fairly be applied to other doctrines which have the same authority and sanction; and thus we may reject, and on this principle many have rejected, what Christians generally consider the fundamental or essential doctrines of the faith, as the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Atonement, and the resurrection of the body. If we profess to believe that the Bible *is* really God's revealed Word, we are bound by our very admission to receive it in its entirety, and cannot without manifest inconsistency either admit or reject any portion merely in accordance with our own private opinion or judgment."

Beyond this legitimate exclusiveness, however, some of the articles betray leanings in judgment which are obviously the outgrowths of less legitimate predilections and antipathies. Thus, for instance, a comparison of the articles "Jesuits" and "Judaism" will show that the writer or writers employed different scales in weighing the merits and demerits of different antagonistic systems. The weakest sides of the doctrines enunciated by the disciples of Loyola are treated—or ignored—in a spirit of mildness and toleration strangely contrasting with the severity and harshness with which the tenets and character of the followers of Moses are censured. The Law of Moses, according to the last-mentioned article, "was a mere system of fleshly justification;" Tacitus has photographed the Jews of the time of the authors of the Mishna and the Apostles "with unerring fidelity"—even when calling them a "'projectissima ad libidinem gens,'" in comparison with the Romans of the Neronian period; and "such is the Jew of the nineteenth century:" "hardened in his infidelity, bigoted in his self-regard, and inveterate in his hate for the Christian name." And the latter assertion is made immediately before mentioning as authorities such liberal Jewish writers of our times as Jost, Fürst, Zunz, Munk, Geiger, Kaiserling, and Philippson.

The misquoting, in one sentence of the same page (380), of a number of other Jewish literary names—thus: "Creisenach," "Hildenheim," "Lusatto," "Gratz," "Fassal," "Jellenick," for Creizenach, Hildesheim, Luzzatto, Grätz, Fassel, Jellinek—and such misspelled or false titles, in the same connection, as "Die Offenbärung," "L'Universe Israelite," and "Zeitschrift für Hebr. [Jüdische] Theol.," show the occasional defectiveness—to say the least—of the strictly editorial labor bestowed upon the work. Another defect is inconsistency in the plan. While some of the articles offer plenty of historical details, others treating of analogous subjects consider only doctrinal points. Thus we find very little about Jesuitism and a great deal about Jesuits in the respective article, while "Gnosticism" almost entirely ignores the Gnostics—leaving unmentioned even such masters of Gnostic thought as Basilides, Valentinus, and Bardesanes.

Presbyterian Reunion: A Memorial Volume. 1837-1871. (New York De Witt C. Lent & Co.)—The division of the Presbyterian Church in 1837 was the effect of a "natural necessity" which there was no "moral ability" in the body to hinder; its reunion in 1870 was the result of "moral necessity" which there was no longer any "natural ability" in either of the separate members to hinder. A stringent ecclesiastical system which holds its members together by a vow of allegiance to the words of a formula or to the rubrics of a ritual, and which has in its very structure a tendency to centralization in a supreme and final authority to interpret standards, issue causes, and enforce conformity, has within itself also a logical tendency to disruption, whenever the spirit of progress, swelling the hearts of the Liberals, shall strain formularies, and provoke the Conservatives to tighten the bands of arbitrary power. It was the spirit of freedom-asserting itself against slavery—then a neutralizing element in the church, and liberalizing church action and theological opinion, which had strained the Presbyterian system for some years prior to 1837, and which the Conservatives sought to exorcise by the forcible ejectment of the Liberals. Zeal for "the standards"—the *ipsissima verba* of the Confession—became the test of Orthodoxy and almost of personal integrity. The law of self-preservation in a centralized system, the foreordained antagonism between the letter and the spirit, repelled those who were no longer held together by strong moral affinities. The controversy was not a war of words, but of tendencies and ideas, if not of principles.

But after the separation the New School body gradually discovered that it was weak organically in the exact ratio of that moral freedom which had given it strength as a party within the original organization. Had it fully worked out the law of liberty, it might have become a great religious power in the land, strong numerically, financially, and spiritually, though making little show of ecclesiastical unity, and no attempt at uniformity. But there came a reaction from this tendency toward consolidation; one by one its distinctive principles of ecclesiastical union with freer churches, of co-operation in voluntary societies, and of popular administration in church affairs, were relinquished in favor of a more unified and coherent denominational action. Other causes in the religious movements of the times worked toward this result. Meantime secession had relieved the Old School Church from the drag of slavery, and the younger men in that church had become liberalized in thought and spirit. Episcopacy, Methodism, Roman Catholicism, were growing, and this was attributed to compactness of organization; scepticism was threatening not church extension only, but Christianity itself; and it was unseemly that two great bodies of the same name, faith, and order should be rivalling one another in every town and village, instead of working together for the same end; and so a *moral* necessity united what a *logical* necessity had divided. The movements toward reunion, and the consummation of the act, were highly creditable to the Christian magnanimity of both parties. The whole story is told in this memorial volume by representatives of both sides, and by historical documents. Every intelligent Presbyterian will wish to keep this as a household book, and it will have a permanent place in the Church History of the United States. The Historical Reviews from opposite points are mutually contradictory in sundry particulars; but there is no spirit of recrimination in the attempt to justify the attitude of either party at the division. The Old School claim to have surrendered nothing of the integrity of the standards, the New School nothing of the freedom of interpretation; but if unity shall run into uniformity to the prejudice of liberty, then division will be as much a necessity of the future as it was of the past.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1871.

The Week.

CONGRESS has been mainly occupied with debates on the Ku-klux legislation. Mr. B. F. Butler has made another speech, of the usual kind, in which he took the ground as broadly as possible, that policing the States was one of the duties of the General Government. It is needless to say that the formal adoption of this doctrine would rapidly bring about the repudiation by all the States of all responsibility for the security of their own citizens, and the assumption by the General Government of *all* the duties of government; and we should then have a totally new and highly centralized form of administration, which, when extending over such an enormous territory, and dealing with great masses of population, would have to be arbitrary, minute, highly organized, and rigidly disciplined—Cæsarist, in short. A hundred years hence, when people asked how this monstrous body came to be substituted for the early confederated republic, they would be told that the people, being disgusted by local disturbances caused by the sudden accession of ignorant bodies of voters to the constituencies after the great rebellion, suddenly determined, in a fit of impatience, under the advice of a band of wild and reckless politicians, to abandon their constitution, and set up a system like that of France, which was at that moment engaged in the substitution of a "Universal Republic" for a sensual Empire. We cordially agree with the *Evening Post*, that we are about to witness now a desperate attempt on the part of a large number of political adventurers and corrupt speculators, by working on the humanitarian feelings of the Northern people, to prevent the restoration of peace and order by natural processes, and to protract the period of violence, arbitrary rule, and disregard of forms through which they have risen into notoriety and made money.

The great work of reforming the civil service, which the President recommended Congress to undertake, and which Congress in its turn authorized him to undertake, has just been pushed on by the sudden removal of Mr. Moses Grinnell from the post of naval officer of this port, and Mr. Palmer from that of appraiser. We believe the first intimation Mr. Grinnell received of his removal he got from the announcement in the morning papers that the name of his successor had been sent in to the Senate. The object of this way of doing things is, we believe, to prevent officials falling into that lethargy and stolid content so characteristic of the official classes among the down-trodden peoples of Europe. American officers, on the other hand, are kept in a state of healthy apprehension and uneasiness, which makes them frisky, active, and wide-awake, like the application of pepper or turpentine which dealers make to tender parts of their horses before showing their paces. No officer who goes home, as most American officers do, without feeling sure he will not find himself dismissed in the morning, can ever be a drowsy or sluggish man. What makes the present change the more striking is, that Mr. Palmer was, we believe, a very competent officer. His successor must of course be better, or the President would never have removed him.

The San Domingo Commission has not, at this writing, made its report, and all sorts of rumors are afloat as to what it is to be. It seems to be generally agreed that it will be long; but no matter how long it may be, it will fall far short of the requirements of Congress. The resolution which defined the range of the enquiry in which the Commission was to engage cut out work for about two years, and the result ought to fill two volumes at least of the size of the *American Encyclopædia*. In fact, one of the curious features of the Commission is the number of things it professes to have found out about a foreign island, with whose language the members are not familiar, in the short space of four weeks. A good deal of ridicule has been heaped by critics on travellers who make a month's run through a foreign country, and then offer the world a full explanation of its leading social and political phenomena. Nevertheless, nearly all travellers who have ever done this have had a decided advantage over the San Domingo Commission, inasmuch as the natives have no interest in deceiving an ordinary traveller, and do not care enough about him to act a part before him. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine an investigation conducted under more unfavorable circumstances than that in which the Commission has been engaged; and there is, under all the circumstances, something very curious in the perfect confidence in the propriety of annexation with which Mr. Wade has come back.

What the President will do about the matter seems to be still uncertain. If the report is favorable to the scheme, of which there appears to be no doubt, some think he ought to and will at once write another message advocating the scheme still further. On the other hand, the serious division the matter has already produced in the party ranks seems a good reason for dropping it. But, after making all the fuss he has done, the President cannot safely drop it. To do so now, would present his first persistence in a very unfavorable light. If the plan be of such small consequence that he may fairly give it up now what are we to think of the judgment which for nearly two years has made it the leading, and indeed we may say the only, measure in the policy of the Administration? The President cannot decently abandon, in the third year of his term, an affair which he has thought worthy of his almost undivided attention ever since he took office, and no silence about San Domingo now can possibly heal the split in the Republican ranks.

The Republicans have probably carried Connecticut, electing the Governor and two, and perhaps three, members of Congress, but by an infinitesimal majority. Even this result, in spite of the discouraging condition of the party at Washington and the recent defeat in New Hampshire, is largely due to the discovery of an alliance between the Democratic candidate and "Boss" Tweed. The Republicans professed, a day or two before the election, to have discovered a telegram from English to Tweed, reminding him of promised aid in the shape either of repeaters or money. Of this English denied the authenticity, but he acknowledged communication with Tweed in the shape of requests for aid of some kind in the canvass. Now, Tweed does not enter into alliance with anybody for ordinary political reasons. He is not a party politician, and cares nothing about political ideas. All parties are to him simply means of making money, and any politician who applies to him for aid must know very well that he must make a return in the shape of fresh means of corruption. Nobody can get Tweed, for instance, to interfere in the politics of a neighboring State except as a means either of supporting his corruption in New York or spreading it to other legislatures and cities. He would be tempted by the chance of establishing "sub-rings" in New Haven and Hartford, but he cares nothing about the effect of the election otherwise. Consequently, it is fair to accuse Governor English, when he telegraphs for help to such men as Tweed and O'Gorman, of willingness to see the system which has reduced this city and State to their present degradation extended to Connecticut. The New York Ring have already made extensive inroads into Connecticut along the Sound. If they get much further, the State will be lost socially as well as politically.

The Board of Trade of Charleston met, we are glad to say, last week, to take into consideration the financial condition of the State; and of the composition of the meeting, the *Republican*, the radical organ, says it cannot be denied that those present "represented a large amount of the entire capital of Charleston;" and it predicts that the movement will spread "to other cities, towns, and communities" in the

State. The matter that brought the meeting together may be told in a few words. Here is the story, and very dismal it is:

The average taxes for ten years previous to 1860, were but	$431,000 00
The year 1860 being only	392,000 00
The taxes for 1868 were	1,858,000 00
The taxable value of the property of the State in 1860	490,000,000 00
Taxable value in 1871	184,000,000 00

It will be perceived that in 1860 the taxes were not quite $400,000 on a taxable basis of about $500,000,000, whereas the taxes of 1868 amount to $1,858,000 on a basis of only $184,000,000, so that while the property of the State was reduced to one-third its former value, the taxes are increased nearly five hundred per cent.

It is true that this enormous increase is composed, in part, of money spent in reconstruction expenses, and perhaps some additional interest on the public debt.

1858. Expenses of the Legislature	$51,000 00
1868. Expenses of the Legislature	270,000 00
1858. Executive expenses	5,000 00
1868. Executive expenses	40,000 00
1858. Civil expenses	97,000 00
1868. Civil expenses	218,000 00

And the legislative appropriations for the four months' session, which closed last month, amount to the enormous sum of $535,000.

In the presence of this disgraceful and unprecedented state of things, the majority of the property-holders and taxpayers of the State are excluded from any share in legislation. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the meeting, after declaring that the taxes are corruptly raised and improvidently spent, and that the credit of the State has been pledged illegally, and that it is now proposed to pledge it for still further loans by a new issue of bonds, announced that the taxpayers and property-holders of Charleston will not hold these bonds binding, and will resist all taxation for the payment of them by "every legitimate means in their power." We add our warning to that of the meeting. It is impossible that the liabilities which the carpet-bag governments at the South are creating can be fairly met when society gets into its normal conditions, and any one who takes these new bonds not only helps to sustain a pack of great knaves in the enjoyment of their plunder, but takes a thoroughly bad security. The meeting arranged for the holding of a convention in May to discuss the subject still further, to be composed of two delegates from each county.

The meeting referred to and deplored the Ku-klux outrages as "occasional disturbances in some of the counties of the State," and said that "these violations of the public peace were the consequences of generous but unwise efforts to suppress the fraud and corruption of corrupt local rulers from parties who accept the Union and desire to obey the legitimate authority of the Federal powers." Now, it is just this kind of mild talk about shameful and barbarizing atrocities which prevents reform movements at the South from receiving more support at the North, and which enables unprincipled charlatans like Butler to make capital out of bills "for the protection of life and property at the South." We have no doubt there are among the Ku-kluxes *some* such persons as the resolutions describe, but in all such movements, human nature being what it is, the real reformers must be a very small body, and the unmitigated robbers and cutthroats a large one; and this is why decent and intelligent men bear almost any evils sooner than attempt redress by force of arms. In the very paper in which this meeting is reported, we find an account of the brutal murder of a highly respectable and wealthy old doctor, seventy years of age, a South Carolinian to boot, a large land-holder and tax-payer, and who had no more to do with carpet-baggers than with communists. He was called out of his bed in the night, and shot simply because he was a Republican. As long as things of this kind occur and meet with nothing but mealy-mouthed censure from Southern conservatives, it will be impossible for calm and moderate men at the North to do much to help them.

The Sub-Committee of the Methodist Book Concern is doing nobly in the matter of not finding an expert to examine its books, and see whether, as is charged, its agents and employees have been swindling. It has been sitting for weeks, and found nobody who will do. The fact is, its standard about experts is very high. It would never do to let a common, worldly, sinful accountant overhaul the books of the church. He has to be "altogether lovely," and accountants of this kind are rare. In the meantime, the vile secular papers go on lying about the Sub-Committee in the most disgraceful way. They keep saying, for instance, that the Sub-Committee does not want an accountant. Judge Fancher writes to say that they have "unanimously nominated J. P. K. as chief accountant," but the rest of the Committee wanting to have two assistant accountants appointed also at the same time, Judge Fancher refused "to approve of them by the bulk;" that is, appoint all three together. He wishes to weigh them separately—so there is a dead-lock. Judge Fancher says the other side is to blame. Of course it is. Our advice to the Judge is not to give in. Never "approve" of experts "by the bulk." In the meantime, our friend, Dick Connolly, the City Comptroller, who has not published his account for two years, must chuckle over the growing dexterity of professed Christians in preventing suspicious books from being overhauled. We begin to fear that the Sub-Committee will yet turn up in high places in the City Tax Office.

Commissioner Pleasanton, if he cannot kill the income-tax, has certainly managed to take the life out of it. He rules that under the statute no man need give the particulars of his income, or answer any questions about it. All that is required of him is a statement of the gross amount and the taxable amount. Moreover, persons whose income is under $2,000 need not take any notice of the assessor or collector at all; and, more important still, persons whose tax was not withheld by corporations paying coupons and dividends last year are to be allowed to return as if it had been withheld. There can be little doubt that these modifications are the result of careless legislation, and they make the further retention of the tax positively ridiculous. Congress might as well now finish it—particularly as a powerful movement is on foot, here and in Philadelphia, to procure its abolition as unconstitutional, by a judgment of the courts. If the association formed in New York gets the injunction for which they talk of applying, it will probably not leave money enough in the tax to pay the expense of collection, if, indeed, any further collection is attempted.

Among the "testimonials" of the week is a gigantic bouquet to James Fisk, Jr., presented by a circle of admirers on his thirty-sixth birthday. Among the donors are found the names of John Chamberlain, the noted Twenty-Fifth Street gambler, and, we are sorry to say, Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, Mr. Field's partner. If Mr. Shearman's name has been put there without his authority, as we would fain believe, he owes it to public decency to repudiate it; if he has put it there himself, he owes the public some kind of explanation. Does the defense of him in the courts involve the expression of admiration of Fisk in private? Does Mr. Shearman really think it a good thing for the world that Fisk was born thirty-six years ago? and does he really mean to say that Fisk's career entitles him to public marks of esteem from honorable members of society?

The unusually heavy importations of foreign merchandise, which for the last week reached the extraordinary sum of nearly twelve millions of dollars at this port alone, have enabled Secretary Boutwell to show another large reduction on the national debt, the excess of income over expenditure amounting to a trifle over eleven millions of dollars for the month of March. The total receipts from customs alone, about eighteen millions of dollars at all the ports, enabled the Treasury to meet all its ordinary expenses, amounting for the month to about thirteen millions, and to have five millions to spare. These, with about six millions from internal revenue, and other sources, have reduced the debt about eleven millions, mainly in the shape of bonds purchased at the weekly Treasury offerings in this city. The announcement of the Secretary of his operations for April proves that he is not to be swayed from the conservative course which he has marked out for himself from the beginning. In spite of the temptation to use a large portion of his idle coin balances in buying bonds now (as we have repeatedly urged

in other times), and thus aiding his funding operations, he has wisely adhered to his programme of last month, and only proposes to sell his monthly surplus, recognizing that any momentary advantage to be derived from a different course would be more than lost by the appearance of artifice. The funding has received a decided impetus during the week, and, so far, has largely exceeded our anticipation. The amount of bonds exchanged exceeds fifty millions.

On Tuesday, March 28, two days after the election, the Paris Commune was proclaimed in the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. Salvoes of artillery were fired, and speeches were made from a platform covered with red cloth, which were not heard, but enthusiastically applauded by enormous crowds—the red cloth, we suppose, producing the principal effect. On the same day, the Sub-Central Committee, which had replaced the Central Committee of the insurrection, ordered the formation of twenty-five battalions of infantry and fifteen mitrailleuse batteries for active service, and of twenty batteries of reserve artillery. Generals Duval and Bergeret, charged with organizing the infantry and cavalry respectively, were empowered to make all needed requisitions. The National Guards were allotted two francs and a-half daily in addition to their rations. The Bank of France was persuaded —if this be the term—to make the necessary advances, and a number of officials in the Department of Finance were dismissed "for disobedience." Two members of the Committee itself were thrown into prison, and another, according to report, condemned to death "as a Bonapartist." The Postal Director was summoned to surrender his functions to an appointee of the Commune, but refused, and the affair resulted in the total disorganization of the service. The judicial benches were deserted, all the judges having fled. The workshops were without hands. A general exodus of the wealthier people began. But the red flag waved gaily over the public buildings, and "Paris was quiet."

On Thursday, General Duval submitted to the Sub-Central Committee a proposition for the disarmament of those portions of the National Guard which had not declared their adherence to the Commune. M. Assy, the great "International," deemed the measure unnecessary, as the Republic "formed a Committee of Public Safety," ready to mete out death to all conspirators, and thus—as he wisely opined—ran no danger from its opponents. And, in fact, the Sub-Central just then passed sentence of death upon Wilfred Fonvielle for being engaged in an attempt against the existence of the Commune; or, possibly, for being suspected of such an attempt, as Wilfred's brother, Ulric Fonvielle—once the companion of Victor Noir on his fatal errand to Pierre Bonaparte—was at the same time reported to be organizing a large body of loyal Guards at St. Germain. General Duval, whose proposition was not carried, was authorized to ferret out and arrest all enemies of the new régime. The Sub-Central also appointed an Executive Committee, composed partly of heroes of the sword, like Duval, Bergeret, and Endes, and partly of newspaper heroes, like Pyat and Vaillant, of whom the former once offered a prize, in his paper, for the assassination of King William, and the latter, in the present *Journal Officiel* of Paris, now urges the assassination of the Duc d'Aumale.

A few hours later, however, the Sub-Central and its offspring, the Executive Committee—if the genesis of the latter, as reported, be correct—remitted their powers to the regular Communal Council, and a proclamation announcing the fact was issued. The Commune, thus solemnly installed, but holding its sittings in secret, and inspired by Blanqui from his "hiding-place," established a new Executive Committee, composed of several obscure men besides the renowned Flourens, Pyat, Endes, and Delescluze. The last-named had resigned his seat in the National Assembly. Pyat, however, who declared it dissolved when he abandoned it, at the same time declaring his determination to remain its member, seems to cling to all his titles. New decrees were now rapidly issued in succession. Conscription was abolished, the introduction into Paris of any military force but National Guards prohibited, and every able-bodied citizen ordered to enter the Guard; lodgers' rents from October, 1870, to April, 1871, were declared remitted, and sales of pawned articles suspended; the public officials were warned to disregard all orders emanating from the Versailles Government, and all its documents forbidden circulation in Paris; the title of Commander-in-Chief was abolished, the flag of the "Universal Republic" made the flag of the Commune, Endes appointed Delegate Minister of War, Bergeret Chief of Staff, and Duval Military Commander, also Prefect of Police, also judge. Besides these chiefly local measures, sweeping reforms of less imminent application were decreed, some of an anti-clerical and some of a socialistic character. And still more sweeping reforms were proposed. The sale of Versailles, St. Cloud, and Fontainebleau was talked of as a financial measure, and the issuing of assignats suggested, and, as a crowning work, the re-erection of the guillotine of 1793 was expected.

Fortunately for the Government and the National Assembly established in Versailles, the Paris movement, stained as it was with blood from its beginning, met with little encouragement in the provinces. Lyons remained loyal; the revolutionary convulsion in Marseilles proved ephemeral; more or less important agitations in Creuzot, St. Étienne, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Perpignan were easily suppressed; Charette, with his volunteers, preserved order in Nantes; and the large cities in the north showed no insurrectionary symptoms. The departments were not slow in sending reinforcements to the camps in and around Versailles, and Generals Trochu, Ducrot, Leflô, Clinchant, and others, and among them some returned from captivity, were active in organizing the loyal forces, or concerting plans for the reconquest of Paris, while a new convention, concluded with the German military authorities, partially removed the restriction of the preliminaries of peace limiting the French forces north of the Loire. Most of the Radical members of the Assembly remained on their benches in the Assembly; only a few delegates from Paris preferring, with Delescluze, to cast their lot with the insurrectionary Commune. Some, like Lockroy, continued to act as mediators, undismayed by the ill-success of Schoelcher and Admiral Saisset. To facilitate reconciliation, the Assembly passed various measures of future reform, favoring departmental and municipal autonomy. But Thiers, while displaying a readiness to accept an honorable conciliatory arrangement, and a determination not to compromise by pusillanimous concessions the honor and the future of the nation, showed a considerable leaning towards sterner resolutions.

The first hostile encounter between the troops of the Assembly and those of the Commune took place on Sunday, April 2, in the vicinity of the bridge of Neuilly, between Courbevoie and Puteaux. It is not quite clear, from the Cable reports before us, which side was the aggressive party, nor whether much blood was shed. The men of the Commune were defeated, and fled into the city, where the excitement rose to the highest pitch, and preparations were begun for an immediate march on Versailles. Before daybreak on Monday, the insurgents, under Flourens, Bergeret, Duval, and others, marched out in two corps. The principal one, flanking Mont Valérien on the right, attacked the Government forces at Nanterre, Rueil, Bougival, Besons, Chatou, and Croissy, north and west of that fort, on the two Seine peninsulas. At daybreak, Mont Valérien opened fire upon the insurgents, but with little effect, as they were sheltered by the villages. Their attack, however, was repulsed, and, as General Vinoy's cavalry executed at the same time a movement to outflank them, they fled in a complete rout, leaving many dead and wounded behind. The other corps, which marched via Meudon and Châtillon, met with a similar fate. And, according to a later despatch, the Government troops, on Tuesday, "completely defeated the remnant of the Communists, taking many thousands of prisoners, and all of their artillery, and destroying their army." Duval and Flourens are reported dead. The speedy occupation of Paris is expected. Thiers announces the determination of the Government "to exercise clemency towards all who have been blindly misled," but to "punish the ringleaders with severity."

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION ON THE FISHERIES QUESTION.

An association, to which reference has already been made by the *Nation*, exists in England, "formed for the purpose of obtaining the best securities for the maintenance of a friendly understanding, and for the cultivation of more cordial relations between the United States and Great Britain." An address recently issued in their name says that "the lamentable ignorance of contemporary American history which exists in England even amongst otherwise well-instructed politicians, is too notorious; and the case is much the same in the United States with reference to Great Britain. Upon all questions in controversy between the two countries, the facts and arguments which form the strength of the case on each side are, for all practical purposes, unknown in the other." The same address announces that "the work of the English association for the present will be confined to the publication of carefully prepared statements upon the questions at issue which are specified in the President's Message." In pursuance of this design a committee was appointed in December last to prepare a report upon the fisheries question. Their report, published as a pamphlet, has been forwarded to this country, and a copy of it now lies before us. It contains a short recapitulation of the facts connected with the long controversy, a summary of the treaty stipulations and of the imperial and colonial legislation bearing upon the subject, and a dry statement of the matters now remaining unsettled between the two Governments. It is more remarkable for what it omits than for what it includes. If it was the object of the association to inform and enlighten the people of each country in respect to the claims made by the people and Government of the other country, and the grounds upon which those claims were based, and the reasons by which they are supported, the report will do little or nothing towards the accomplishment of such a beneficent purpose. The Americans are quite familiar already with the pretensions set up by the Colonial Parliament and sustained by the home authorities, and the labors of the committee will add little to their knowledge either of facts or reasons. On the other hand, the report will remove none of the "lamentable ignorance" which is said to exist in England, for it does not profess to treat the matter from the American point of view, nor to furnish any of the arguments by which the American claims are supported; but, on the contrary, with a most carefully preserved appearance of fairness and impartiality, it quietly conveys the impression that the British position is simply impregnable.

Passing from this general description of the report as a whole, we will in a very brief manner notice some of its special features, and, in particular, some of its most important omissions. In stating the doctrines of the international law which define and regulate fishing rights, the conclusion is reached that a "bay" over which exclusive British dominion extends, must be taken to mean an indentation, the headlands of which are at a distance from one another of not more than ten miles. Larger and wider indents would be free to American fishermen over such parts of their surfaces as were more than three miles from the coast. This definition of a bay would undoubtedly be satisfactory to our citizens, and has been practically adopted by the British home government in their instructions to naval officers. But the report fails to notice the fact that the Colonial authorities utterly repudiate this construction, and have been sustained in their position by the law officers of the crown. Recent Canadian writers, either official or in the interests of the Dominion Government, assert complete jurisdiction and exclusive rights over the largest bays, including Fundy and Chaleurs.

After a short history of the several treaties affecting the subject, from the treaty of peace in 1783 to the abrogation of the Reciprocity treaty in 1865, with an abstract of their provisions and of the diplomatic correspondence which preceded their adoption, the question is stated, "By what treaties are the rights of the United States fishermen now regulated?" and the answer is given: "It seems clear that the treaty of 1818 is now in force." The most important of all the American claims—a claim which, if well founded, makes all the others useless—is thus dismissed as not worthy a discussion. In fact, the position of the report, and of the British Government, that the restrictive clauses of Article I. of the treaty of 1818 are now in force, cannot be maintained without overturning all the settled rules for the construction of contracts. The Reciprocity treaty was substituted in their place in 1854, swallowing up and destroying their provisions; and when this latter convention was abrogated in 1865 there was nothing left in the nature of a compact between the two countries except the treaty of 1783. That the grants of fishing rights in Canadian waters conferred by the treaty of 1783 were not annulled by the war of 1812 has always been maintained by the American Government—maintained even in the very act of making the partial renunciation of 1818, which renunciation was in its place swept away by the positive stipulations of the convention of 1854. We cannot now discuss the correctness of this claim, and simply remark that it is impossible to produce a single European publicist of authority, nor even any English text-writer except Phillimore, who lays down rules and doctrines antagonistic to this American position. We believe that to-day our fishermen have full rights to pursue their calling within any distance from the Canadian shores and in all the Canadian bays.

The report proceeds to state some of the questions arising under the legislation of the Dominion Parliament. It may be true that, upon the basis of the convention of 1818 as an existing compact, American fishermen have no right to trade in Canadian ports, or to prepare to fish or to tranship cargoes of fish in Canadian waters. But the committee fails to notice the fact that the existing statutes directly interfere with and virtually destroy the privilege granted by that treaty of entering bays and harbors for purpose of shelter, and for other specified purposes. These statutes make no discrimination, and apply to all American fishing-vessels alike; and, if enforced, would render a most important part of the convention a mere nullity.

With the conclusion of the committee we entirely agree, that the matters in dispute "all involve questions which, if no agreement is speedily arrived at between the governments of the two countries, may lead to serious dangers."

THE REVOLT OF THE MERCHANTS AGAINST THE TYRANNY OF THE RAILROADS.

Next to the right of personal liberty, the most sacred, most essential, most pervading right of the citizen of a free country is the right of locomotion and of transportation. Personal liberty itself is of no avail, is indeed a mere mockery, if not accompanied with the unrestricted right of moving person and property from place to place. The right of moving person and property from place to place implies the absolute right of every citizen to use the sidewalks, carriageways, highways, and by-ways of the whole country, and of every description, with absolute freedom, subject only to such restrictions as the preservation of good order requires, and to the payment of such taxes or tolls as the State may impose, or permit to be imposed, for the maintenance of the roads themselves. Fifty years ago, the mere statement of such a proposition on the part of a public journal would have been considered trite, if not silly. Yet to-day it has become absolutely necessary to revert to this elementary principle to justify and render intelligible an act of the gravest national importance, into which an imperious public necessity is precipitating this people before they are fully aware of the true nature of their doings.

The right of locomotion and of transportation has never been disputed in theory. Yet in practice it has to-day passed away from the citizens of the United States just as absolutely and entirely as if they had never possessed it. It has been taken away so gradually and insidiously that we did not become conscious of the process until now, when we seek to remove some petty or odious restriction, and find ourselves suddenly confronted with the alarming fact that we have, by law, statute, enactment, or charter, whatever the device may be called, actually, fully, and absolutely surrendered our rights to an irresponsible, unscrupulous tyrant, whose power is for the time being absolute, who laughs to scorn our claims for redress, and sets our efforts at remedy boldly at defiance.

Lest any one deem this sweeping statement an exaggeration, we desire to call attention to a few facts, which in their isolated occurrence, however much indignation they may excite at the time, are apt to be

remembered so imperfectly by the public, that their force as arguments is lost, unless collated and verified. Only within the last few months the entire postal service has been repeatedly delayed, or at times totally interrupted, at the Bergen Tunnel, during the quarrel between the Erie and the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad Companies; on the Long Island Railroad, which is reported to have positively refused to carry the Sag Harbor mails; at Harrisburg, where, in a period of three months, the whole or a part of the Western newspaper mails was thirty-two times compelled to lie over until next day, owing to the wilful neglect of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to provide the necessary room. Numerous other cases occurred which we do not remember with sufficient distinctness to specify here.

The forcible interruption to traffic on the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad a few weeks since; the riotous seizure of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad by regiments of armed men, bringing the State to the verge of civil war; the wilful derangement of traffic over the road to Saratoga last summer to enable Commodore Vanderbilt to carry New York passengers over the Hudson River road instead of permitting them to take the boats from some of the river stations; the abandonment of the Bangor, Oldtown, and Milford Railway in Maine at the behest of its competitor, the European and North American; the forcible blockading of the approaches to the Suspension Bridge, and the attempt to burn the bridge across Cayuga Creek to prevent the Erie Junction road from interfering with the New York Central—an act that brings to mind the old law in force even among the "barbarians" of Peru a few centuries ago, according to which "to burn a bridge was death;" the refusal of the New Jersey Railroad Company to forward passengers to Washington, owing to their dispute with the Baltimore and Ohio Company; the Minnesota Railroad ring that made a desperate and partially successful effort last summer to use its power over transportation to control the entire wheat market of the State; the New Haven Railroad exercising a censorship of the press by prohibiting the sale and transportation on its line of a newspaper that had dared to criticise its management; the trebling of freights on coal during the bitter winter months of January and February, when thousands of poor in the Atlantic cities were all but perishing of cold; the additional two dollars a ton put on the rates by the Reading Railroad Company in March, when it found that some coal was still being mined; the case of passengers hustled off the cars for infractions of petty rules of the companies, and especially of those who were thrust off trains while in motion over trestle-bridges; the despatch from the President to a conductor of a passenger train on the Morris and Essex Railroad:

> "Put your train on the side switch, and keep it there until the commuter and his backers conform to the rules of the company.
> "SAM SLOAN."

—all this is strong enough support for our statement. But we advise our readers also to turn to the petition of the citizens of the City of New York, published in the daily papers of March 29, in which, over the signatures of more than five hundred of the most responsible and respectable mercantile firms in every branch of the city trade, there is set forth in detail a system of extortion, ill usage, tyranny, and corruption on the part of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Companies.

These men, whose mere statement, under all the circumstances, must be accepted as conclusive, charge the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Companies with "seriously injuring the commerce and business interests of this State," with "outraging its citizens," with being "an irresponsible, grasping, and dangerous monopoly," with "levying taxes in defiance of equity and public law," with "placing an embargo upon trade and destroying industry," with "usurping the legitimate functions of Government, and unjustly oppressing the people."

The great importance of this action on the part of the New York merchants lies in the recognition of the evil, and in the statement of the abuse, in a manner which must silence the clamorous denial *of the facts* by which the friends and organs of the railroad corporations have heretofore been able to set aside and render ineffective all isolated cases of complaint. The great value of this protest consists in the emphatic declaration of calm, thoughtful, law-abiding citizens, "that a railroad is a *public highway*, constructed for the public use, and that the public are entitled to all the benefits resulting therefrom beyond the adequate compensation due its constructors and operators." It annihilates by a simple appeal to the inalienable right of free locomotion all the bulwarks which shallow theorists and designing advocates have built up around the railroad monopoly on the basis of non-interference, competition, and corporate rights. The error of these theorists has always lain in their failure to recognize that the rights of railroad corporations, in so far as they trench upon the higher right of free locomotion, are rights which no Government has *the power* to surrender, however much it may attempt to do so, however much the attempt may have had the popular sanction. For it must not be forgotten, in spite of the abuses which in the course of time have crept into railroad management, that the railroad corporations as now existing were created with the full consent of the people, though in ignorance of the monopoly and tyranny to which they were surrendering their rights.

The process now going on in the public mind is a gradual recognition of the fact, that the attempt to place the control of essential popular rights in the hands of individuals and corporations has resulted in unbearable abuses, and that the very existence of popular liberty absolutely requires that this control, surrendered in ignorance, and wantonly perverted, shall be entirely resumed by the people, or else so thoroughly limited as to correct existing abuses and prevent the perpetration of new ones. In what manner this control can be resumed, or how it can be limited, is a question requiring more thorough, practical, and detailed discussion than the New York merchants appear to have as yet devoted to it. Their general appeal to the Legislature to remove certain special evils, and to regulate rates of fare and transportation on all railroads running in this State, evinces more confidence in the State Legislature than that body merits, especially after their recent unjust repeal of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company's charter amendment at the bidding of the very Central and Hudson River Company indicted before them. Even were the present Legislature as honest as it is corrupt, as intelligent as it is ignorant, it might still be doubtful whether any remedy it could devise *and enforce* would cover the ground, since it is chiefly the inter-State relations of the different roads which give them their greatest power for evil, and over these connections outside the State limits our Legislature would, of course, exercise no authority. But it is neither necessary nor desirable to enter now upon a discussion of remedies. When the public mind has become fully alive to the true nature of the evil, the remedies will suggest themselves almost spontaneously.

THE BAR ASSOCIATION.

WE did not intend to return to the controversy between General Barlow and Mr. D. D. Field until the Bar Association had passed upon it; but a correspondent writes to ask us in what position we now understand it to be left, and the *World* last Sunday, after observing dead silence about it while it was pending in the *Tribune*, published an article which, whether designedly or not, will in many people's eyes obscure the really important points in the case, and, what is worse, raise new and wholly irrelevant ones. There is evidently an attempt about to be made to produce the impression that General Barlow has been guilty of an impropriety in dragging a professional brother into a newspaper controversy about matters which a professional tribunal only is competent to decide, and that Mr. Field, in declining to answer General Barlow's last letter, and appealing to the Bar Association, is simply carrying the case into the proper forum.

It would be difficult to imagine a greater misapprehension. Mr. Field began the newspaper controversy by a letter to the editor of a newspaper asking for a retractation of certain statements appearing in a newspaper, and engaged with this editor in a long debate, in the course of which he said that the editor "had arraigned his professional conduct," and he "repelled his charge and challenged him to specify an in-

stance" (letter of Jan. 5); and later (Jan. 17), he renewed his challenge by saying: "Please get, if you can, one respectable lawyer or judge to say that I am wrong."

Now, this certainly left it open to Mr. Bowles to get "a respectable lawyer or judge," if he could, to take up the controversy at the point where he, as a layman, had to let it drop; and it left it open, too, to any respectable lawyer or judge to appear on his own account, if he thought the public interest would be thereby promoted, in the forum which Mr. Field had deliberately chosen, and then and there produce, if he could, the instances for which Mr. Field had so defiantly called. This General Barlow did. He made his charges very carefully in three letters, citing evidence as he went, and it is to be observed that nearly all his evidence is drawn from reports of testimony taken in court. Mr. Field replied in one letter traversing *some* of General Barlow's allegations; General Barlow rejoined with fresh evidence, and pointed out wherein Mr. Field's reply was insufficient. Now, it was, at this point or at any other, competent for Mr. Field to carry his case before the Bar Association, but no appeal to the Bar Association can possibly take the place of a full reply to General Barlow's charges and proofs in the newspapers, and, as the matter now stands, the latter's heaviest and most formidable letter lies literally unanswered. This is unfortunate. Mr. Field may say that he does not choose to pursue the newspaper controversy any further, but the public will think that, having begun it, he was bound to close it, if he could.

The *World* has endeavored to give a false complexion to the manner in which the newspaper controversy has come to an end, by the insinuation that General Barlow is too young, and possibly too "immature," to entitle him to a full defence at Mr. Field's hands. It was open to Mr. Field when he challenged Mr. Bowles to specify the standing in years of the lawyers whom Mr. Bowles might produce as accusers. He did not do so; he simply asked that they be "respectable." General Barlow is highly respectable. He is respected by the judges, and has the confidence of his clients. These two things give a man weight at any bar in the world. If New York lawyers do not take care, they will yet give a man distinction at the bar of this city. Mr. Field made the great mistake of suggesting a personal comparison with General Barlow in his first letter to the *Tribune*, of which the *Tribune* took ferocious advantage, and certainly not to General Barlow's detriment. But then all this is beside the matter in hand. If the point in dispute were the relative age and legal standing of Messrs. Field and Barlow, it might have been decided long ago by a reference to family Bibles or the files in the County Clerk's office. The question is, Are the charges in General Barlow's letters true? Is his evidence impeachable? and if so, where and how? As long as these questions are unanswered, all personal comparisons between the two disputants are simply silly, particularly as we have yet to hear of a lawyer of any standing at the New York bar who professes to have any doubt of the truth of the greater part of what General Barlow says. This is the serious part of the affair. Mr. Field has most improperly, and apparently under the influence of a misapprehension as to his real position, published a note from Judge Parker in the *Evening Post*, saying that he had read Mr. Field's letter in the *Tribune* of the 11th, and corroborating Mr. Field's assertion as "to what took place at Albany," and testifying that Ramsey got an *ex-parte* injunction from Judge Murray at Delhi, and expressing his belief that the whole attack on Mr. Field is "unwarrantable and unjustifiable." What the public wants to know, however, is whether Judge Parker has read General Barlow's letters, and what he thinks about the charges there made. Unless he has done so, his meddling in the controversy at all is uncalled for; and his opinion as to what "fair-minded men" will or do think about it is simply worthless.

Another question of some importance begins to be raised, and that is, the nature of the proceeding by which these charges are to be tried before the Bar Association. An impression seems to prevail among many lawyers that the evidence adduced in support of them must be such as will bear the tests in use in courts of law, and that it is open to the accused to avail himself of these tests.

The Bar Association, as we understand it, is not a legal tribunal. It is not even a legal corporation. It is a voluntary association of gentlemen, formed with the view of promoting all the interests of their common profession, and notably its purity. In other words, it is a club, and, like all clubs, it has machinery for ridding itself of unworthy members. This is the end, and the sole end, of its judicial procedure. It does not and cannot undertake to punish in any other way any lawyer for professioual misconduct; what it does undertake to do is to prevent lawyers proved guilty of improper professional misconduct from belonging to it or coming to its rooms.

Now, what kind of proof should it require in support of charges of improper conduct? The kind of proof which sends a man to jail? By no means; simply the kind of proof which is sufficient to satisfy one gentleman that another is not a person to be trusted. In other words, its rules of evidence are not and ought not to be the rules of evidence in use in the courts of common law, but the laws of the human mind, which are the rules in use in all "courts of honor." The object of a trial before a legal tribunal, as we pointed out when this controversy first began, is not to find out whether a man has really committed an offence or not, but whether certain prescribed indications of his having committed it exist. The courts do not trouble themselves about moral guilt, but about legal guilt only, which is often a very different thing. The consequence is that men are discharged every day of whose crimes neither judge nor jury entertain any manner of doubt, simply because, although there were plenty of signs of their guilt, the prescribed signs were not forthcoming.

An enquiry into a man's conduct before a court of honor is an entirely different proceeding. Here the object aimed at is not simply to find out whether he has brought himself within the purview of a statute, but whether he has fairly rendered himself an object of suspicion to his friends. The accused, therefore, does not appear before it on the defensive simply. It is his duty to attack. He is bound to say not "Find me out if you can!" but, "Why do you dare to doubt me?" He says not only, "Where are your proofs?" but, "What proofs do you require?" It is not enough for him to show that the evidence against him is insufficient; he must show that there is no evidence at all. He therefore is expected not only not to impede the prosecution, but to help them; to lead the way into the dark corners of his career, and throw the fullest light on all the suspected points. It is not enough, for instance, to say that he did not get a judge to sign an order in a house of ill-fame; he has to say where he did get him to sign it. In fact, it is preposterous to suppose that any society of honorable men could be kept up with no better guarantees for the respectability of their members than are supplied by the technical rules of evidence. Any enquiry into a man's character on such a basis would be a wretched farce, and we venture to say has never been attempted, except before "Chief Baron Nicholson" in the underground entertainment known as "The Judge and Jury."

If the Bar Association in the present case conducts the enquiry on any such basis, its verdict will not only do nobody any good but will be received with derision by the world outside. If the enquiry is to take place at all, it must be thorough. There must be no technical jugglery about it. We do not want to know whether there is legal proof of Mr. Field's having acted improperly on behalf of the Erie managers; we want to know whether he did really so act or not, or whether there is reasonable ground for believing that he did. An acquittal for failure of proof would do nothing for his reputation as long as he refused to explain whatever seemed to need explanation, which of course it is to be presumed he will not do. The notion that lawyers, because they are lawyers, must conduct an enquiry of this nature with the forms observed in the courts, is about as sensible as the notion that an astronomer's measure for a suit of clothes should be taken by triangulation, or that a doctor should never accept a friend's reply to his greeting without feeling his pulse and looking at his tongue. The Bar Association ought to be an association of honorable men; if it tries to convert itself into anything other than this, or anything short of this, it will before long become simply a refuge for scoundrels, because no honest man would stay in a body where the only reason he had for believing in the integrity of his fellow-members was that nobody had as yet succeeded in securing *legal* proof of their rascality.

SIGNING NEWSPAPER ARTICLES.

THE New York correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, the *causa teterrimi belli*, discoursing on New York journalism the other day in the columns of that paper, highly commended the practice of having the articles in periodicals signed by the writers. It undoubtedly is a good practice, for several reasons, but the weight of argument as regards newspapers, in the present state of human nature, is against it. It will take some time for the public to reach the degree of cultivation which will enable it to consider what a writer has to say apart from the writer himself. It makes no great difference as regards light literature, or magazine literature, properly so-called, whether the articles are signed or not. Indeed, it doubtless adds to the pleasure of the reader to have them signed, and it certainly helps

the writer's reputation and enlarges the market for his wares. But then, prejudices are not shocked, or passions roused, or pride wounded by tales, sketches, and anecdotes, reminiscences or humorous poems. The people who read them sit down to be amused or entertained, not to be reasoned with or preached at, and they are, therefore, in the pleasantest possible frame of mind towards the writer. The man or woman must be strongly constituted who, rising from the perusal of "A Night on a Crocodile's Back," or "The Little House Under the Hill," or "Hints on Behavior at the Dinner-Table," experiences towards the author, no matter who he may be, any worse feelings than a sense of disappointment. In nine cases out of ten, he feels nothing but gratitude and admiration, and a desire to make his personal acquaintance.

But when we come down to newspaper literature, however, as newspapers are now conducted, the arguments in favor of signing articles will hardly bear any examination whatever. The nature of the subjects newspapers treat, and of the audiences they address, and the character and training of the writers, all make anonymous writing almost essential, not only to their usefulness, but to their harmlessness. They are dealing constantly with questions of the day, on which the public is either greatly excited or quite ready to be excited. They are appealing all the time to and are dependent on the patronage of a large body of persons who are entirely unused to the treatment of any subject on purely intellectual grounds, and of whom not one in a thousand has ever weighed an argument without putting the man who used it into the scale along with it, and who approach nearly all social and political topics in a passion—it may be a noble or it may be a base passion, but still a passion. And then, as regards ourselves, the writers, supposing us to be all that the greatest admirers of the press could desire, but which many people say we are not—thoughtful, cautious, thorough, well-educated, scrupulous, good-tempered, free from envy, and malice, and uncharitableness, there is something in the nature of our calling which tries even the best natures sorely—and that is the possession of *power* without *responsibility*. It is difficult to say anything about "the power of the press" which will not seem commonplace after all that is said about it in after-dinner speeches, and we shall not touch at all upon its power over public opinion in the ordinary sense of the phrase. We refer simply to its power over individuals. In the present state of our society, a newspaper can literally make the life of any man it chooses to single out for its ridicule or reproaches utterly miserable, or can raise a very mediocre man into fame, and, if he pursues certain callings, into fortune, and it can do this without having to justify itself to anybody or bear with anybody's criticism. Now, there is no monarch, potentate, or corporation in our day of whom this can be said. The men who are armed with such power as this ought to be picked men, both as regards character and attainments; and even then they would be sure to abuse it. The general opinion is, however, that we are not picked men, or, if picked, that the work has been done with extraordinary carelessness. We are said to have among us, besides the usual proportion of downright donkeys, a very fair proportion of very ignorant men, of very unscrupulous men, of very conceited and malignant and shallow men, honeycombed with mean jealousies and small spites, and base greeds, and ignoble aims of all sorts. Every profession contains such men. Yes; but it is only in the newspaper profession that such men can take a gun, go behind a hedge, and, when they see an opponent coming along the road, knock him over without the least personal risk. It is only the newspaper rascal who is always armed amongst the unarmed. The newspaper is a kind of citadel from which he can take aim at anybody he pleases in the marketplace below, without any chance of having his shot returned. The consequence is that newspapers have produced a new type of bravo, far more dangerous to the community—that is, less capable of being guarded against or resisted—than any of his predecessors.

Now, it may seem as if the proper way to disarm such people was to make them put their names to what they say; or that, if you could not disarm them, you would at least furnish those whom they assail with the means of resisting them. On the contrary, you would simply convert ambushes into street-fights, as far as the quarrels between the members of the press were concerned, while for the protection of private individuals you would do nothing whatever. Two things have been proved by experience both in this country and in France and England, and they are things which observation of human nature in other callings might have led us to expect. One is, that the more impersonal the newspapers are—that is, the less there is known about the editor and writers, and the more they are veiled from observation—the more decorous they are in their language, and the more apt they are to treat public questions on their merits. The other is, that the more there is known of the writers of articles, the more scurrilous and violent they are apt to be in their treatment of each other, and the more of their space and time is likely to be given up to personal controversy—discussions of what I said, and you said, and he said, and of the lies you told, and that I found out, and that he tried to cover up, and of the probable effect of the curliness of my hair upon my treatment of the reconstruction question, and of your mother's unhappy relations with your father upon your treatment of the divorce question, and of his use of wine on his dinner-table upon his treatment of the temperance question. The Paris press, before 1848, was violent, and extravagant, and rhetorical, but as soon as writers were compelled, in 1851, to sign their names to their articles, it became a sink of stupidity and nastiness—a calling from which most decent men retired, and in which a writer's career came to be made up largely of an exchange of billingsgate and pistol-shots with his brother-writers. It seems strange, no doubt, that as soon as Brown of the *Footstool* finds out that it is Smith who is writing the editorial for the *Armchair* on fire-irons, he should at once lose his temper, and insinuate that Smith knew more about manacles than about pokers and tongs. But this disposition has been recognized in the rules of parliamentary procedure, which forbid all allusions to members by name. It is found in practice that the mention of a man's name in debate, inasmuch as it brings his naked individuality up more vividly before the orator's eye, has a tendency to excite pugnacity and breed personalities, and cause wanderings from the subject. Every member is therefore wisely veiled under the name of the district he represents. The rule is even more valuable in the press. Men can discuss calmly, we know, what the *Armchair*—for that is a sort of abstraction—says; but as soon as they begin to talk of Smith of the *Armchair*, all that they dislike about him, his personal history, fills their mind's eye, and the animal love of victory rises up within them, and makes them long to scourge him, and torment him, and make life hateful to him.

We might illustrate all this readily and forcibly from the history of the New York press if we chose, and if it were not delicate ground. We think it may be said, as a general rule, that the tone of the discussions in every one of the daily papers here has risen or fallen in proportion to the closeness of its connection in the public mind and the mind of the newspaper writers with one man. The periods of downright blackguardism on all sides which occasionally recur are mostly brought about by the differences between four or five men having become too fierce for restraint. Even the Springfield *Republican*—one of the best-conducted papers in the Union, and more metropolitan on the whole in its tone and management than most of the metropolitan press, and running its career in the calm atmosphere of the country, and practising the anonymous itself—finds it hard to respect the anonymous in its contemporaries, and writhes occasionally under the necessity of buckling down to the consideration of cold, dry facts and arguments, and longs to tear aside the veil, get at the writer, and have a bout with him, about his clothes, or his complexion, or his birthplace, or his education. One of its not uncommon practices is to guess at the authorship of an article in the columns of its contemporaries, and, on the strength of its guess, abuse him roundly, in this sort of way: "The article on 'wages' in the last number of the *Footstool* was, we have no doubt, written by T. B. Brown; doubtless, too, the same Brown who was sued at Albany last spring for cheating his washerwoman. A pretty fellow he is to write on 'wages.' We advise him to turn his attention to common honesty before he takes up the labor question again," etc., etc.

The true remedy for the evils of the newspaper press, it cannot be said too often, whatever they be, lies not in making the writers reveal themselves, but in making the public demand a better article, and exact from newspaper men an observance of the rules by which gentlemen in other callings are governed. As long as there exists an effectual demand for a low order of literature, in any shape, it is useless to hope that nobody will try to supply it, or that the men who undertake to supply it will be "scholars and gentlemen." There is something very simple in the supposition that the blackguard who says anonymously in his paper that you beat your wife every night before you go to bed, will mend his manners if you make him put his name to his filth. He would as soon put his name to it as not, if you make it worth his while. Any writer who does this sort of thing is "on the make," as they say at the City Hall; it is an affair of money with him, and if he finds signing his name will improve his market, he will sign very cheerfully. You can never do anything with him by making him

show his face; if you wish to reform him, you must refuse to buy his wares. But the amelioration of the public taste might undoubtedly be supplemented by an amendment in the law giving all libel suits precedence on the calendar over everything else. Could suits for slander be quickly tried close on the commission of the alleged offence, they would be brought, as they ought to be, more frequently, and would do much to rid us of the pest of low journalism. Few men care to commence proceedings when there is no chance of having a decision for three or four years, during which the plaintiff has to bear whatever odium the libel has caused, and may expect to see it aggravated by the increased publicity necessarily given to it by his appeal to the law. The really honest and legitimate comments of the press would in this way gain in force, because rogues would not dare to resent them, and the failure to resent them would raise a presumption of inability to do so; and those who were unwarrantably assailed would have a ready means of redress within their reach, and would use it. As matters stand, the worst knaves and charlatans are able to justify their sitting down calmly under newspaper exposure by saying that nobody minds newspaper attacks. Good men do mind them, but only they cannot help themselves.

ENGLAND.—JUDGMENTS AGAINST HERESY.

LONDON, March 17, 1871.

THE political interest of the past fortnight has again been ostensibly confined to the question of army reform. The debate has been dragging its slow length along without, as I imagine, materially enlightening the public mind. It is a peculiarity of the House of Commons that it includes an enormous proportion of military men. The normal career of the Englishman in a certain class is to spend a few years in the army during his youth, and to retire on coming into his property or settling down in life, in order to amuse himself in legislating. The consequence is that, if I am not mistaken, not far from a fourth part of our representatives have some kind of military experience, and they now have an unusual opportunity for airing their eloquence. They have proved, with great superabundance of eloquence, that the purchase system is essential to the efficiency of the army. The most popular argument is, that as the English army is the pride and envy of the world, and English officers buy their commissions, it is plain that the system must be a good one. This is backed up by appeals to the battle of Waterloo, the charge at Balaklava, and the Indian mutiny. Further, we are assured that any other system would lead to favoritism and jobbery, and that, therefore, it is the best plan to let money exercise its influence in a straightforward manner; also, promotion would be so slow, if people could not buy their way over their neighbors' heads, that the army would be discontented; and, finally, there is a wonderful thing called the regimental system, which, it seems, has never yet broken down, and which is inextricably mixed up with the purchase system; in spite of all which, it is quite plain that the purchase system is doomed, and one great obstacle to future improvement is thereby removed. On the other or constructive side of the question, the weakness of the Government proposal is painfully obvious. But we must hope for better things in time. Time, unluckily, is a very important element in all our reforms.

I will not dwell longer upon this question at present. Another matter which has excited less general attention seems to deserve some consideration. The clergy are in a state of excitement compared with which anything existing in the army is moderate. The recent judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have naturally altered the position of the Established Church. Hitherto every prosecution for heresy has failed. I can, at least, only recall one insignificant exception, in which a gentleman was excluded from the church because he managed to stumble into a flat contradiction of the articles in a matter for which nobody cared, and then to draw attention to his misdoings by getting up public discussions, in which he assailed one of our most cherished popular beliefs, namely, the existence of the devil. All other judgments had tended to relax the strictness of the rules by which the clergy are bound. Recently, however, Mr. Voysey has been turned out; and, though Mr. Voysey is not a man of any great power, and will obviously be much more at home in preaching (as he is now doing) to the congregation of what is called the "Free Christian Church" than in the pulpits of the Church of England, the terms of the judgment are such as to cause some alarm to all liberal churchmen. Especially, the limits within which criticism of the Bible is restricted seem to be defined with unpleasant stringency.

But of much greater practical importance is the judgment in the case of Mr. Purchas. Mr. Purchas is one of those gentlemen who have recently been endeavoring to approximate as closely as possible to the ritual of the Church of Rome. An action was brought against him, and the judgment which has recently been delivered goes far to upset the whole ground upon which Ritualists have hitherto relied. All their favorite practices are condemned as illegal. Their vestments, chasubles, albs, tunicles, and I know not how many more, are ruthlessly swept away. They are forbidden to elevate the sacrament or to indulge in genuflexions; the position at which they stood at the altar has to be abandoned; the use of incense and tapers is to be suppressed; and, in short, they are ordered to put off their fine new clothes, and to array themselves in the simple apparel of a clergyman of the old school. The public in general laughs, and it is hard to avoid laughing, at the immense importance attached to these questions of millinery. It laughs all the more, because the most pitiable evasions of the law have been attempted. That excellent but not strong-minded gentleman, Mr. Mackonochie, on being forbidden to kneel, tried to get round the law by bending his knees without touching the ground; and not being allowed to elevate the sacred elements above his head, tried whether he could be permitted to lift them as far as his chin. All this is contemptible enough, and, to say the plain truth, the Ritualists are a feeble folk. But the consequences may be very serious. The religious papers are perfectly foaming at the mouth. They declare that the judges (namely, the Lord Chancellor, a man of very high character and deep religious feeling; Lord Chelmsford, an ex-chancellor; the Archbishop of York; and the Bishop of London) were actuated by the basest motives, and have flatly contradicted the law. They declare in the most peremptory terms that they will refuse to obey, and that if one taper or one chasuble is suppressed, they will agitate for immediate disestablishment. One curious symptom is that Canon Liddon, the most eloquent member of the party, is so indignant with courts of ecclesiastical law in general as to undertake the defense of Mr. Voysey, his natural enemy. Misfortune makes strange bedfellows; and in their anger at being punished themselves, the Ritualists are ready to declare that nobody ought to be punished at all.

Meanwhile, the question remains, What is to be done? Dean Stanley, who is systematically on the side of toleration, writes to express an earnest hope that the law will not be carried out. He is the most popular representative of that school of liberal thought which sees in the continued existence of the state church the best guarantee against the dangers of bigotry and exclusiveness. A free church, he fears, would fall into speedy disruption; the rival parties would be excommunicating each other, and one section would drift away under the guidance of men like Mr. Mackonochie towards the Church of Rome, whilst another would probably gravitate towards Unitarianism, and a third would take the colors of the most bitter Puritanism. Moderate men like himself, who believe in the gradual dying out of religious animosities, and the development of our existing creeds by a continuous process into some wider and purer faith, are naturally terrified by the prospect before them. They are anxious to keep men together by the bonds of a state church, in the hope that animosities will subside, and the Ritualist in course of time lie down by the Rationalist. Now, Dean Stanley is a most amiable and excellent man, and is admirably qualified to act the part of a mediator. He has never been afraid to utter his own convictions, nor unwilling to listen to the freest utterances of others, yet it must be admitted that the course recommended rather savors of weakness. If the congregation of a state church give up all claim to interfere directly with their clergyman, and thus leave him that freedom of action which is the great merit of his position in Dean Stanley's eyes, they must have some guarantee that his excursions will be confined within certain limits. Mr. Purchas goes on sidling up to Rome; his congregation cannot interfere or turn him off; they appeal to the courts of law, and the law supports their view. Immediately they are to be told that the law is not to be enforced, and that the reason for not enforcing it is simply that Mr. Purchas thinks it hard, declares that his judges are grossly partial, and says that he will not submit. Obviously, if this is to go on, the state church becomes a mere collection of individuals, bound by no common discipline, and each indulging in such vagaries of ritual or doctrine as may seem good in his own eyes. Why, it is naturally asked, should the state support a set of officials all over the country who are to preach the most opposite doctrines, and absolutely decline to be bound by any conditions whatever?

Doubtless the solution of the question will seem simple enough to you who are not accustomed to hear the praises of established churches. In

fact, the word disestablishment is on every one's lips. The dissenters begin to think that their opportunity is come. The High-Church party, though still affecting some reluctance, are beginning to regard it as the most natural step that can be taken. How soon the question will become one of immediate practical interest it is, of course, impossible to say; but the Purchas case has probably advanced the explosion by years; and if the Evangelical party continue to carry on the war, it is not impossible but the battle will be fought out within a very short time. Those who look forward to such a contest with most pain are such men as Dean Stanley, Dr. Jowett, Professor Maurice, and other so-called Broad-Church men, who are bound together rather by a general sympathy with liberal ideas than by any specific party platform. They include the ablest of the English clergy, and though eager partisans will generally regard their hopes of passing from the old to the new without any violent transition as somewhat visionary, such hopes at least deserve sympathy and respect. Yet their position is daily becoming more inconvenient. They may, perhaps, care little for the loss of Mr. Voysey, whose opinions carried no great weight, and who seemed rather to enjoy making a scandal. But the decision which has cast him out strikes at many of their opinions, and the ground seems to be hollow beneath them. To maintain the church establishment in order to enable such men as Mr. Purchas to preach rank sacerdotalism is, in fact, to maintain a fortress for the benefit of their bitterest enemies. That they should be willing to do so is creditable to their spirit of charity, but the position shows signs of becoming intolerable.

The mention of the Broad Church recalls to me that Professor Jowett, now Master of Balliol College, has at last brought out his long-promised work on Plato. No man in recent times has had any position in the university at all comparable to that which he occupied as tutor of Balliol. Belief in his manifold merits almost amounted to a superstition amongst the younger generation of Oxford men, and to dispute the excellence of his book would be considered as a flagrant act of heresy. Part of the admiration thus felt is doubtless due to the new master's amiable personal qualities. When a dinner was recently held in London to congratulate him on his new appointment, so many distinguished men gathered to do him honor, and so much warmth of feeling was manifested on all sides, that even a dinner in a London tavern became a touching ceremony. No man ever succeeded in producing a greater impression on a large number of the most rising young men of the day. Under such circumstances, I should fear that, if his book were a bad one, it would still be praised; but of that there can be little real danger. It represents the labors of a man of eminent ability for a period of many years, and though I am not qualified to act as critic in such matters, I should not be afraid to commend it to the attention of your readers. His chief literary rival at the present moment is Mr. Darwin, and everybody whom I have met in London society since the publication of the "Descent of Man" is carefully examining his own and his neighbor's ears, to discover whether they bear that "mark of the beast" which indicates our relationship to the monkeys. In America, I presume, as you represent the most advanced stage of mankind, you will find that it has totally disappeared.

Correspondence.

BERNARD DE MORLAIX AND HENRY VAUGHAN.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Your review of Fosberry's "Hymns and Poems," in to-day's number, page 223, says that Vaughan's poem—"'My soul, there is a country'—would seem to bear witness that its author was fresh from the reading of the 'De Contemptu Mundi.'"

Bernard's whole poem was printed, says Dr. Neale, in 1556, and again in 1597, 1610, 1626, and 1640, always in Germany. As Vaughan lived till 1695, he *may* have owned or seen one of these editions. He was a good scholar, and one of his books contains translations from Boethius and Casimir.

Still, the mediæval sacred poetry was not known to Englishmen two centuries ago as it is now. Indeed, the revival of that literature, or at least the calling of general attention to it, is purely a work of the last thirty-five years. So far as we may judge by translations, the only Latin hymns which attracted our older poets were a few of the more famous and familiar ones, as Dies Iræ, Veni Creator, and Vexilla Regis, which might be found in any of the breviaries.

Moreover, Bernard's poem covers some three thousand lines, in which few would have thought of looking for the lovely hymn which, scattered here and there, forms but a small portion of the whole. Nor is there any evidence of its being mentioned or noticed in English till Archbishop Trench, in 1849, gathered some of its beauties into a canto of ninety-five lines. From that Dr. Neale made, in 1851, the first translation, embodying the hymns now popular everywhere; and the general fame which the Cluniac poem now enjoys among English readers may be said to have come entirely through that magnificent version.

F. M. B.

Spotswood, N. J., March 30.

Notes.

A library that will be worth the attention of book-collectors is to be sold in Boston (by Messrs. Leonard & Co., 48 Bromfield Street), on Tuesday, May 9, and four following days. Catalogues will be sent on application, for one dollar each. The collection numbers 11,000 volumes, and besides rare works and fine editions of standard works in general literature and bibliography, is notably rich in the departments of Fine Arts, Antiquities and Topography, Natural History and Numismatics—embracing a large number of costly illustrated folios. In periodicals and serial works, both American and English, there is a fine show of full sets.

—On the whole, we doubt if any people, among outside nations, has judged the Franco-German war more correctly than the American. We have not lacked diversity of opinions, but the preponderating sense of the community has steadfastly been, and been declared, in favor of the German side. For most of the open sympathy, indeed, which the French have received, they stand indebted to the accidental conjunction, in this country, of the Catholic faith with the Democratic party—a conjunction which, in New York, had to be respected by the *World*, but in the latitude of the Missouri *Republican* had equally to be disregarded. The natural sympathy and rational judgment of Republicans, it is safe to say, were with the Germans, and such perverse diatribes as disfigured the Boston *Traveller* were quoted chiefly as a curiosity, even while the similar ravings of the Southern press during the rebellion were still fresh in the minds of all. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the successful allegory known as "The Fight at Dame Europa's School," which has created a distinct class of literature in England, would have received much notice here as an original publication. It is amusing reading, it is true, and it is not so obnoxious to human reason and facts alike as the flippant summary of the whole matter given in a late number of the London *Vanity Fair*: "If a man" (we quote from memory) "snaps his fingers in my face, and I retaliate with my fist or my boot, am I [France] to be considered the aggressor?" But it nevertheless takes the same false position of antagonism towards Germany, and of course has made its greatest hit in reproaching England with her neutrality. In this latter question Americans have only a remote, and at most a sentimental interest, due to the satisfaction which they always feel at John Bull's exposure by his own children. Nevertheless, the pamphlet having become notorious and evoked many answers in England, Mr. Brentano doubtless found it profitable to reprint its account of "how the German boy thrashed the French boy, and how the English boy looked on." Messrs. F. B. Felt & Co. also will probably not lose by reprinting it, as they announce their intention of doing, with the aid of Mr. Thomas Nast, who furnishes thirty illustrations. The edition just published by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia, contains a brief rejoinder.

—The interesting proceedings at the celebration last year of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims have been published in handsome form by Messrs. A. Williams & Co., Boston. Nearly one-half of the volume is occupied by Mr. Winthrop's oration, which has also been printed separately, from the same types. In this well-considered and finished discourse, the gathering of the "Brownists" in a small district of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, the removal of their church under persecution to Amsterdam and subsequently to Leyden, and the Pilgrim departure for America, with the incidents of the voyage until they landed on Plymouth Rock, are all related, from a full knowledge of the facts, and in a liberal and appreciative spirit, without rhetorical or historical exaggeration. Many of the after-dinner speeches contain additions to this picture of the great event celebrated, and still other traits are embodied in the notes which make up the Appendix. Here also will be found stated the reasons why the date of the landing was, some years back, fixed definitively at the 21st instead of the errone-

ous 22d of December, involving an explanation of the change from old to new style that should be kept for convenient reference.

—The second and third annual reports of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science appear under one cover, and give an account of the several institutions now consolidated in this noble foundation. Salem's eminence as a seaport at the close of the last century, and the change wrought on the town by seventy years of progress in the material arts, are well illustrated by the history of the East India Marine Society, of which the famous Dr. Bowditch, himself a supercargo, became a member in 1800. One of its objects was "to form a museum of natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such as are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn;" and no one was allowed to join the society who had not actually navigated the seas near one or other of these Capes, "either as master or commander, or as factor or supercargo" of some vessel belonging to Salem, or, in the case of a resident of Salem, of some vessel belonging to a port of the United States. In spite of these stringent conditions the society had in all no less than 348 members—a total which shows how extensive was the East India trade of Salem before the days of railroads and of ocean steam navigation. One of the most useful departments of the Academy is the Naturalists' Agency—an exchange which perhaps is not as widely appreciated as it should be, although it has met with great success. It is an office for the sale of scientific works on natural history, whether consigned by publishers or authors or by private owners, and for procuring to order works not thus in store. In 1869, when just started, it sold books for authors and institutions to the amount of $3,000, and was enabled to publish Dr. Packard's valuable "Guide to the Study of Insects." The agency has chiefly relied for its advertising on the *American Naturalist*, of which we have spoken often, but not too often nor in too high praise. It is emphatically a periodical for every family—there being no issue of it wholly beyond the comprehension of a boy or girl past twelve years of age, and few in which the young would fail to find many pages to interest and improve them. When the popular scientific lectures which the Academy purposes instituting for the benefit of the County of Essex and for the State at large are successfully established, it is to be hoped that they will have the effect of restoring the lyceum system to its original and legitimate functions.

—The Essex Institute is one, and the most active, of the societies incorporated with the Peabody Academy. Parts II. and III. of Vol. X. of its "Historical Collections" are entirely occupied with an elaborate genealogy of the Hutchinson Family, from which the well-known singers were derived; and with an account of the origin, first cruise, and subsequent career of the frigate *Essex*, by Capt. Geo. Henry Preble, U.S.N. There is good reason for writing the annals of this famous ship, as it was the first United States vessel to round Capes Horn and Good Hope, and to capture an English armed vessel in the war of 1812; as she was the patriotic loan of the citizens of Salem, who built her, to the national government; and as with her are associated the names of Captain David Porter, father of the present admiral, and of Admiral Farragut, who first served as a midshipman in her. The *Essex* was fated, after she was captured in Valparaiso Bay in 1814, to form part of the navy of Great Britain; in 1833, to be a convict-ship at Kingston, Jamaica; and finally (so far as is known) to be sold at auction, with other vessels, at Somerset House, by order of the British Admiralty, July 6, 1837—up to which transfer she had retained her name. It may properly be said here that the story which freighted the *Mayflower* with a cargo of slaves for Virginia after she had brought over the Pilgrims, has no foundation outside the brain of the genius who thought it a clever invention to make the same vessel an instrument in bringing to this country the two elements, of liberty and slavery, which were afterwards to strive for possession of the continent. Some orators have found the fiction a convenient one. The *Mayflower* twice visited these shores after her immortal voyage—as one of four which brought Mr. Higginson and his company to Salem in 1629, and of the fleet which bore John Winthrop and the early settlers of the Massachusetts Colony in 1630.

—We were, it seems, too sweeping in our assertion, when speaking lately of the revision of the English version of the Bible now in progress, that no American, German, or Jew had yet been called in. This was true, in the limited sense that none had been asked to take an active part in the revision, as a member of any of the several "companies;" but from the debate in the Upper House of Convocation, which we had not seen at the time, it incidentally appears that a circular has been sent to each of the American bishops, proposing to send them proofs of the amended version for criticism by themselves and such other scholars as they may see fit to submit them to. Possibly a similar circular has been distributed on the Continent. In either case, the efficacy of this sort of co-operation will depend, apart from the scholarship of the bishops themselves, on their liberality, as to which they are likely to suffer from a very bad example; and it does not relieve the whole scheme of revision from the exclusiveness in which it was begun and by which it has been marked at every stage.

—The latest German publications still suggest, by the absence of works of universal interest, the state of war that is but just passing away. Carlyle's "Life of Cromwell" has furnished the basis of a work on the same subject by Dr. B. T. W. Stroeter; and Tennyson's "In Memoriam" has been poetically translated by R. Waldmüller-Duboc, with the title "Freundesklage," which is accompanied by a critical appreciation of the English poet. Friedrich Gerstäcker appears as an historian of the Maximilian tragedy in a work of four volumes, entitled: "In Mexico. Charakterbild aus den Jahren 1864–67." Two historical annuals are worth examining: the *Europäischer Geschichtskalender*, of Schulthess, Vol. X., which includes occurrences in North America also, for 1869; and the *Geschichtskalender* of Karl Schlosser, which is in its second volume only, but takes in the whole of the past eventful year. Prof. Dr. von Holtzendorff, with many learned associates, has begun the publication of a popular cyclopædia of jurisprudence ("Encyclopädie der Rechtswissenschaft"), which may be pronounced excellent in advance. "Rom und seine Umgebung" consists of text by Prof. Dr. Kühne, and of wood-cuts from sketches and studies made in Rome and its vicinity by Karl Zimmerman, during many years' residence on the scene. Friedrich Kapp's new work is entitled: "Frederic the Great and the United States of America: With proposals of reform in the existing maritime law." This work, we believe, completes the series so ably conceived and executed by Dr. Kapp, with the design of tracing Germany's share in the establishment of this republic, and in building it up by emigration. We believe Dr. Kapp does not cherish any illusion as to the ultimate absorption of the German population in this country, an amusing instance of which is given by the *Westliche Post*. The following letter, it says, is copied verbatim, and was written in Roman script:

Racine, 15 Martz '71.

Mein Freund:—Oxkoose me dat I Schreib you in Englisch. Ich habe so long stadt in Visconsin gewont, das ich alredy twise have gevoted. Das Englischer steet mir so vor dat I can not hardly schweiz any deutsch no more.

Mein adresse est zwei mile from Racine in busch. So you send it nach der postmeister, I get em.

—The Germans, in reviewing the achievements of the late war, rightly place among the foremost the equipment and mobilization of a force of 500,000 to 600,000 men in the space of seven days, and their marching into strategic position on the line Trèves-Landau in six more. Subtracting this interval preceding actual hostilities, together with the period of inactivity caused by the armistice, from the 210 days of war (from July 19, 1870, to Feb. 16, 1871), there remain 180 days, which were signalized by 150 engagements of more or less importance, 17 great battles, the reduction of 26 fortified places, and the capture of 11,650 officers, 363,000 privates, over 6,700 cannon, and 120 eagles or flags. Distributing these statistics, it appears that nearly every day there was an engagement (*Gefecht*), every ninth day a battle (*Schlacht*), every sixth day a fortress taken; while the daily average of prisoners of war was 65 officers and 2,070 men, and of captured cannon 38—two flags being captured every three days. These figures are not to be accepted implicitly, as it is impossible to ensure their correctness; but they probably fall short of the truth.

—Toscanelli is an Italian Deputy belonging to the small minority of Papists who in vain endeavor, in their places in Parliament, to resist the logical sequence of the taking of Rome. In discussing the second chapter of the Papal Guarantees Bill, the other day—that defining the future relations of the church to the state—the honorable Toscanelli had the floor; and after broadly affirming that "in no country in the world is religion divorced from the state," the orator, in the language of the official report, "went on to speak of the practice of religion in America and of its relations to civil society." The United States had been frequently cited in the debates as an example of the benefits of religious freedom, and it was time that somebody should correct this mistaken notion. Toscanelli was equal to the occasion. "In America," said he boldly, "every man is free to choose the religion that suits him; but choose he must; and when he has chosen, he is obliged to share in the ex-

penses of his form of worship, in the religious instruction, and in all that contributes to the growth of the denomination. Thus religion is never abandoned to itself with the danger of seeing it succumb." At this point the speaker was interrupted by an impertinent colleague (the honorable Macchi), who enquired where he got his news, and declared he had invented it. Without deigning to reply, Toscanelli proceeded: "In other countries (*altri paesi*) being an atheist excludes one from all public offices. I refer to Mississippi." We can only account for the "*ilarità*" which followed this last remark on the supposition that the rest of the Chamber had paid some attention to American geography.

PARKMAN'S CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC.*

THE "Conspiracy of Pontiac" holds so well-established a position as an historical composition of high rank, that any additional words in regard to it might seem superfluous. Nevertheless, the appearance of a new edition, in which much fresh material has been incorporated, gives an opportunity to look back over the nineteen years of Mr. Parkman's historical labors, and form an estimate of the book from a new point of view. Its author, who was then a young and unknown writer, now occupies a distinguished rank among American historians; and a review of these years shows, on the one hand, that the high expectations raised by his first venture have been amply fulfilled; and, on the other, that this first venture was every way worthy of his later reputation. There is in it nothing crude or unfinished; but in clear-sightedness, firmness of touch, and maturity of judgment, the book fully deserved the success which it achieved. It has appeared, too, from his subsequent works that not merely this particular subject, but the general field of labor, was selected with a definite purpose; and he tells us in the preface to the present edition that he hopes to continue his historical series "to the period of the extinction of the French power on this continent," in which case this work will form the closing volumes of the series. The few repetitions which will necessarily be found in a book which was first written as a complete work, but is last in order in the series, will be no serious disadvantage.

Pontiac's War appears such a mere episode in American history that Hildreth's History, for instance, gives only three pages to it, in which the name of the chief is but once mentioned. For this reason, it was all the better adapted to the special treatment which it has received from Mr. Parkman. With all the variety and romance of Indian warfare, it had all the freshness of a new story. He selected this topic, he tells us, "as affording better opportunities than any other portion of American history for portraying forest life and Indian character," and for this purpose the episodical character of the event would be no drawback. But he has shown that it was by no means a mere episode; that it was closely connected with the great war which it followed, and was, in reality—as this book will be in his series of histories—a sequel to the brilliant and heroic, but unsuccessful, career of France on this continent.

This point, which is the leading historical idea in the book, is traced by the author with great clearness. The preface foreshadows it by pointing out the vital importance of that event—the conquest of Canada—"which rescued the vast tracts of the interior from military despotism, and gave them eventually to the keeping of an ordered democracy." The second chapter takes up the theme again, in an admirable sketch of the two opposing forms of civilization represented respectively by the Canadian French and the New England Puritans, which were to struggle for the possession of the continent. Then follow the collisions and complications which were sure to arise between two such neighbors, and a brief and graphic account of the war which established the English power and led to the outbreak of Pontiac. A single sentence in the second volume, p. 252, brings vividly before the reader the nature of the change which had been effected, and the contrast in the two classes of settlers. Speaking of the creoles of Illinois, we are told that "when, after the War of the Revolution, the Illinois came under the jurisdiction of the United States, the perplexed inhabitants, totally at a loss to understand the complicated machinery of republicanism, begged to be delivered from the intolerable burden of self government, and to be once more subjected to a military commandant." No wonder such people as these have been swallowed up and forgotten in the stream of immigration that has swept over the country. These French colonists who first opened the great West, and who laid the foundations of many of its most thriving cities, have left few traces behind them—a few graceful names of towns and rivers, and a few old Catholic families still clinging to their old homes.

The events told in this history have, then, a dignity and an importance of their own, and are worthy of the manner in which they have been narrated. This, the first considerable work of the historian, was the result of the most thorough training and the most conscientious preparation. He was fortunate in possessing, as his preface relates, a preparation of two kinds—one that can be got from books, and one that cannot, but only from actual life among the savages of the forest. Even this double preparation would not have been sufficient. There is enough intrinsic interest in the story to engage the attention, however told; but we have before us not merely a well-told story, but a finished work of art. Every line shows study and training, and could only have been the production of a man who knew what good work was, and had all his powers well in hand. Indeed, the execution of the work may be pronounced almost perfect, and if it falls short of being a history of the first rank, it is not from any defect of the writer, but because a work of the highest order requires a subject of the highest order. In the plan of the whole, and the relation of the several events to each other, and to contemporaneous events, in the dramatic development of the plot, in the vivid personality of the actors, in the animated narrative and picturesque descriptions, in the just and appropriate observations introduced when called for, but not forced in—in all these qualities of an historian, Mr. Parkman is conspicuous.

Next to the relation pointed out between Pontiac's conspiracy and the development of the Anglo-American power on this continent, a second peculiar merit of this book is its delineation of the Indian character and customs, which is in every way satisfactory. It is contained in the introductory chapter, and in various notes and remarks in the body of the work—the whole copiously illustrated by the events of the war itself. We quote one or two passages which have attracted our attention: "An Indian council, on solemn occasions, is always opened with preliminary forms, sufficiently wearisome and tedious, but made indispensable by immemorial custom; for this people are as much bound by their conventional usages as the most artificial children of civilization. . . . An Indian orator is provided with a stock of metaphors, which he always makes use of for the expression of certain ideas. Thus, to make war is to raise the hatchet; to make peace is to take hold of the chain of friendship," etc. (vol. ii., p. 226). Again, p. 296: "A language extremely deficient in words of general and abstract signification renders the use of figures indispensable; and it is from this cause, above all others, that the flowers of Indian rhetoric derive their origin. . . . The Indians are much pleased when white men whom they respect adopt their peculiar symbolical language—a circumstance of which the Jesuit missionaries did not fail to avail themselves."

We copy, also, the following striking example of Mr. Parkman's descriptive power:

"In the calm days of summer, the Ojibwa fisherman pushes out his birch canoe upon the great inland ocean of the north, and, as he gazes down into its pellucid depths, he seems like one balanced between earth and sky. The watchful fish-hawk circles above his head; and below, farther than his line will reach, he sees the trout glide shadowy and silent over the glimmering pebbles. The little islands on the verge of the horizon seem now starting into spires, now melting from the sight, now shaping themselves into a thousand fantastic forms, with the strange mirage of the waters; and he fancies that the evil spirits of the lake lie basking their serpent forms on those unhallowed shores. Again, he explores the watery labyrinths where the stream sweeps among pine-tufted islands, or runs, black and deep, beneath the shadows of moss-bearded firs; or he drags his canoe upon the sandy beach, and, while his camp-fire crackles on the grass-plat, reclines beneath the trees, and smokes and laughs away the sultry hours in a lazy luxury of enjoyment.

"But when winter descends upon the north, sealing up the fountains, fettering the streams, and turning the green-robed forests to shivering nakedness, then, bearing their frail dwellings on their backs, the Ojibwa family wander forth into the wilderness, cheered only on their dreary track by the whistling of the north wind and the hungry howl of wolves. By the banks of some frozen stream women and children, men and dogs, lie crouched together around the fire. They spread their benumbed fingers over the embers, while the wind shrieks through the fir-trees like the gale through the rigging of a frigate, and the narrow concave of the wigwam sparkles with the frostwork of their congealed breath. In vain they beat the magic drum, and call upon their guardian manitoes—the wary moose keeps aloof, the bear lies close in his hollow tree, and famine stares them in the face. And now the hunter can fight no more against the nipping cold and blinding sleet. Stiff and stark, with haggard cheek and shrivelled lip, he lies among the snowdrifts, till, with tooth and claw, the famished wild-cat strives in vain to pierce the frigid marble of his limbs. Such harsh schooling is thrown away on the incorrigible mind of the northern Algonquin. He lives in misery, as his fathers lived before him. Still in the brief hour of plenty he forgets the season of want, and still the sleet and the snow descend upon his houseless head."

* "The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada. By Francis Parkman." Sixth edition, revised, with additions. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1870. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 367 and 384.

Guizot pointed out long ago how the institutions and customs of the North American Indians illustrated those of the German barbarians; and the description given by Mr. Parkman affords some further points of comparison. The well-known expression of Tacitus (Germ. VII.), "Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt (they choose their kings by birth, their chiefs for merit)" finds an exact parallel. "The sachem is the civil chief, who directs the counsels of the tribe, and governs in time of peace. His office, on certain conditions, is hereditary [descending often by the female line, another point of partial analogy with German usages]; while the war-chief, or military leader, acquires his authority solely by personal merit, and seldom transmits it to his offspring. Sometimes the civil and military functions are discharged by the same person, as in the instance of Pontiac himself" (vol. ii., p. 217, note). It was these war-chiefs, *duces* (rather than the hereditary kings, *reges*), says Guizot, that led the bands of German invaders into the Roman empire.

An analogy with the classic institution of *hospes* is found in the interesting story (vol. i., p. 334) of the friendly attachment conceived by an Ojibwa chief, Wawatam, for the trader Alexander Henry—an attachment which resulted in saving Henry's life. Another interesting class of enquiries—that of the family origin of political associations—is illustrated by the social institution, described in vol. i., p. 4, of the division of Indian communities into clans, "independently of their local distribution into tribes, bands, and villages," each clan having its emblem or *totem*. We say this illustrates the discussion rather than that it upholds any special view; the clan here was not developed into a nationality, as appears to have been the case in some communities. Again, the description of the religious belief of the Indians, on p. 39, might very well apply to the primitive belief of the Greeks and Romans. "To the Indian mind, all nature was instinct with deity. A spirit was embodied in every mountain, lake, and cataract; every bird, beast, or reptile, every tree, shrub, or grass-blade, was endued with mystic influence; yet this untutored pantheism did not exclude the conception of certain divinities, of incongruous and ever-shifting attributes." We do not mention these points of resemblance as showing identity of origin, or any borrowing of ideas and institutions; they only afford another proof of a still deeper fact, the *essential* identity of human nature, and its tendency under similar circumstances to produce similar results.

The additions to the present edition are chiefly in the form of footnotes, giving copious extracts from a mass of correspondence of officers and others, recently added to the British Museum. They contain, among other things, "the proposal of the commander-in-chief [Sir Jeffrey Amherst] to infect the hostile tribes with the small-pox, and that of a distinguished subordinate officer to take revenge on the Indians by permitting an unrestricted sale of rum."

CURTIUS'S HISTORY OF GREECE.*

THE German scholars have done more than those of any other nation to advance the knowledge of Greek history. They have investigated every point and question belonging to it with characteristic diligence and thoroughness. They have covered the entire field with special treatises of the highest value. But, strangely enough, until of late they have left it to the English to treat the history of Greece as a whole. For the comprehensive works of Thirlwall and Grote, they had none to show of similar extent and character. This deficiency Professor Curtius has undertaken to supply. His "Griechische Geschichte," published in three volumes, from 1857 to 1863, presents a connected view of the Grecian world, in its history and progress, from the earliest times to the loss of national independence. It is a work of acknowledged merit, which does credit both to the scholarship of its author and to his literary powers. It has not, indeed, the fulness of its last and greatest English predecessor; yet the difference in this respect is not so wide as might at first be imagined. The three volumes of the German book seem likely to make five in the translation—five stout duodecimos of some five hundred pages each. Grote, in the American reprint, has twelve duodecimos; but a large fraction of the space is occupied with the notes, of which Curtius has scarcely any.

This want of notes we must regard as a defect of the book before us, considered even with reference to the general reader. He needs to know the principal authorities for the narrative he is reading; and in Grote he cannot help seeing their names, as cited at the foot of each page. He needs to know whether the statements of the author are admitted and certain, or doubtful and controverted. It has always seemed to us one of the chief advantages of Grote's history, that the reader is made to understand so clearly the nature of the ground over which he is passing. If this is of questionable soundness, the notes warn him of the fact, by presenting the dissentient opinions of other writers and the arguments on which they rest. In Curtius, on the contrary, he is carried smoothly along over all manner of difficulties and uncertainties; not because the author has any wish to hide the real condition of the track, but because the notes in which he might show it, without breaking in on the course of narration or description, were excluded by the plan of the work. We have the same complaint to make of Mommsen's "History of Rome," which belongs to the same series of hand-books. The value of that great work would be largely increased by a series of notes which should give constant references to authorities, point out what is peculiar in the author's views, and defend them from actual or possible objection.

In the volume under review, the want of such notes is the more sensibly felt from the nature of its contents. It is occupied mainly with what may be called the ante-historical history of Greece. It deals with times concerning which we have no knowledge, obtained, directly or indirectly, from contemporaneous documents. What the Greeks believed in regard to those times was a mass of legendary stories, remarkable for extent and variety. In their treatment of these stories, there is a wide difference between Grote and Curtius. The former gives them a place in his history, rehearsing them, with all their intermixture of supernatural persons and events, just as they were accepted by the Greeks themselves. He does so because these tales, having possession of the Greek mind, exerted a sensible influence on the conduct of the people, on the course of their history and politics, in later periods. He does not attempt to extract history out of them by critical process. That there may be historical elements among them, he is ready to admit; but he denies, in general, that there are any criteria by which these elements can be distinguished from the fancies and inventions with which they are mingled. It is only where they receive confirmation from the facts of recorded history—as the legends which relate to Ionian and Dorian migrations—that he treats them as furnishing material for the historian. Curtius, on the other hand, does not give the legends themselves; but many of his statements are founded upon them, the fact stated being regarded as implied in the legend, as necessary to account for its existence or character. This method, however, is attended with serious dangers. It gives wide room for subjective tendencies. What one finds in the myths depends very much on what he brings to them. Whatever ideas he may have formed as to the primitive states and early changes of Greece, he can always find confirmation for them in this huge aggregate of confused and fluctuating traditions.

The view of primitive Greek times set forth in this volume is largely affected by a theory which the author himself proposed, more than fifteen years ago, in his essay entitled "Die Ionier vor der Ionischen Wanderung," and which is not yet accepted by many of those who are best able to judge it. Everybody knows that a large and important section of the Greek race was settled on the western sea-coast of Asia Minor and in the neighboring islands. Their establishment in these regions was ascribed by the unanimous voice of Greek tradition to a colonization from European Greece, and especially from Attica, from whence the so-called Ionian migration was supposed to have taken place about ten centuries before the Christian era. But Curtius is persuaded that, for many ages prior to that time, Greeks—Ionian Greeks—were occupants of the Asiatic coast, that the Ionians of European Greece were colonists from Asia, and that those who took part in the Ionian migration, just mentioned, were only returning to their native seats to find in Asia a population more nearly akin to them than the Æolians and Dorians whom they left in Europe. It is true that Greek tradition knows nothing about any such primeval Ionians of the Eastern world. But Curtius finds them in the stories of Cecrops and Danaus and Cadmus and Pelops, whom he holds to have been real Ionians, though described in the myths as Egyptian, Phœnician, Phrygian, because they chanced to have been in these countries before they came to Europe. We see here how elastic these legends are in the hands of the historical critic, and how readily they lend themselves to the requirements of his theories.

Curtius is strong as a geographer. The power which he showed in his earlier book on Peloponnesus appears again in this history. The descriptions of mountain ranges, river valleys, sea-coasts, and other natural features of the Greek lands, are exceedingly vivid; and the effects produced by the formation of the country on the civil and social relations of the

* "The History of Greece. By Professor Dr. Ernst Curtius. Translated by Adolphus William Ward, M.A., Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge; Professor of History in Owens College, Manchester." Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1871. 12mo, pp. 509.

people are exhibited in a very striking manner. As a political thinker, it is no disparagement to Curtius if we find him inferior to Grote. For in this respect Grote stands by himself, without equal or rival among all who have written about Greek history. His strong grasp of the actual world, his power of conceiving the practical operation of political forces and institutions, his knowledge of politics, present and past, on which he can always draw for illustrations of Greek affairs—are points of superiority which even those must recognize who can least sympathize with his democratic tendencies. They make his book an indispensable help, a perennial fountain of instruction for the scientific student of politics. It should be added that Curtius, if not so much a friend of democracy as Grote, is yet thoroughly liberal in his thinking, and sympathizes with Athens as against Sparta in the great struggle between them, which decided the destinies and ruined the hopes of Greece.

The volume before us, the first of the translation, brings the history of European Greece to about the year 500 B.C. The general reader will find it less interesting than those which are to follow it. Occupied mainly with the movements of population and the changes of institutions, it has little to say of individual men, their characters and actions, their successes and failures. But from this time on, the material becomes more abundant, and the writer will be able to give his narrative the charm of a personal interest.

In his English translator, Curtius has been less fortunate than Mommsen. The German style of the latter, though singularly vivid and expressive, has not the easy flow, the grace and clearness, which mark that of Curtius. But one who judged from the translations only, would be apt to think of the two writers as having quite the contrary relation. Dickson's Mommsen is easier reading, Ward's Curtius decidedly harder, than the original. We note a few points which have struck us in turning over the volume. On page 9, "*complexes* of land" seems a strange expression for the immense plains which are intersected by the Ural range: the German here has *Landmassen* (masses or bodies of land). On page 21 occurs "the *multiplicitous* formation of its territory;" where *various* or *diversified* would have been more English. On page 35, we read: "The character of the Doric dialect becomes more clearly marked by contrasting with it the Ionic form of [the] language, *with which countries with a long extent of coast line are especially familiar*." The words italicized would be more literally and adequately rendered: "Which had its home chiefly in long stretches of coast-land." On page 135, the translation speaks of "the *northern* shore of the Corinthian Gulf," where the southern shore is evidently referred to. The original has "the northern shore [of Peloponnesus] *along* the Corinthian Gulf." On page 228, we find: "It is true that [the] natural boundaries could *impossibly* be more accurately defined than there," etc.; which may be corrected by changing *impossibly* to *nowhere*. It is said, page 307, that "in Argolis the mighty popular movement . . . first *made way*," which would suggest the idea that it *yielded* or *receded*. The meaning is, "first found a course for itself," "first broke out in action" (*sich zuerst Bahn gebrochen*). And in the next sentence we read of "a royal power, which seemed *to terminate in a new course* the history of the entire peninsula." The German says simply, "to give a new turn (*eine neue Wendung zu geben*) to the history of the entire peninsula." On page 17, it is stated that "From Thermopylæ straight across to the Corinthian Gulf the distance is less than *six* miles." A footnote says that these are *geographical* miles, by which the English reader would naturally understand *English* geographical miles, sixty to the degree of latitude; whereas the German miles have four times this length, and the distance described in the text is twenty-four geographical, or twenty-eight statute, miles.

THE MAGAZINES FOR APRIL.

Lippincott's is the April magazine which is best worth the attention of such magazine readers as are of the better sort. It is in fact very well worth the attention of readers who are not to be classed among magazine-readers at all. The opening article is one entitled "Wild Ireland," by a writer who gives his name as B. Doubavaud, a signature new to our periodical literature, and though apparently not very much used to the pen, nevertheless succeeds in throwing over his simple narration of sufficiently commonplace events, and his account of personages not at all unfamiliar, a good deal of the charm which makes William Carleton's stories so admirable and so taking. Mr. Doubavaud, going into the wild west of Ireland, makes the acquaintance of an amiable parish priest, of a common enough type, who is the guide and pastor of a few poor peasants living among bogs and mountains close upon the sea. Here he hunts and fishes with the priest, listens to the people's talk, and notes their ways, or sits over the turf fire with his reverence, who is not above brewing punch, and who tells stories, comical or tragical. With this kind of writing we are all familiar, or rather we are all familiar with similar scenes and incidents and personages; for, as for Mr. Doubavaud's way of handling them, it is very unconventional and without art, and extremely agreeable in its unliterary naturalness. Not that what he gives us is much, but there is something unfailingly pleasant in the contemplation of the sort of simple life which such sketches as these depict.

On a very much higher level is the third article in the magazine, a translation of Ivan Turgeneff's tale entitled "Mou-mou." Like everything of Turgeneff's, it is deeply tragical; but, as is often the case with this writer, there is a poetical element which relieves the sombreness, and which brings it about, as we think we find, that the effect which he produces is not, on the whole, depressing; unprosperous and sad though his conclusions may be. Perhaps it is that he so surely in every case gives us, amid much that may be base, sordid, cruel, and unhappy, some aspect of human nature which is so lovely or so strong that we cannot but feel in the end elevated and strengthened. Even the cruel inscrutableness of fate, and man's subserviency to it—a thought very familiar to Turgeneff's mind—is in a way very elevating and stregthening, to many natures at least. And were it not, we should say that this writer has never presented it without, as we have said, giving us at the same time some vivid presentation of some beautiful or strong quality in the victim which causes us to rise unsaddened and even braced. This is to be truly tragical in the best sense. Compare, or rather contrast, with this the effect produced by the reading of another great master of the sombre and tragical, Hawthorne. Turgeneff's very great merits as a poet, as a delineator of character, as a thinker, and as a story-teller it would be well if our reading public appreciated more fully than it does. This tale of "Mou-mou" is a simple little thing as regards its story, and will be best enjoyed by readers who have some training in the reading of poetry, and not so much enjoyed by those who care more for novels strictly so-called. These latter may better begin with some of the larger works. "Mou-mou" treats of some passages in the life of a Russian serf, a gigantic deaf-mute, Garassim by name. It is exquisitely pathetic and beautiful with true beauty, both in the few and slight details and in the main conception. We hope the editor of *Lippincott's* may have more such in store, and that the demand for them may justify the publication of many of them. Perhaps this may be doubtful. Still, we are of opinion that about one-half, or say two-thirds, of the present number of vapid, abortive little love-stories which our magazines furnish us would abundantly supply the whole demand. How many stories, now, for instance, like "He, She, and It"—a dismal little piece of unreality and weakness in this same number of *Lippincott's*—should the *Atlantic*, *Galaxy*, *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, *Lippincott's*, and *Old and New* give us in the course of a twelvemonth?

But the article which will most interest the men whom our editors, catering for the feminine audience which they seem to have in view, still retain among their readers, is an essay with the title "Charles Francis Adams." There is, perhaps, a little less of Mr. Adams in the body of the essay than the title of it would promise, for the author has taken occasion to give a brief digest of the political history of the State of Massachusetts in the days when the famous old Free-Soil party was in existence, and in those later days and worse days when the men who now control Massachusetts merged the Free-Soil party in the Republican. Apparently the writer was a part of that which he relates: and it is plain to be seen that for some of the men of whom he speaks he entertains a most sincere contempt. As a result of his knowledge and of his indignation, we get a highly readable essay. Not that there is any violence in it, or anything that seems to us unjust or unduly harsh or in any way undignified. On the contrary, it is dignified and restrained, and, it seems to us, perfectly fair as well as able. It is, indeed, a very good paper, both for its matter and for the feelings it expresses as well as for the manner of its expression, and may be profitably read by various people.

It begins by recounting that Mr. Adams was born in Boston, in 1807; that, still an infant, he was taken abroad by his father, and that when he was ten years old he was sent home to receive his education in his native country. He graduated at Harvard College in the summer of 1825, and in 1828 was admitted to the bar. At about that day, politics had got down to the Jacksonian level, and the time had nearly come, whose coming has since been so much lamented, when young men of high character and sound learning had begun to decline to become candidates for public

honors and trusts, and Mr. Adams's early manhood was spent among his books. Connected as his family had been with the history of the country, it was next to inevitable that his studies should be in politics and statesmanship. He wrote for the newspapers also, and at one time in his life he even occupied, for a few months, an editorial chair; but publishing a pamphlet would seem to have been his usual way of exerting an influence on his fellow-citizens. Not long after 1840, when Mr. Adams was thirty-three years old, Boston, the capital of the Whig party—the Boston of the Lawrences and Amorys and Winthrops and Everetts and Ticknors, who used to spin cotton and disbelieve in State rights and send Mr. Webster to Washington—began to have two sorts of Whigs. Cotton Whigs was the name of one sort and Conscience Whigs of the other, and to these last Mr. Adams belonged. "The Cotton Whigs," says our author—speaking of the year 1841, when, everywhere, talk had begun to be made about annexing Texas, and when Mr. Adams was in the Massachusetts House of Representatives—"the Cotton Whigs, whose policy was to say little and act stealthily, could scarcely be said to have a leader in the State legislative halls; and if they had it would be scant charity now to revive his name. Of the Conscience Whigs, no name told for more than that of Charles Francis Adams." The essay goes on to give, with some minuteness, the story of the struggle between those Massachusetts Whigs who were opposed to the extension of slavery and those who, for various reasons, some honorable and some not honorable, some neither honorable nor dishonorable except as timidity and want of brains are dishonorable, were earnest that the North should stop talking about the negro and its duty to him; should be charitable in its view of such acts as the South might find it necessary to do for the conservation of its peculiar institution; and, meantime, should itself strictly observe the Constitution.

There was enough of latent hostility between the two sections of the party before 1845, but it was not until that year that there was an open quarrel. The Southern politicians had then not quite carried to a successful termination their plan of annexing Texas, and there was, on the part of certain Massachusetts men, the strongest desire to save, if that were possible, the committal of the party to the scheme dictated by the Southerners. Should it turn out not to be possible, they had pretty well determined that there should be a new party. Mr. Adams, Mr. E. R. Hoar, Mr. Stephen C. Phillips, Mr. Henry Wilson, Mr. Charles Sumner, Mr. Charles Allen, of Worcester, were the Conscience Whigs who had come to this decision; and they by-and-by offered to the Cotton Whigs so incontestable a proof of their sincerity—a proof, indeed, so almost incredible to the Boston of thirty years ago—as gathering together in council with "abolitionists" and the people of the Liberty party. The gentlemen above-mentioned, with one or two more, among whom was Mr. J. G. Palfrey, the historian of New England, met in consultation with Mr. Whittier, Mr. Wendell Phillips, Mr. Garrison, Mr. John Pierpont; and it was decided to raise a committee of fifty and organize meetings which should call out an expression of opinion on the merits of the annexation scheme. This was really the death of the Whig party, and was more or less clearly seen to be such by the Cotton Whigs, who at once began making such an exhibition of "bloodthirsty love of life" as is still very well remembered by every one old enough to remember anything of the politics of that day. In 1847, the Free-Soilers, as the members of the new party called themselves, met in convention at Buffalo, Mr. Adams being put in the chair, and made their first nomination of a candidate for the presidency. It was not a nomination of good omen, Mr. Van Buren's being the name selected; and the Massachusetts men who consented to the choice of that gentleman, saturated as he was with the reek of New York politics, may very likely have bethought themselves of the omen when, a few years afterwards, the control of the party of freedom in Massachusetts was got out of the hands of men like Mr. Adams and Mr. Palfrey and Mr. Hoar by men like Mr. Banks, Mr. Burlingame, and Mr. Wilson. "A worse thing than defeat," says our writer, "befell the generous Free-Soil party of Mr. Adams's State. There was a portion of it too impatient of present ill success. . . . It soon appeared that Mr. Wilson and some others differed from Mr. Adams and some others in respect to the further course incumbent on the baffled friends of freedom. Mr. Adams had great faith in principles, and not so much in expedients, and in some sorts of plausible expedients he had no faith whatever. Mr. Wilson looked more to quick achievement, and was less averse to instrumental inconsistencies and indirections." Rather plainer language the writer uses further on, where he speaks of the time when Mr. Wilson, while the regular candidate of the Free-Soilers for the governorship of Massachusetts, withdrew himself from the service of his party a fortnight before the election, and presently was made senator. Plain language, too, is that which he uses when he speaks of the famous coalition between the new Free-Soil leaders and the Democrats which made Mr. Boutwell governor, and gave us his gubernatorial address in defence of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and which, by the way, did not—as many have said that it did—make Mr. Sumner senator. The Democrats were not true to their engagement, says our author, and Mr. Sumner was elected, after many weeks of struggle, by a change in the vote of a certain Whig representative whose constituents "instructed" him.

However, we are devoting too much space to this instructive essay, which should itself be read. Alike by what it tells of the character and labors of the eminent citizen who has on so many occasions done his country such able service that he has probably the best title to be considered the foremost of living Americans—alike by what it tells of his courageous, high-minded, patriotic life, and by what it reveals of the men who in our most enlightened State have taken the place of him and his like, this essay is to be commended to attention. It will be a good day when we see the last of certain tottering reputations which the people are just now beginning to inspect, and this writer in *Lippincott's* has here done something to bring it on a little sooner. We hope he will do more work of the same kind. He does not tell his name; but it is apparent that he has an intimate knowledge of the means and methods by which their present place was obtained by a dozen or so of men who, for the last fifteen years, have been disgracing our politics. Nothing hurts these men like the out-and-out truth clearly stated. When we see General Butler returned to Congress from the oldest settled part of the country of the Puritan founders, one is ready to abate one's hopes of reform. But still the truth is an overmatch for any of them. And we may profitably remember that if there had not been some plain speaking from various quarters, General Butler would be a good deal surer than he is of being Governor of Massachusetts next winter, and would not be so willing to give up Washington for that purpose.

In the *Atlantic*, Mr. Fields has more to tell about Hawthorne. We confess, for our part, to liking that author less with each month's disclosures concerning him; which is perhaps a confession that Mr. Fields is doing the public a service in making them. It appears to us that Mr. Fields's judgment was sound when nine years ago he suppressed Hawthorne's description of Lincoln. To our mind it does little credit either to its author's taste or his discernment.

Mr. Henry James brings to an end his story, to call it so, of "A Passionate Pilgrim." Like everything else of his, it is done with care and pains, and with literary skill. Perhaps with a literary skill which is somewhat too obvious in some passages to suit some tastes; but to us enjoyable—and often very highly enjoyable. This of the outside merely. We cannot say that we think Mr. James has succeeded with the weightier matters. Clearly it is not skilful in a novelist who would have us believe in the existence of his personages to draw character as the characters of the three Searles are here drawn. The only person who gives the reader the impression of being a probable human being is the man who wheels the Bath chair about. Searle, the passionate pilgrim, is a man with no root of will in him, who at first pursues pleasure with profuse carelessness, and then, having reduced himself to poverty or something near it, allows his later years to slip away, he drifting and dreaming and aimless, tired of himself, and taking a sort of sick satisfaction in confessing to himself that he is a failure, dying slowly from mere inanition apparently, and having, at the time when we make his acquaintance, only this left of his old capacity for enjoyment—that he passionately feels the charm of the old, the settled, the calmly beautiful, that breathes repose into all his being. England, rural England, with nothing to remind one of that stir and stress of life which in new, busy, practical America constantly offends his sense of beauty, and tells him, too, of the failure he had made; England with her green lanes of immemorial age, with its abbeys, with its softer and more sheltering skies than ours, is what he craves. To England he has gone, then, and is there resting his weary soul when the story-teller discovers him. Now in all this there seems to be nothing that does not well reflect a certain state of feeling with which the American, especially if he be of imaginative and artistic mind, is often apt to regard the old country. But Mr. Searle stands for this alone; except this there is nothing of him; he is the mere incarnation of this one human trait. The other Mr. Searle, too, taxes credulity. So, too, are the main incidents of the story improbable, and two or three of them needlessly clumsy in their improbability; as for instance the deaths of both the cousins; the fierceness and unreasonableness of the elder of them; the behavior of Miss Searle.

Miss Searle, by the way, is, in this respect at least, like most of Mr. James's heroines, that the account given of her—we do not mean of her personal appearance, which is, as usual, done with skilful particularity—will not please his female readers. Why not, it would be difficult, but doubtless not impossible, to tell; as it would be difficult but not impossible to explain how it happens that Mr. James's heroines are more recollectable than his heroes. But we have not space to enter on a discussion of these matters here.

"Count Rumford," by Mr. Edmund Quincy, is an agreeable article, which treats of a man who begins to be better known to his countrymen than he has been, and which calls the attention of readers to the excellent work by Dr. G. E. Ellis, who has written and compiled the Yankee Count's biography. Another good article is that by Mr. J. K. Hosmer on Prussia. "The Giant in the Spiked Helmet" is the title of it. We should call it too enthusiastic in its praises. We submit that, after all, we need not insist on all the world turning Prussian just yet.

Mr. "Mark Twain" bids farewell to the readers of the *Galaxy* this month, and will be regretted by a good many of them, ourselves, we confess, among the number. For while, like all other professional "American Humorists"—about as odd a profession, by the bye, as has ever been seen—he was sometimes rather vulgar and rather low, he has on several occasions told some extraordinarily good stories, and said some very good things, and given a deal of not very refined, perhaps, but on the whole harmless amusement to a large number of people. Mr. Donn Piatt takes "Mark Twain's" place. For the rest, the *Galaxy* contains more of Mr. Justin McCarthy's novel of "Lady Judith," another of his regular articles on various European celebrities—Victor Emmanuel being the one this time; some chapters of Major De Forest's "Overland;" something about Mont Cenis; something about Captain Hall and the Arctic expedition which he is now making; and various other articles of the kind usually found in this magazine. The "Types of American Beauty" are no longer to be given, it would appear; and we have in this number a portrait of "Carl Benson." So far as we can judge from the tone of our American exchanges, we should say that there is widespread rejoicing over the discontinuance of the former series of pictures, and a prevalent desire that the editors will stop the latter also, and leave their contributors at peace.

We do not find that the other magazines of the month contain much that is of interest to any but the special readers of each. Mr. John Bigelow had a lucky subject, one would have thought, in "A Breakfast with Alexander Dumas," but makes little of it in *Scribner's Monthly*, the fault being partly in Dumas, it would seem, who did not distinguish himself on the occasion. *Scribner's* has also an illustrated article which may very likely be interesting to those who recollect about the finding of antique silver at Hildesheim one or two years since, and who have not access to any other pictures of the vases. They are here not ill-done. *Old and New* has some agreeable "Reminiscenses of Brook Farm," written by a lady. It has, too, a little story by Mr. F. W. Loring, a young writer of good gifts, and, if "capable of improvement," as they say, capable too of making it, as this story appears to show. The dialogue is handled well and dramatically.

Rehearsals. A Book of Verses. By John Leicester Warren, author of "Philoctetes." (London: Strahan & Co. 1870.)—The intrinsic merit of this volume of Mr. Warren's would hardly entitle it to a word of passing commendation, and that of a negative rather than a positive kind. No more would the merit of that volume of his which next preceded this—"Philoctetes," namely. But the last page or two of "Rehearsals" contain testimony from various influential quarters which is worth the attention of those American readers of "Philoctetes" who are also readers of English critical journals. The *Spectator*, it appears, found that work "a fine poem, beautiful in detail, powerful as a whole; leaving the same impression of sad majesty upon us as many of the finest Greek dramas themselves; combining the self-restrained and subdued passion of the antique style with here and there a touch of that luxuriance of conception, and everywhere that wider range of emotions and deeper love of natural beauty, characteristic of the moderns." In other words, it is an ill-executed attempt at realizing a conception impossible of realization, and which it would not occur to any but a much-mistaken man to try to realize. "It might have been taken for Mr. Matthew Arnold's," the *Spectator* goes on, "but for a less supremely intellectual, a profounder ethical and moral essence, than it usually pleases him to embody." Certainly so far as its tediousness goes, "Philoctetes" might have been done by the author of "Merope"; but Mr. Arnold is a man very greatly the superior of our author in point of ability. "Supremely intellectual," however, is a strange characterization of him. And as for his ever doing much in the way of embodying any "ethical and moral essence" in his literary performances, no one who should read them—say in conjunction with the poems of Arthur Clough—could fail to note the world-wide difference between intellectual dissatisfaction with the world, accompanied by the profoundest and most earnest craving for moral and religious truth, and that intellectual dissatisfaction which is a dilettante sort of playing at despair, and is accompanied by no true moral or religious striving of any kind.

"In careful structure of plot," says the *Saturday Review*, "in classic chasteness of style and language, in nice and exact interweaving of part with part, in finish and completeness of the whole, 'Philoctetes' is worthy to be named in the same day with 'Atalanta in Calydon,' although the latter is entitled to a marked precedence." It is, indeed, entitled to a very marked precedence; for faded as it is now, it did once have in some parts of it a life of its own. "There is fine poetry in 'Philoctetes,'" said the *Reader*, "but it is the song of despair." "That desolate old Greek idea of the hopeless misery of man," said the London *Review*, "and clothed by our anonymous author in language of great beauty and power." The *Athenæum* is careful, and remarks that "with pains and maturer art, the writer may produce what will endure."

In view of these critical remarks, it might be giving sound advice to the British critic of imaginative works to recommend him, before he lays in any larger supply, to get off his shelves some of the score or two of shop-worn poets of recent appearance, who when they were new were each one after the other going to be the coming man and set the world on fire. But our real affair at present is not with British criticism of imaginative works, insufficient, and untrustworthy, and radically disappointing as so much of it is. We wish rather to avail ourselves of this opportunity to remind some of our readers of the worse fault than incompetency and want of insight which is still affecting a good deal of English criticism of American books. What explains the *Athenæum's* recent notice of Mr. Howells's "Suburban Sketches" as one of the most pleasing books of Italian travel which the *Athenæum's* reviewer had ever had the fortune to come upon? Mr. Howells's two previous books were about the most pleasing books of Italian travel which are to be met with; but the book the *Athenæum* was reviewing deals with what of Italy is to be seen in Cambridge and Cambridgeport and the city of Boston and the neighboring region, and the editor of the *Athenæum* should put that reviewer to his purgation. Or what explains this performance of the *Saturday Review's?* Some years ago, Little & Brown, of Boston, undertook to prepare a thoroughly good edition, in English, of one of the famous books of the world, "Plutarch's Morals." Professor Goodwin, of Harvard, choosing as a basis a certain noted London edition as the best extant, set to work upon it, and by dint of much hard labor, extending over many months, he succeeded in reducing to order and intelligibility an English text probably as corrupt as any ever set up by English compositors. The original translation had been the work of many "hands"—tutors and fellows of English universities, hack translators in Grub Street garrets, gentlemen of the Inns of Court—and represented many degrees of carelessness and ignorance as well as much good scholarship. Mr. Goodwin's careful handling of it, his preservation of the good and amendment of the bad, produced out of the London hodgepodge a very valuable work, whose appearance in its new dress was something of an event in the scholarly world. The *Review*, in briefly noticing it, regrets that Messrs. Little & Brown found it necessary to employ several hands! "Rather a Yankee sort of a thing to do"—is that what the reviewer means to imply?

As for Mr. Warren's "Rehearsals," which we were to speak about on this occasion, we have little to say. The poems are elegantly phrased, but they are in few and unimportant respects better than the general run of the ordinary verse-maker. The latter has usually had less education than Mr. Warren's working up of Greek themes, such as "The Death of Heracles," "The Nymph's Protest," "Pandora," and the like, shows him to possess, and Mr. Warren's taste has been somewhat more chastened than is usually the case with the poets among whom we place him. But he shares with them the ability to saturate himself now with Swinburne, now with Browning, now with Tennyson, and to give us, for many pages, a weak solution composed of himself and one or the other of those authors. He shares, too, his brethren's capacity for sad, bitter, and sarcastic partings with the beloved object; and also their liability to melancholy views of the future; and a way they are getting to have, when they decide on

being "objective," of going out into the fields and making inventories of pretty or trivial natural objects. In short, Mr. Warren gives proof sufficient that journals more truly friendly to him than some from which we have quoted, would have told him that he was capable of making smooth and elegant verses, perfectly familiar, but very tedious, and certain to be often enough made whether he puts himself to any trouble or not.

Travels in Central America; including Accounts of some Regions unexplored since the Conquest. From the French of the Chevalier Arthur Morelet, by Mrs. M. F. Squier. Introduction and Notes by E. Geo. Squier. (New York: Leypoldt, Holt & Williams. 1871. 12mo, pp. 430, with illustrations.)—Though the author of these travels returned to France in 1848, and printed the account of his journeyings for private distribution, it has still been thought worthy, at this late date, of translation. Mr. Squier, to whom M. Morelet is indebted for a new lease of fame, has done good service to geography and the literature of travel in introducing to the American public one of the most interesting books of travel we have read for a long time. The author's style is agreeable and engaging, and recalls the quick sympathy with nature and sensitiveness to every impression from without of our great sentimentalist among writers on natural history, Audubon. The chief value of the book, aside from the vivid pictures of life and nature in Central America, is in giving us a good general knowledge of a portion of Guatemala which had not before been visited since the time of the Spanish conquest. So that we now have, after the labors of Waldeck and Stevens in Chiapa and Yucatan, and of the latter traveller with Mr. Squier and others in Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, a complete view of the geography of Central America.

Incited by the love of travel and the zeal of a naturalist, Chevalier Morelet gives us perhaps the best and most extended sketches of the plants and animals of this region that we possess. He adds little to our knowledge of the antiquities and geology, his allusions to the rock formations being too scanty. His descriptions are evidently truthful, as he seems penetrated with the true scientific spirit, which consists in seeing things just as they are; and the minor exaggerations now and then noticeable may be rather attributed to the influence of a sprightly style than to the arrangement of his facts. His route was from Campeachy, where the principal food of the inhabitants is sharks' flesh, by coasters to the Island of Carmen, in Lake Terminos; thence to the famous ruins of Palenque, of which he tells us nothing new. He then strikes up the largest river in Central America, the Usumasinta, whose headwaters drain the heart of Central America, inhabited by the fierce, unconquered Indians, chiefly the Choles, of whose towns and national energy and hardihood the wildest rumors have found their way to the coast on either side of the Isthmus. Leaving the river, he skirts the unknown country of the Choles, reaching Lake Itzac; thence striking southwards across the country to the City of Guatemala.

In all these journeyings, he does not fail to bring out in clear relief the great and sudden differences between the torrid plains, the savannas, and the more mountainous portions, and the influence of the climate, the soil and its elevation, on the character of the aborigines; the dull, brutal, slothful, degraded Indians inhabiting the lowlands always giving way before the quicker-witted, more energetic, and more civilized highlanders. Always alive to the value of ethnographic studies, M. Morelet makes occasional reflections of great interest in relation to the relics of the ancient civilization, which, as he hints, have no analogy to Egyptian architecture. He does much towards removing the mystery of the origin of the structures whose ruins are now scattered over the country. "Admitting that, in the year 1524, these ruins existed nearly in their present condition in the forests of Chiapa," he believes that "it by no means follows that a fabulous age and origin should be ascribed to them. When first discovered, Yucatan was a flourishing and populous country, abounding with public edifices built of hewn stones laid in mortar, the extent and beauty of which greatly impressed the Spaniards." These monuments were "of the same general style of architecture, and constructed on the same principles, and in conformity with the same rules of art," as those of Palenque. He suggests that "the analogy can no longer be denied between these ruins and the monuments of Mexico, which tradition attributes to the Toltecs." These people, "in the middle of the seventh century, were in possession of Anahuac, where civilization peaceably developed itself. Later, about the year 1052, they abandoned this region and emigrated in a southeasterly direction—that is to say, into the provinces of Oaxaca and Chiapa," and about this time he believes Palenque to have been founded. This Toltec race, "whose gentleness of character and whose religion remained long unchanged, even under the influence of the Aztecs," is not yet "extinct in Guatemala, where it constitutes, in the mountainous regions, a proud but, nevertheless, laborious and industrious population, which glories in its ancient origin."

Morelet adds a word of caution as to overestimating the degree of civilization of these races who had no written language—"who did not understand the use of iron; who possessed neither flocks nor beasts of burden." He adds "that the ruins of Palenque have been, perhaps, too much eulogized. They are magnificent, certainly, in their antique boldness and strength; they are invested by the solitude which surrounds them with an air of indescribable but imposing grandeur; but I must say, without contesting their architectural merit, that they do not justify, in their details, all the enthusiasm of archæologists. It is the descendants of these partially civilized Toltecs, who are considered as lower in the scale of humanity than the negro, who are steadily driving the Spaniards out of Central America."

With the Lacandones or Caribs our author had but slight experience. They are said, by Waldeck, to be idolaters, intense liars, and, in former times, to have been cannibals, the priests now confining them to a monkey diet, as being the next best thing. Morelet also does good service by effectually disposing of the rumors widely entertained by the people of Guatemala and Chiapa, as well as Yucatan, and occasionally bruited about by returned Central Americans, of the existence of a mysterious city, inhabited by the Indians who still live in the centre of Peten, as they did of old, pursuing all their ancient habits and practices. The story is, of course, a pure invention.

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Art, No. 9, March, 1871, swd.	(G. P. Putnam & Sons) 1 25
Bascom (Prof. J.), Science, Philosophy, and Religion	" " 1 75
Boyle (Esmeralda), Thistle-Down: Poetry	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 13, 1871.

The Week.

THE San Domingo Commissioners presented their report last week. It describes the country as exposed to "revolts" and "petty civil wars," "which sometimes ripen into revolutions" under "ambitious leaders;" with a penal code of some severity, rendered necessary by this state of things. The government is in full control of the whole territory, except on the Haytian frontier, where it is kept out of its rights by "insurrectionary leaders," "Haytians," and "political intriguers and emissaries, congregated at various points on the neighboring islands." Baez it represents as an able and popular magistrate, with a title to power which had in its origin "technical defects," but is now at least as good as anybody else's. Under his sway, however, which has lasted just three years, the revenues of the government are unequal to its expenses, and the country is constantly "harassed with incursions and attempts at revolution." Cabral heads an irregular force in constant revolt against Baez, but he is, the Commissioners say, simply "a bandit stained with crime." Luperon is another partisan leader who "overruns" another portion of the territory of the republic, but "he seems to have the strength of a desperado, and nothing more."

So much for the governing powers of the republic. As regards the causes of this distracted condition of affairs, the Commissioners say they are three in number: 1. The jealousy between the inhabitants on each side of the central chain of mountains, which it appears has been so strong as "to cause revolutionary leaders to arise." 2. The existence in the interior of a considerable number of "petty military chiefs, about whom has grown up a peculiar system of clanship." These gentlemen are, it seems, continually fighting each other, and rank according to the number of their retainers, and are employed now by one and now by another of the persons "engaged in getting up revolutions;" and it appears that the influence they acquire in war lasts in peace, and would, we should think, make a popular vote in those parts a very funny affair. It is gratifying to learn, however, from the Commissioners, that "the people of the country clearly understand that these disturbers of the peace are public enemies." 3. The presence of "insurrectionists and destructionists," who "hatch plots" in the islands around San Domingo, and "invest in prominent revolutionists as a matter of business," and "forge proclamations and documents." Were these three causes of disturbance, not to say anarchy, removed, the Dominicans would be a happy and united people.

The inhabitants are of mixed blood, poor and ignorant, but peaceable, temperate, and polite, fond of gambling, without prejudice of class, race, or color, and are nearly all proprietors of a small quantity of land, but the area of cultivation is small, owing, say the Commissioners, to the prevailing "uncertainty who may reap the crop." The Commissioners give very formally two reasons for believing that there are no "parties" in various sections of the country "ready to resort to desperate measures against annexation:" 1. Because no attempt was made to assassinate the Commissioners, during the night, as they lay unguarded in their lodgings at Santo Domingo. 2. Because no attempt was made to assassinate them while making excursions unarmed in the interior of the island. It seems to us, however, that this proves nothing except that the opponents of annexation were not born naturals. The feeling in favor of annexation the Commissioners represent as strong and general; and the public liabilities they estimate, after as careful enquiry as they could make, at $1,565,831 59¼. Of this, curiously and significantly enough, $600,000, or over one-third, is for "unpaid salaries," which may account for the eagerness of the official classes for absorption into the Union. The Commission adds little or nothing to our knowledge of the topography, climate, or products of the island.

Along with the report, the President sent in a message to Congress, explaining the circumstances under which he became an advocate of annexation. The idea was suggested to him first soon after his inauguration, by an agent of President Baez; some time afterwards it was again forced on his attention by a "second gentleman from San Domingo," and after hearing them he felt bound at least to make enquiries, and sent a Commissioner in whose "capacity, integrity, and judgment" he had and has "the most unbounded confidence." He then sketches the history of the controversy which followed, explains the despatch of the late Commission, whose report, he says, fully vindicates the purity of motives of those who undertook the negotiation, and now "hands the whole subject over to the judgment of the American people and their representatives in Congress assembled," but suggests that "in view of the difference of opinion on the subject, no action be taken at the present session beyond the printing and dissemination of the report," and declares that he has no policy to enforce against the popular will. He concludes with an attestation of the purity of his own motives, and strongly insinuates that the attacks made on him are "the censures of disappointed men."

The Shellabarger Ku-klux Bill has, at this writing, passed the House, and is now before the Senate, where it will probably be acted on speedily. It would be difficult to mention an objection to a statute of its kind which may not be made to it. It provides that any two or more persons conspiring to overthrow the United States Government, to oppose its authority, to hinder or delay the execution of its laws, or to seize its property, or to prevent, by force or intimidation, a person from taking office under it, or injure, or annoy, or drive him away from performing his duties, or intimidate witnesses or jurors in United States Courts, or deprive any person or class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, or hinder the State authorities from according such protection, or injure or molest State officers, for affording it, shall be deemed guilty of a high crime, and on conviction, pay a fine of $5,000, and go to jail for six years with or without hard labor; in addition to which the injured parties shall have their action. But this is not all, or nearly all. Section 3 gives the President the power of judging whether insurrections, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies in any State "have obstructed the execution of the laws, so as to deprive *any portion* or class of the people" of their rights, privileges, and immunities as citizens of the United States, and whether the State authorities are unable to protect them, or, being able, have failed or neglected to do so; and if he decides in the affirmative, to use the army and navy, *or other means, as he may deem necessary* for the suppression, etc. Section 4 goes further, and authorizes the President to decide when these combinations are so powerful as to overthrow or set at defiance the State or Federal authorities, when the State authorities are *in complicity with* or *connive at* these combinations, and when the convictions of the offender and the preservation of the public safety *have become impracticable*, and then, in his sole discretion, to suspend the habeas corpus. We have italicized the passages which make this bill monstrous. No such powers were ever before bestowed on an executive officer in a free country; no such powers can be bestowed on any man without seriously weakening the popular respect for law; and the fact that they are only to last till June, 1872, will not prevent the measure, if enacted, proving a precedent of the most shocking kind, which bad men, in bad times, will not hesitate to use, and which a Democratic majority in Congress, aiding a Democratic President, might use to bring about such a suppression of "insurrectionary combinations" at the South as occurred in Jamaica in 1865. We shall reserve further comment on it, however, until after its fate has been decided in the Senate.

The arguments adduced in its favor in the debates have been of the usual kind, deductions from certain abstract notions of justice, fitness, and what not, of about as much bearing on the case as

snatches of poetry. The reliance of all its advocates on brute force as a remedy for deep-seated social disorders seems to be about as strong as that of old Haynau or Radetzky, and their contempt for the lessons of history even deeper. Few or none of them make any mention of amnesty or conciliation, or any other civilized cure or palliative. An amnesty bill, has, however, been introduced by Mr. Hale, who cleverly anticipated Mr. Butler with it, and has passed the House, which removes everybody's disabilities, except those of officers who left the army and navy of the United States to engage in the rebellion, representatives and senators who resigned their seats for a similar purpose, and the members of state conventions which voted ordinances of secession. This is very good as far as it goes, but it still leaves disfranchised a large body of the most influential men at the South, whose assistance in restoring order is of the last importance. The continuance of their disqualification at this late date, can only be prompted either by a desire for vengeance—which is no basis for civilized legislation—or by the hope that it will deter them from doing the like again. But no rational man supposes that the fear of being disfranchised, if it did not succeed, would now prevent any Southern man from engaging in another rebellion. The true test of the goodness or badness of all legislation about the South at this moment, supposing it to be constitutional, and therefore not dangerous to the rest of the country, is its tendency to pacify the disturbed States. Any measure that has this tendency is good; any measure which has it not is bad. It is, however, ridiculous to suppose that the denial of political rights to a body of greatly respected and influential men in every State, can have any such tendency, or can produce anything but irritation. Most of our proscriptive legislation has been more worthy of an old Aulic councillor, advised by an old archduchess, an old Dominican monk, and a colonel of dragoons, than the legislature of a free people, which owes its greatness and strength most of all to kindness and confidence in human nature.

Governor Alcorn, of Mississippi, has written a letter to the *Tribune*, defending himself and the civil administration of the State from the charges brought against both since the Meridian outrages. It is a document calculated to make a strong and a favorable impression on candid minds, as we may say, indeed, of all that we have read from the Governor's pen. He recurs to the fact insisted on in his annual message, viz., that the civil rule began only last July, after the new legislature had adjourned; and allowing two months for it to get fairly into operation, he compares the period, October, 1870—March, 1871, with each period of six months preceding from April, 1869, to show the increasing number of murders under the military, and the diminished number under the civil, régime. He asserts the same fact as to riots and mob violence, both in regard to frequency and to loss of life, and says that "there is not a county in the State in which any attempt to resist the law cannot be crushed by the sheriff's posse." Against United States officers, as such, there is no opposition; but most of them hold also one or more State offices, and it is in the latter capacity that they are molested, if at all. Col. Huggins was a pluralist of this kind, being Assistant Assessor of Internal Revenue and, at the same time, County Superintendent of Public Schools, and suffered, says Gov. Alcorn, because he was looked upon as responsible for the maladministration of the school-funds of the State, which has been the cause of very burdensome taxation. Had the *Tribune* read that part of Gov. Alcorn's recent message to the Legislature which relates to this educational extravagance, it would hardly have pretended, in reply, that the mob outbreaks were directed against the school system itself, on the old-fashioned Southern grounds. Louisiana is in a similar condition to that of Mississippi, from the arbitrary and excessive measures of a Board of Education with too great powers; and it is due to the truth not to confound the causes of popular discontent at the South.

The message just mentioned asked for authority to repress Ku-klux lawlessness by measures which attest Governor Alcorn's earnestness. He had been authorized to organize and equip the militia, including a regiment of cavalry, but in the absence of a specific appropriation to meet this expense, the State Auditor refused to pay out money on account of it. The Governor asks that this officer's scruples may be removed, and that the cost of subsisting the cavalry in their operations against "masked assassins" be levied as a special tax on the county infested by the latter. He asks further that the rewards offered for the detection of the Ku-klux may likewise be made a special tax on the county tolerating them; and, with the right on the part of the State to change the venue, he anticipates no difficulty in putting down disorder. Not content, however, with these arrangements, he reminds the Legislature that "severe economy in the administration of the affairs of the State is one of the first conditions of effectiveness in all our measures for a vigorous repression of crime." Nothing could be truer than this sentiment, as the state of things in South Carolina amply proves, and it is in illustration of the evils which an opposite course must inevitably produce that Governor Alcorn exposes the imprudent management—to say the least—of the public instruction in Mississippi. On this head one example will suffice. The Northerners charged with introducing the blessings of common schools to the State have adopted the standard of the most advanced communities; and have not only, among a people thirsting for the rudiments of knowledge, been very strict in examining the teachers, but have paid them wages far in excess of those which prevail at the North, and have prematurely saddled the State besides with costly school-houses, furniture, and apparatus.

We have again to call attention to the fact that the season is closing—indeed, we may say, has closed—without a single voice having been raised against "Caste." As far as our observation has gone, not one lecture has, during the winter, been devoted to this foul disease. We must not be told that it has passed away. It cannot have passed away if half what we were told in the winter of 1869–70 about its virulence was true. "Caste," we were told, was eating the vitals out of our society. It was the one danger of American politics. Ignorance, mendacity, and corruption were nothing in comparison. A turbulent and haughty nobility was showing itself in Boston, and beginning to pull noses. General Sherman was trying to get himself and some of his friends made dukes and barons in Washington; whites were in every direction refusing to marry colored people; and, in fact, nobody seemed to know where the movement was going to end. If the danger is all over, and the pest stamped out, all we can say is, the lyceum has achieved one of the greatest triumphs of the age. If so, we think some of the orators ought now to take up the vices of telling lies, and taking bribes, and cheating, and swindling, and extirpate them in like manner.

Apathy and dulness pervade all business circles. The general trade of the country continues fairly active, but without any feature of interest, beyond the extraordinary magnitude of our importations, which it is impossible to account for satisfactorily in face of the already liberal stocks of most descriptions, and the general quiet of trade. The excitement on the Stock Exchange has died out, even the brief activity in the funding process has waned away, the Scranton disturbance refuses to be magnified into a first-class riot, and neither Senator Morton's speech nor Mr. Grinnell's removal has been able to raise a ripple of animation in any of the markets. The crop prospects everywhere are unusually good, and there is every probability that the export demand for our breadstuffs and meats will continue. There has been some slight improvement in real estate, and a little more activity in building. But in all branches of trade the prevailing July weather seems to be accompanied by the corresponding July dulness. Nothing but this universal apathy could prevent the present condition of our foreign trade and of our domestic banks from exciting serious uneasiness. As it is, everybody and everything appear to "float lazily with the tide."

The Germans produced in this city on Monday the greatest procession, we venture to say, and the most effective, it has ever witnessed. They defiled for four long hours before the City Hall, and made a wonderful display, as regards numbers, money, taste, and enthusiasm,

and respectability in the best sense of the word. We ought to add that there was unprecedented consumption of lager bier, and no drunkenness. Seeing what a tremendous force, political and social, German New York is, and knowing, as we do, that the Germans are not mixed up in the local corruption, one cannot help wondering how it is that they do not with their immense vote sweep the Ring and its minions to perdition. Thrown in combination with the decent Republicans, it could completely redeem the State and City. But it is all thrown away, and the Germans are left in isolation or indifference to City and State politics, by the outrageous management of the Republican party, which is base as base can be; by the difference of language, and by the absence of all attempt on the part of the Americans to reach and influence them; and by the strength of the feeling among Americans in the party ranks on the subject of beer-drinking, and Sabbath-breaking—two points on which the Germans also are very sensitive.

The Cable dispatches of this week throw little additional light upon the engagements before Paris of the 3d and 4th. The rout of the insurgents, however, appears to have been complete, and the death of Flourens and Duval remains uncontradicted. A considerable division, under Bergeret, was cut off, and driven northward towards Colombes and Gennevilliers, and a redoubt at Châtillon, south of the city, was captured, with two thousand men and its commander, General Henry. The fate of this hero of the Commune is the theme of a number of contradictory reports. According to some, he was killed by a shell; according to others, he was executed by his captors; and still others have it that he stabbed his guard and escaped to Paris. In the night of Wednesday, the 5th, the Parisians made an attack on the bridge of Sèvres, held by a detachment of the Versailles army, but were repulsed. On the following day considerable cannonading took place between the southern forts, Montrouge, Ivry, Bicêtre, and Charenton, and batteries erected by the Government troops at Châtillon, and positions further east. The Government forces also made a vigorous assault on the insurgents at Courbevoie and Neuilly, and, aided by the fire of Fort Mont Valérien, pressed them back towards the Seine, at the same time baffling the attempts of Bergeret's troops to pierce their lines and return to Paris.

On Friday, the 7th, fighting was resumed by the Versailles army at Neuilly with renewed vigor. The insurgents were forced to retire behind the bridge, which they barricaded. The assailants then shelled and demolished the barricades, inflicting heavy loss on the defenders, and throwing them into temporary disorder. The latter succeeded, however, in extricating their cannon, and took up sheltered positions on the east bank of the Seine. After an artillery duel from the opposite banks, the Versailles troops pushed across the bridge, and, in spite of new barricades erected in their way, on the Neuilly avenue, and a brisk fire from the guns of the Paris ramparts, ultimately drove the insurgents out of the suburb and compelled them to retreat to the foot of the *enceinte*. The Versailles Government states the loss of the Parisians to have been immense, but admits that its own was serious, and names three of its generals among the killed and wounded. The chief command was held by Marshal MacMahon, and the whole army of investment was divided into four corps, of which one was in reserve, under General Vinoy. Who commanded the insurgents in the engagements of the 6th and 7th, is not stated. Subsequently, however, we find a Garibaldian officer, the Pole, Ladislas Dombrowski, "appointed to succeed General Bergeret in command of the National Guard," the latter having been "arrested for military failure and insubordination."

On Saturday, the 8th, Fort Mont Valérien and the advanced batteries of the Versailles army began the bombardment of the Maillot Gate, of the *enceinte*, between Neuilly and the Arc de l'Étoile, their shells falling beyond the latter in the Champs Élysées. The cannonade was continued throughout the day, during the night, and also all Sunday, brisk firing being simultaneously kept up between the southern forts and the positions opposite them. Everywhere the Government troops gained ground. They advanced almost to the *enceinte*, occupying Boulogne, Sablonville, and Longchamps. The drawbridge and floor of the Maillot Gate were broken. The Nationals momentarily evacuated the Champs Élysées, seeking shelter in the adjacent streets. Subsequently, however, they reinforced their artillery at the Maillot Gate, as well as at the adjoining Porte des Ternes, and threw up huge barricades in the Champs Élysées, the Place de la Concorde, and their environs, opened a cannonade upon Courbevoie and Puteaux, and made some desperate sorties to the south and southwest. The southern parts of the city were, even on Monday the 10th, so much annoyed by the bombardment directed against Forts Montrouge, Issy, and Vanves, that an election appointed for that day, to fill vacancies in the Commune, had to be postponed. At the western gates, however, the fire slackened on Monday, and the Versailles troops fell back to some distance, MacMahon determining, as was believed, to make the main attack on the city from the southwest, with the co-operation of a flotilla of iron-clad gunboats on the Seine. At last accounts, the insurgents were in possession of Asnières, near Courbevoie, on the west bank of the river.

While all these more or less bloody contests were going on, the Reds of Paris, in the Commune and out of it, indulged in the luxuries of an imitation Reign of Terror. The fainter shades of Red had to yield the field to the more pronounced, Assy, Blanqui, Gambon, and Bergeret being imprisoned, and twenty-two members of the Commune driven to resign. All men between the ages of seventeen and sixty-five, then all unmarried citizens, and finally all between nineteen and forty, were called under arms, and domiciliary search was made for the fugitives. Houses of "aristocrats" and churches were pillaged, and the prisons filled with "suspects," especially priests and nuns. The Archbishop of Paris was among the first to be incarcerated, and his life is said to be threatened. Several attempts to bring about a termination of this state of affairs by negotiations with the Versailles Government were made during the week, but without vigor, and consequently without success. Thiers is believed to be accessible to the mediation of loyal citizens; he shows himself, however, determined to save the prerogatives of the Government at all hazards, and has carried the rejection by the National Assembly of an article in a new bill granting the election of mayors to all cities of France without distinction. The Government will appoint all mayors in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants. The majority of the Assembly seems to grow impatient of his leniency and hesitancy, while the radicals of the Paris delegation occupy a position almost bordering on disloyalty. The tranquillity of the provinces is a little too frequently announced by the Executive.

It is not a little singular, considering what horror the German siege of Paris excited in many people's minds, that a second siege of it, following close on the first, by the French themselves, should meet with so little reprobation from French sympathizers. The French army is, however, not only besieging it, but bombarding it, without notice, and without giving any opportunity to the women, and children, and aged and infirm persons to withdraw. This beats the brutal Bismarck and the canting William hollow. Nor do we hear one word now about the risk run by the museums and libraries which the German barbarians came so near destroying. What makes the performance all the more discreditable is, that the persons whom the French army are now shelling, and otherwise annoying, are the sensitive lambs whose feelings Bismarck and his Junkers would insist on wounding by marching their hordes into the city, and who, if the Prussians had only let them alone after Sedan, would at once have settled down to their industry and their studies, after having forgiven all their enemies. As it is, all they want is to be allowed to work their own sweet wills; while the Germans, on the other hand, as we all knew they would, have gone home drunk with blood and beer, and raging for more conquests, and so demoralized with "requisitions" that property at Berlin is no longer safe. Why do none of our sages of last September step forward now and bear their testimony against this last abominable attack on the Holy City?

"WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?"

THERE was a great meeting on the subject of political reform held in this city last week, of a kind that will probably be by no means uncommon hereafter in various other cities and States, for the evils which it took into consideration are unhappily no longer confined to New York. The house was crowded by one of the most intelligent and respectable-looking audiences we have ever seen. The feeling was evidently very deep, and the speaking was very fine. Henry Ward Beecher, in particular, effective as he always is, was probably never more effective than in his exposition of the evils which would probably befall the community in this city if the scheme on foot at Albany for the endowment of sectarian schools was carried out. Dr. Bellows, Mr. Evarts, and Judge Barrett were all strong and eloquent in their denunciations of the rule of the Ring; and the last-named gentleman opened up, perhaps, one of the most startling prospects of the day, when he drew attention to the probability, which no reasonable man doubts, that one of the objects which Tweed and his abettors have in view in securing for the four Ring leaders the disposition of the city taxes during the next two years, is the appropriation of large sums to influence the Presidential election. That the ambition of the gang now goes far beyond the rule of this city and State, there is little question. The work of corruption here is too easy. Like all restless and energetic spirits, they long for a task calling forth all their powers. There is no "sport" any longer in spoiling us, or ruling the wretched band of prostitutes who compose what once was the Legislature of the great State of New York.

Nevertheless, we believe we are warranted in saying that few, if any, left the hall with the feeling that anything had been done for reform. Everybody felt more comfortable, doubtless, at having listened to and been roused by a few stirring protests against corruption; but nobody felt that the Ring was either shaken or seriously threatened; or that Tweed and Sweeny would read the report of the meeting with anything but amusement; or that what had been said or done really paved the way to serious action. A report was spread through the newspapers, for which we believe Mr. Evarts was in no way responsible, that he would propose a practical plan of reform. He, however, had no such plan to propose. When he described the effrontery with which the Ring listen to denunciations of their misdeeds, and with which they ask the honest men whom they rob—"What are you going to do about it?"—there was a moment of deep silence; for most people expected to hear a practical answer to this insulting but, it must be admitted, very puzzling question. No answer, however, came. When he said, "They will find out," there was a laugh; but it was not by any means a joyous laugh. It was the laugh which men laugh when they find it is the best thing they can do, and in this laugh there is always a good deal of bitterness. In fact, not one of the speakers had anything better to propose than the ancient remedy—that "good citizens should go to the polls and attend the primary meetings."

Now, it is with no desire to throw cold water on honest efforts to rouse the public conscience to a sense of the great danger—greater than it has ever faced—which is at this moment impending over American society and government, that we say what we are now going to say. In fact, a feeling has been already aroused on this matter of corruption which we do not believe it is in anybody's power to abate, were he never so well disposed. What we are about to say is intended simply to promote that recognition of *the facts* of the case without which no effort for reform can do any good, or amount to anything but sound and fury. The first fact of importance in the case is, that though good citizens may be got to the polls, and, we think, generally do go, they cannot be got to attend primary meetings or otherwise devote themselves to what is really of far more importance than going to the polls—working the political machine by which the votes are prepared and furnished with an object. We last summer likened their reluctance to do this to their reluctance to bathe off the city piers on warm afternoons. We are satisfied that this comparison, though strong, was not incorrect. We should be as much surprised to hear that the class of men who attended the meeting at the Cooper Institute last week, or whose names appeared on the call, were actively engaged in local politics, and were prominent at ward meetings, as at seeing crowds of merchants and bankers taking "headers" into the North River off the bulkheads in July or August. There is a very large body of persons in New York who desire good government, and who are willing to work for it, and who are shocked and alarmed by the present state of things. They do vote, or would vote if they had the least expectation that their voting would produce any effect—and they give money freely; but more than these they will not do, for various reasons. The chief of these reasons we shall endeavor to point out, and, though they are familiar enough to everybody who has seriously considered the subject, we venture once more earnestly to call the attention of reformers to them.

We are making an attempt in this city, and we may be said to be making it in all cities, to use for the government of dense, complex, wealthy, mercantile communities, composed largely of persons without property, the machinery by which small, simple, agricultural democracies, composed either of idle slaveholders or farmers with long winters to get through, have successfully governed themselves. The moment that machinery is applied to such communities it becomes in the highest degree intricate. To get the power necessary to run it, and to apply it to the million wants of a vast social organization like ours, the members of which have the slightest possible connection or acquaintance with each other, it has to be converted into an enormous apparatus of "management," with numerous elections, swarms of unknown candidates, and a huge and unwieldy mass of legislation. To understand it thoroughly and make it go, therefore, necessarily becomes the work of a lifetime—a profession, in short. Nobody who proposes to do it can do anything else well. For instance, if you live in a New England village, and want to have a good justice of the peace, you can prepare the way for electing one in the course of ordinary association with your neighbors. You know them, and they all know you, and you can influence them in your odds and ends of leisure, without the slightest interference with your regular avocations. In the police justice of the district in which we write at this moment in this city, however, we have not a particle of confidence. We know that if a politician or a politician's protégé took it into his head to "whale" us, we could not get him punished. This is a dreadful state of things, no doubt, for a civilized man to contemplate. But what must the respectable inhabitants of the district do, to oust him, and substitute a good man? Why, they must to a great extent neglect their business, and give up their days and evenings to cultivating the acquaintance of a large body of unknown people, and attending meetings in close rooms, at which they will be assailed with insults and, it may be, with blows, by roughs and criminals. In other words, they must cease following the callings for which they were bred, and by which they are making provision for their children and old age, and endanger the interests of their creditors, and engage in a most repulsive pursuit for a result which is, after all, doubtful. Now, this is really what reformers and ministers are constantly asking the respectable classes in New York to do; and, human nature and human life being what they are, it is no wonder that "the respectable classes" now laugh heartily when they hear the time-honored exhortation to give their attention to politics.

These exhortations are all based on a totally false view of the relations of government to the individual; that is, they are based on the theory that man was made for government and not government for man. Government, it must be remembered, is a means—not an end. I want government that I may be enabled to exercise my faculties in peace and quiet, and be secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of my industry. To ask me to abandon my industry, and forego the exercise of my faculties and the gratifications of my tastes, merely to make the government better, is asking me to go back to barbarism; or, in other words, to surrender for the sake of life all that makes life worth having. No wonder, therefore, that the best men of the community refuse to listen to you, when you invite them to "go into politics," or smile when you denounce them for their devotion to their business and professions. Their business and professions are the principal work of their lives. Every man feels this, and it is essential to the permanence of civilization that he should feel it. Therefore, finding it impossible to get good government without giving up his whole time to it, he bears with bad government as long as he can; and as soon as it becomes

intolerable, he moves away into some district where he has reason to believe the state of things is better. In the meantime, the political work is taken up by a class which has no regular occupation, which dislikes steady industry, and which is not troubled with scruples, and it makes and administers the laws. This is the process which is going on in this city and State at this moment, and which begins to be witnessed in a greater or less degree in other States and cities.

Now, what is the remedy? Simplify the political machinery. Take into account the enormous difference there is between the life of the American citizen in 1871 and the life of the Athenian citizen or the New England farmer, and even between the life of the city man now and that of the city man of the year 1820; the fearful pressure which all pursuits exercise on all of us; and the terrible difficulty with which we make our brains and muscles answer the demands of modern industry, commerce, law, charity, and social intercourse. Consider how hard the ablest and strongest of us finds it to attain what every true man feels in his secret soul—and long may he feel it—is the great end of life, success in his calling; the success that comes of patience, skill, and faithfulness. It is on the strength of this feeling more than on any form of government that civilization depends.

The thing to be done, then, is to adapt the government to the peculiar condition of the community to be governed, and, startling as it may sound, there is no doubt that Cæsarism—that is, despotism based on universal suffrage—contains the germ of the plan on which democratic government must be fitted to the needs of modern society. That is, we must get rid of the cumbrous machinery inflicted on us by the movement of 1846. The best portion of the people—which is the busiest portion—cannot look after so many elected officers. They have too much else to do. We must elect a few men, at longer intervals, and hold them responsible for the working of the whole administrative machine. To the election of one or two men, in this city, say once in two years, the busiest man would pay attention, and be willing to make preparations. The machinery necessary for nominating a mayor all could look after; into the character of two or three candidates for such an office all could enquire. In short, if the respectable citizens did not pay attention to politics under a régime of this kind, it would argue utter baseness and readiness for a master.

This is not a new idea. It has been frequently produced in the discussion of the problem of New York City and all city government. But it has not been produced, as it ought to be, at reform meetings and in reform organizations. There is little use in any longer denouncing the Ring or exposing their baseness. Everybody is conscious of it. What is wanted now is a remedy, and agitators of real power to advocate it. The suggestion of the *Tribune*, that men like Mr. Evarts, Henry Ward Beecher, and Dr. Bellows, should not only speak at indignation meetings, but go down into the arena for a brief season, and take part in the fight, rouse the public conscience by repeated appeals, and offer to lead along the more excellent way, is well worth their consideration. Doubtless there is behind all the political corruption and political apathy more or less moral weakness, if not disease, but these have to be combated by other means than laws or meetings, and need not be considered here.

"LA COMMUNE."

To understand rightly what is passing in Paris at the present moment, and what the insurgents mean by "the Commune," and why they want "the Commune," and what significance there is in this rising against the national government, we have to go back to 1848. Prior to that year, the Socialists were only a comparatively small sect, and propagated their doctrines by means of secret societies. The revolution of 1830 was a political revolution purely, but it was probably the last purely political revolution that Paris was ever to see. The government of Louis Philippe was overthrown also by a kind of surprise on a political issue; but the minute the ground was cleared, the Socialists rushed in to occupy it, and obtained a strong representation in the Provisional Government, and really had made it subservient to their designs before the bourgeoisie had recovered from their stupefaction. Indeed, we find in its earliest acts the very ideas which the Communists of 1871 are fighting for.

One of the decrees issued the day after its instalment ordered the raising of a large popular national guard, to be paid a franc and a-half a day, and clothed by the Government; another, the next day, ordered all articles pledged in pawnshops to be restored to the owners at the public expense; another made the Tuileries an "asylum for invalid workingmen;" another formally guaranteed employment to all citizens, and "restored to the ouvriers to whom it belonged" the million of florins just falling due on the Civil List. The issue of these proclamations was forced on the Provisional Government by the state of things in Paris. The streets were still full of barricades; the ouvriers were armed, and, as now, refused to abandon the barricades and go home until they had been fully assured that the Government was not going to "betray" them. Even the presence of Louis Blanc and of Albert, "the Ouvrier," as he called himself in the Government, was not sufficient to reassure them; so that the sane members of the Government were really obliged to let Louis Blanc and Albert have their way, in order to gain time, and the programme of these latter gentlemen was as yet only half-revealed. To them the Republic meant what Louis Blanc called "the organization of labor," that is, the establishment of Government workshops for all branches of industry, in which all persons who chose could find employment, and would receive equal rates of pay; the establishment of Government banks, at which all citizens could get their bills discounted; and, in fact, the complete destruction of the present relation of capitalist and laborer, this being in Socialist parlance the "exploitation of man by man." The Provisional Government was actually compelled to recognize the soundness of all these principles by public proclamation, but, to escape or postpone the consequences of its concessions, it appointed a "Government Labor Commission," put Louis Blanc and Albert at the head of it, and sent it over to the Luxembourg Palace to hold its sittings; and to this flowed the enormous processions of workmen, or "manifestations," as the French called them, to which the laboring class gave itself wholly up in those days, thus giving the other members at the Hôtel de Ville time to attend to the more serious and pressing affairs of the nation. The discussions at the Luxembourg Palace probably surpassed in folly and absurdity anything in which civilized human beings ever engaged; and one would read the reports of them now with amazement and even incredulity if the talk of the Communists at the present day did not so closely resemble them.

But now was first revealed that dislike of the Paris population, and indeed of the republican party, to allow the country districts to have any control over the capital, which is one of the most striking and important phenomena in French politics, and which has proved the proximate cause of the present disasters, and found such strong and unfortunate expression in Gambetta's policy during the late war. The majority of the Provisional Government were naturally very anxious to summon a National Assembly as soon as possible to relieve them of the responsibility they had assumed after the revolution. But the Socialists were fiercely opposed to anything of the kind. They knew that the majority of a legislature elected by the country at large would put a speedy end to their attempts to reorganize society, and it was with extreme difficulty that the elections were at last ordered. They wanted the "Commune"—that is, the government, not of Paris only, but of the whole of France, by a body elected by a majority of the Paris voters; and they excused this desire to impose the will of the minority on the majority by a metaphysical process, on which we have already commented in the *Nation* (Dec. 1, 1870), which is peculiar to the French school of politicians, and without careful attention to which nobody can thoroughly understand French politics. We mean the process of abstraction, by which an ideal, or collection of attributes, is made to take the place and play the part of concrete objects in political reasoning. We pointed out how, in this way, "the People" and "the Republic" had come to be treated as something quite different from, more excellent and strong and wise and fruitful than, the actual population of France, or the system of administration set up by it; just as Woman is in this country, in like manner, coming to be used by certain agitators as the name of a *force* of extraordinary power and virtue, rather than a general term descriptive of persons of the female sex, such as we all know them and

see them. So, also, "Paris" has assumed in the eyes of Parisians, and particularly the Communists, the position of an ideal being of superior might and wisdom, and entitled to rule by virtue of this superior might and wisdom, and by no means a collection of houses, inhabited by a large body of ordinary men and women. This curious fancy found frequent expression during the late war in the defiances hurled at the Germans. Victor Hugo predicted, just as the siege was beginning, and doubtless expressed the sentiment of hundreds of thousands, that the enemy would, in some mysterious manner, be blasted when he arrived before the walls. "Paris," he said, "awaits you, the thunder in her hand." All through the siege this strange faith remained strong as ever among the Socialists. The defeats and the prolongation of the blockade were due to "treason." So was the entrance of the Prussians. The city could not be taken by fair means. "The eye of Europe" somehow could not be bunged up by barbarian hands.

Now, here we have a complete justification of the plan of having France ruled by "the Commune." Paris ought to govern the country—the 500,000 to govern the seven millions, because she is "Paris." The coming together of deputies from the provinces to take charge of the Government was, therefore, an outrage and a folly. The notion was only beginning to take possession of the popular mind in 1848; the events of the last twenty years have helped to spread and strengthen it, and we saw in Gambetta's persistence in carrying on the war, in virtue of authority derived from a Parisian mob, and refusing to take the sense of the country at large, a striking illustration of the strong hold it had taken even of the minds of educated men of the radical school.

When the Assembly met, in 1848, it found the Government workshops in full activity, and the whole working population of Paris asserting "the right to labor." The Government had 6,000 men in its employ the 15th of March; by the end of the month, 30,000; and by the end of April, 100,000, and the numbers were increasing with frightful rapidity. The private factories were all deserted; swarms of lazy and idle men began to pour in from the country districts. Even the co-operative associations stopped their own work and went off to live at Government expense; and large numbers of students, artists, and writers followed their example. All that anybody had to do to get enrolled was to give his name and calling and address. At first there was some attempt made to find them something to do. Parties were even detailed to plant "trees of liberty;" but of course it became impossible to find work, and all pretence of finding it was abandoned, and the huge and motley host was actually divided into "squads" and "brigades," under leaders, and marched up to draw its pay, over which there were continual fights. When the Assembly met, it found nearly two hundred thousand men living in idleness on the public, the treasury empty, business totally suspended, and society on the verge of dissolution. It speedily stopped the influx into Paris, abolished the Luxembourg Commission, ordered the workingmen to prepare to go to the country to work there, and directed all idle men between seventeen and twenty-five to enter the army or go about their business. The Reds at once rose in arms, and fought the three bloody days of June. The Assembly had taken the place of "the Commune," put an end to the great efforts to abolish "hereditary poverty," and, in short, had "betrayed the Democratic Republic;" and the Assembly, of course, represented the ignorant, brutal, degraded provinces. The Empire again, which overthrew the Assembly, and reigned in its stead, was also the product of the provincial vote, and, in keeping down Socialism, was carrying out the will of the peasants.

Now, if we bear in mind that the ideas about property, and government, and labor, and capital, which found expression in the Socialist experiment in 1848, have been gaining ground pretty steadily, under cover of the ignorance and silence and repression which the Empire created and maintained, and that side by side with them has been growing the worship of the goddess, "Paris," the centre of enlightenment, and the fountain of progress, under the influence of the continued increase of population and luxury wrought by the Imperial régime, we shall be able to understand the frame of mind in which the vast body of ouvriers, whom the downfall of the Empire had thrown out of employment, and whom the loafing during the siege with arms in their hands and high pay had utterly demoralized, witnessed the appearance of another Conservative Assembly at Versailles. To their leaders it meant the disappointment of the fierce hopes of years; and to the men, a return to the old round of toil; and to both, the subjection of Paris once more to the degrading yoke of the "rurals," as they call the country people.

This term "rurals" is, in the mouth of a city Frenchman of any class, an expression of the bitterest contempt, and the mention of it brings in one other phenomenon of French politics which has had much to do with bringing about the revolt against the Assembly. The town population despises and dislikes the country population, and will not be governed by it if it can help it. This feeling is found in all the great towns, but, of course, is stronger in Paris than elsewhere. Its origin is partly historical. It was one of the marked characteristics of the ancien régime, and at that time found a show of justification in the brutality and degradation of peasant life, and would probably have to some extent survived the transformation of the peasant's condition effected by the Revolution, even if there had been no very marked difference between the two classes in our day. But the difference in character between the Frenchman of the city and the Frenchman of the country is now one of the most striking features of French society, and it is made all the more striking by the fact that it shows itself very soon in the ouvrier who has come in from the farm after having reached manhood, almost as markedly as in the native Parisian. It would take more space than we have at our disposal to describe it fully, but it may be summed up by saying that the peasant is cautious, timid, grave, unenterprising, suspicious, frugal, laborious, conservative, religious, full of reverence for property and family, and all established institutions; while his brother in the city is rash, gay, excitable, adventurous, pleasure-loving, extravagant, without faith in God or confidence in man or woman, full of contempt for marriage, very licentious, a hater of law and of property, and of all sorts of restraint and discipline, and having impatience of labor and passion for equality as his most powerful springs of action; gullible, fickle, capable of acts of the loftiest generosity and of the vilest cruelty within the same half-hour, and swept like the chaff before the wind by every gust of feeling that runs through the incoherent mass to which he belongs. One of the Socialist members of the Constituent Assembly, in 1848, well described the mental and moral condition of the town population when he said, "The days of obedience are past; men feel themselves to be on an equality, and desire freedom. This is now the condition of their minds: they no longer believe, and they wish to enjoy." This provoked from La Rochejacquelein, a Legitimist deputy, the biting retort, "That's the condition of the beasts, too."

THE LATEST PHASE OF THE COAL TROUBLES.

When, after a thirty days' strike, commencing in December last, the working miners of the anthracite coal regions in Pennsylvania offered to resume work for a large number of mine-owners and operators who had agreed to the terms demanded by the men, the mine-owners and operators, who were only too anxious to resume, found themselves unexpectedly prevented from sending their coal to market by the railroad companies, who had suddenly raised their freights to nearly three times their former figure. The railroad freight at all times constitutes a very large proportion, generally (in New York) more than one-half, of the cost of the coal; so that, when the freight was nearly trebled, the selling price of the coal was more than doubled. The advance was so great that no coal could have been sold for less than $12 at wholesale, and, as a consequence, the attempt at resumption was immediately abandoned. What was the object of the railroad companies in thus driving away traffic from their roads?

The great railroad companies are at the same time themselves the principal mine-owners and mine-operators, and had the same issue with the workmen that the other mine-owners had; but the railroad companies were unwilling to grant the men the same terms which other operators thought satisfactory, and hence were unwilling to resume work. If the railroad companies did not work their mines, but other mine-owners worked theirs, it was evident that the other mine-owners would get all the trade, and would reap all the advantage of

the rise in price which had taken place in consequence of the suspension, and the railroad companies would either have to let their mines lie entirely idle, or else grant the conditions asked by the men as the others had done. This the railroad companies were determined not to do, and they had a perfect right so to determine, if they thought best. Up to this point their action was perfectly right and proper. No one can judge, or has a right to judge, between the workman and his employer on a question of wages or of conditions of work that are settled exclusively by agreement between the parties. But when the railroad companies sought to dictate the terms upon which *other* employers should deal with *their* men, by preventing them from sending their products to market so long as they granted the men better terms than those laid down by the companies—when they sought to do this, and they converted their control over the only accessible means of transportation into a control of the whole relations between other mine-owners and their men, then they were clearly in the wrong; and this wrong was in no wise diminished by the roundabout way in which they sought to accomplish their ends by raising their freights to a prohibitory point.

The facts in connection with the coal troubles are doubly important, because they illustrate better than any other recent event the tyrannous and overbearing spirit in which railroad corporations use their enormous power over the community, utterly regardless of the rights of others. The bare position of affairs should, therefore, never be lost sight of. The railroad companies, as mine-owners, are unwilling to grant to their workingmen such conditions as other mine-owners consider perfectly satisfactory, and seek to prevent the other mine-owners from granting these conditions by practically refusing to carry their coal. That this statement of the case is the only correct one, no one familiar with the facts will venture to deny. That it is utterly indefensible in morals is absolutely beyond dispute. The most inveterate apologists of the companies do not attempt to justify it. The companies themselves have boldly and defiantly abandoned the ground of equity, and have placed themselves upon the ground of their legal rights. It is on this ground, selected by the railroad companies with a full knowledge of the consequences, that the battle is now being fought. It must now be evident to every thoughtful person that this coal trouble is about to assume a different aspect from what any one has heretofore anticipated, and is about to force upon the country an involuntary and unforeseen discussion and settlement of the entire railroad problem, and is likely to take precedence in the public mind over every other question of every nature whatsoever.

As soon as the position taken by the railroads began to be fairly understood, the first question raised necessarily was, whether companies could legally exact prohibitory rates of freight over roads chartered by the State; Governor Geary, of Pennsylvania, in the early part of February, demanded the official opinion of the Attorney-General of the State, which was decidedly adverse to the railroads, which was strongly endorsed by the Governor himself, and transmitted to the legislature, then in session at Harrisburg. The message and opinion were referred to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, with instructions to investigate the whole subject and report. After a protracted enquiry, the examination of numerous witnesses, and long arguments from all parties interested, the investigation has closed, and the committee has reported. Its conclusions support the railroads, and announce that there is no legal limit to the rates which the companies may charge for the transportation of freight over their lines. Disappointing as this result must be to all friends of right, since it gives to the railroad companies power surely never contemplated by law, such as, in the instance under discussion, the power to dictate the conditions upon which other mine-owners shall engage their workmen, it nevertheless loses much of its force when it is understood upon what the conclusion is based.

When the original charters were granted to the companies, it was intended to limit the rates of fare which they were to be allowed to charge; but in the charters themselves, instead of using the word "fare" or "freight," unfortunately the word "toll" was used, and although there can scarcely be a doubt as to the meaning or intention of the word at the time, yet it is equally undoubted that it is susceptible of two different interpretations. The correct meaning of toll is a tax, a charge, generally levied by the State, for the permission to pass, and having no direct connection with the cost of transportation. For example, on the State canals a "toll" is collected by the government on the boats as they pass; the boats themselves collect from the shippers of merchandise the "toll" charged by the State, and their own "freight" charges for transportation. Or the owner of a hired carriage driving over a turnpike road collects from his passenger the "toll" charged for passing over the road and the "hire" of the carriage itself. Had the question arisen for the first time in this connection, it is highly probable that the common-sense interpretation would have prevailed, but as the same issue had been raised before under different circumstances, and had been definitively settled by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania by a decision establishing the right of a railroad to charge both "toll" *and* "freight," we may give the Senate Committee credit for having decided at least according to the law. Their decision then is this: The law places a limit on the toll the railways may charge, but not on the freight, so that, practically, the roads may charge what they please.

This investigation, then, from which so much was expected, ends, like many another legislative investigation before it, in leaving matters precisely where they were before. If anything, it is rather a triumph for the railroads, whose position is apparently confirmed. But it is, nevertheless, a step forward, for it must necessarily remove from the public mind the last remnant of the delusive hope heretofore entertained by many, that redress was to be looked for from the exercise by the State legislatures of the power of control, which they inherently possess, over all corporations created by charters from the State. To attempt to prove that no different result was to have been anticipated must appear superfluous to all who have watched the career of any one of the State legislatures during the last three years. They have invariably proved themselves the shameless and corrupt tools of every railroad corporation that possessed the means and the disposition to control their votes. The action of the Pennsylvania Senate Committee need, therefore, surprise no one.

It is true, the committee could not so far stultify themselves as to deny openly the unfairness of the action of the railroad companies. While refusing to interfere themselves, they recommend that the law officers of the State proceed against the companies by a process known to lawyers as a *quo warranto*, a demand upon the companies to show by what warrant or right they commit certain actions. In pursuance of this recommendation, and under instructions from Governor Geary, who had already previously announced his determination to pursue this course, the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania has filed his complaint against the chief offenders in the Supreme Court, and Judge Sharswood has issued writs requiring them to appear at Harrisburg on the 1st of May. What the result of this proceeding will be, it is difficult to foretell. That it will be materially influenced by the precedent just referred to in a former judgment by the Supreme Court, that the law places no limit on the "freight" charges of the companies, must not be too hastily assumed. For though the Court may have decided that a certain charge, in a certain specified individual case, however apparently unreasonable, is not illegal, it may decide very differently when a number of companies are charged, as is now the case, with combining and conspiring to extort or demand *prohibitory* rates, "entirely disproportionable to the service rendered, and utterly destructive of the rights and interests of all the people of the commonwealth." But whatever decision may be arrived at, there can be no doubt that it will be of the utmost importance in determining the issue of the entire dispute between the railroad companies and the people, and should receive the careful attention of all those New York merchants whose protest against the action of the Central and Hudson River Railroads we recently referred to.

This Supreme Court suit must necessarily hereafter constitute an independent and separate issue in the complicated problem of the coal troubles, reducing all other questions to a position of minor importance. Nevertheless, the latter, especially as affecting the prospect of an early supply of coal at reasonable prices, must not be lost sight of.

The Reading Railroad, which is as a large owner of mines—which it does not, however, work itself, but leases to other operators—has induced the Anthracite Board of Trade, consisting chiefly of its lessees, or of operators who send their coal over that road, to offer a compromise to the working miners of the Schuylkill district, coupled with the promise to reduce its transportation charges if the compromise is accepted. But the proposition has been rejected on the ground that its acceptance would constitute a positive acknowledgment of all the wrongs that the workingmen have been, as they claim, unjustly charged with. In the meantime, some riotous proceedings have taken place at Scranton, where members of the Miners' Association are charged with preventing non-union men from working, and although the earlier accounts were evidently exaggerated through timidity, love of sensation, or from interested motives, yet it cannot be denied that the struggle is becoming more embittered and more dangerous. The prospect of the action of the Supreme Court may possibly make the companies more disposed to moderation, but, on the other hand, it is equally likely to elate the workingmen, and to tempt them to increase their demands. As matters now stand, a final settlement seems more remote than ever.

THE "RULES OF EVIDENCE."

THE *World* undertakes to show that the position taken up by the *Nation* and the *Law Review*, about the rules of evidence which the Bar Association should observe in trying any charges brought against its members, is erroneous. We have maintained, and still maintain, that any investigation conducted under the rules of procedure in force in the courts of law in this country and in England will be farcical, and that the result will be contemptible, and that the Association in trying a member for professional or other misconduct sits as a court of honor, and its rules of evidence should be the laws of the human mind. This the *World* controverts in the following fashion:

"We presume that it must be unnecessary for us to say that here is an utter confusion of the facts that are to be found, or the charge that is to be investigated, with the modes of proof that are to be resorted to. Do these writers mean to contend, because there is to be an investigation in a 'court of honor,' not in respect to the commission of a legal crime but in respect to offences against professional propriety, that the law of evidence is not the best and the only safe rule to follow? Because the result is not to be the State Prison, but is to be a sentence in a court of honor, which to a man of honor may be worse than civil or natural death, is a conclusion to be reached on hearsay testimony or on secondary proofs when primary proofs are accessible, or by a rejection of the safeguards which that body of rules known as the law of evidence, and approved by the wisdom of ages, has established against the chances of error? What are 'the laws of the human mind' which these writers would have adopted by a 'court of honor' investigating a charge of moral delinquency? Let a 'court of honor' throw aside the law of evidence as it is administered in other courts, and adopt what these writers call 'the laws of the human mind,' and no member has any fixed standard of belief by which to regulate his judgments, and it will be the easiest thing in the world to destroy the reputation of the most innocent man alive.

"The value of the law of evidence which is administered in courts of law consists, as we have always understood, in this: that it is a body of rules framed with special reference to the laws of human belief, as those laws have been developed by the action of cultivated and disciplined minds. Rightly stated and applied, the laws of human belief are and ought to be the same, whether the investigation relates to a matter of history or science, or a charge of crime, or a charge of moral delinquency. Whenever a state of belief is to be reached on any subject whatever, that belief will be the more trustworthy in proportion as the enquirer has applied to the investigation a system of rules that embraces in the largest degree the means of forming sound and safe conclusions. In this respect we suppose it to be true that what lawyers and all other logicians call the law of evidence—by which we do not mean the technical proofs assigned to the proof of particular technical issues, but the great and comprehensive body of rules which mark the rightful methods of all investigation—is the most philosophical, and, at the same time, the most practically just system of procedure that can be applied to any form of human judgment, whether the investigation involves human conduct or an alleged fact in history or in science. So we imagine all intelligent laymen would regard this matter, as well as all intelligent lawyers; and we have no more expectation of seeing a body of lawyers, because they are sitting as a 'court of honor,' proceed without regard to the law of evidence than we have of seeing their verdict 'received with derision by the world outside' because they have followed the only method of investigation that can be applied with any safety or propriety to any charge whatever that is to affect the reputation of one of its members."

Now, we do not like to seem discourteous, especially to an opponent who usually conducts discussions of this class with great ability, but we must confess we suspect the writer of the above of not knowing what he is talking about.

"The rules of evidence" in use in the courts of Great Britain and the United States are, in the first place, not formed solely "with reference to the laws of human belief"; and, in the second place, they are not in use, and never have been in use, in the courts of any other civilized country. The field of evidence, from the point of view of the psychologist or logician, is the whole field of knowledge. That is, all facts, of whatever nature, which have any relation, however remote, to the question under investigation, are admissible. Such facts have different degrees of probative force, but they all have *some* probative force. Under the laws of the human mind, it is absurd, for instance, to exclude hearsay evidence, or the evidence of a wife against her husband, or an accused's confessions made under threats or promises from a police officer, or to refuse to examine an accused person, or to forbid a party to discredit his own witness, no matter whether you have other testimony or not. Whatever, in short, to use Livingston's definition, "brings or contributes to bring the mind to a just conviction of the truth or falsehood of any fact asserted or denied, is evidence"; it may be weak or strong, but it is still evidence, and in the courts of Continental Europe is received as evidence. When a man is arraigned before a French court, for instance, not only is he himself closely examined, but *everything* that can throw light on the charge against him is collected and submitted. On this the judge passes as a logician, and not as a pleader. For instance, at the Pierre Bonaparte trial, a report of a conversation overheard between two unknown persons near the scene of the murder, on the day of the murder, the prisoner not being present, was offered and received. This, we need hardly say, is the *natural* mode of seeking after truth, and it has been maintained in all countries in which issues both of law and fact are tried before trained judges. It is on this system that any other body whose *sole* object is to get at the facts conducts its proceedings, and on this system a court of honor must, and always *does*, conduct its proceedings.

The common-law rules of evidence, on the other hand, about which the *World* talks in such a wild way, are an artificial system, framed to meet the necessities of trial by jury. The Anglo-Saxon court is a composite body, with one judge to pass on the law and twelve other judges to pass on the facts. These twelve judges are, and have been from the earliest times, for the most part, persons of limited education and no training, and utterly unequal to the task of sifting a great mass of testimony thrown before them in the lump. Partly, therefore, as a safeguard against their ignorance, and partly to lighten their work, the judges learned in the law took upon themselves at a very early period to exclude totally whole classes of facts of which they considered the jurymen unfit to estimate the probative force. In addition to this, they, and the legislature combined, excluded other classes of facts out of mercy to the accused, and under the influence of the humane presumption of the common law that everybody is innocent till he is found guilty; and they then excluded certain other classes of facts on general grounds of policy—that is, they refused to admit certain kinds of testimony, no matter how much light they might throw on a particular case, lest the practice of receiving such testimony should on the whole in other directions work mischief to society. The result is that the rules of evidence in use in our country are not "the laws of human belief" at all. They have been greatly improved of late years, and are, on the whole, well suited to the habits of the people and to the nature of our tribunals, but they are an exceedingly imperfect mode of discovering truth. Consequently, they are never used by tribunals whose procedure is not prescribed by law, and whose judges are men of trained mind, and whose object is to discover not whether there are certain previously defined traces of a thing having occurred, but whether it really did occur.

A court of honor has no power to send for persons or papers. Under the rules of evidence, however, failure on the part of the defendant to produce what the plaintiff has no power to call for does not prejudice his case. Nevertheless, under the laws of the human mind, the refusal of an accused man to explain whatever seems suspicious is a fact which tells against him. Indeed, the human mind is so constituted that an acquittal under such circumstances would do him no good. And what we say of the Bar Association is, that, not being legally bound to follow the rules of evidence, it is of necessity bound to follow the laws of human belief. It has no choice or discretion in the matter, and, if it reaches its decision under any other laws, that decision will be received with ridicule and contempt.

A body of "rules of evidence" might be framed which, though technical in form, would really be based on "the laws of human belief,'

but they would be very unlike anything in use in our own courts. They would contain only one cause of exclusion—irrelevancy—and would consist entirely of tests for ascertaining the probative force of different kinds of testimony and of written documents. The germ of such a system is perceptible in our "presumptions of law."

Notes.

YALE COLLEGE is to be congratulated on having secured for its mineralogical cabinet the very extensive collection of pseudomorphous crystals belonging to Professor Blum, of Heidelberg. This collection is understood to be the largest of the kind in Europe, and has served as the basis of the various researches and many works of Professor Blum, the principal investigator in the department of mineralogy which it illustrates. A timely gift of three thousand dollars from Mr. Joseph Sampson, of this city, enabled the College to effect so desirable a purchase. —— "A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament" is in the press of J. B. Lippincott & Co. It has been prepared by Charles F. Hudson, under the direction of Horace L. Hastings, editor of the *Christian;* and it has been revised and completed by Dr. Ezra Abbott, of Harvard University, who touches nothing that he does not improve.

—It frequently happens that after we have gone to press with the *Nation*, something turns up to make us regret it. This was particularly the case with our last issue. Our remarks on the mischievous practice of signing newspaper articles would have been much more complete if we could have used the illustration which we now give from the Chicago *Republican* (of April 3), and which seemed as if made to order, except that it came an hour too late. The reader will not fail to observe that the desire to get at Smith of the *Armchair* (to recur to our own illustration) is not diminished by Smith's holding his tongue:

"Mr. Fawcette, the ignorant ass who writes the real-estate article for the *Sunday Tribune*, omitted, in the issue of that journal yesterday, to say anything about the 'imported Bohemian' who edits the *Republican;* or to make any of the many indecent personal allusions wherewith he has been wont to season his ungrammatic stupidity of late. This was a very grave oversight on his part, and shows him to be as great a blockhead as he is a blackguard. Evidently, when he left the steamboat business, he spoiled a good roustabout to make a very poor journalist. We advise him to take advantage of opening navigation, and return to his old vocation."

—Doubtless, the day will come when "a gentleman" from British America will privately approach our then President and offer him the rare chance of purchasing that territory; followed by another "gentleman" who repeats the offer. And it being understood that the King of the Cannibal Islands is bidding for it, and will get it if we don't, the end will be another San Domingo Commission to learn all that there is to be known of the country, with instructions to report in thirty days. It is only the present generation, therefore—which has no immediate intention of annexing the North Pole—that can be interested in studying what has already been written and published about America north of the 49th parallel; and to them we can heartily commend a handy pamphlet of about 200 pages, entitled "The Red River Country, Hudson's Bay and Northwest Territories, considered in relation to Canada" (third edition—Montreal: G. E. Desbarats). The author is Mr. Alexander J. Russell, civil engineer and inspector of Crown timber agencies in Canada East and West. He has had a very large experience of all parts of these two provinces, especially those thrown open to settlement in the past forty years; while in regard to that vast region formerly controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company, he has collated the most reliable information from all sources, and presents with surprising minuteness the physical geography, climatology, material resources, and capacity for colonization of the northern half of the continent from Labrador to British Columbia. The object of this manual is avowedly to stimulate the Dominion Government to open up communication with the now isolated interior, in order to turn thither the stream of emigration which now leaves Canada for the United States, and eventually to build up a continuous line of settlements from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Vancouver's Island. The best and most favorably situated lands in Canada are all surveyed and disposed of, and nothing remains to attract emigration on a large scale as formerly. But the Dominion has at its back and within easy access (following Mr. Russell's divisions) a tract as large as Scandinavia and Lapland together, and about equal in soil and climate to the latter country; a tract south and west of Hudson's Bay about double the extent of Finland, and quite equal to it for the support of human existence; the tract known as the Arctic Desert or Barren Ground, possibly rich in minerals; the McKenzie River country, of no little value for the whale fisheries; the Pelly River country, comparable to Sweden and Norway, though inferior in climate; and, finally, the Red River or Central Prairie Land, equal in area to France and Germany, with Belgium and Switzerland thrown in, and of which it can be said that "it has on an average as suitable a climate for agricultural occupation, while it greatly exceeds Canada in the proportion of arable land it contains; much of which is of the richest quality known." This region is the one chiefly dwelt on, as it is the only one which can in any way compete with the United States for immigrants. The question of connecting it by rail and by water with Ottawa is discussed in detail, and also the project of a through Pacific railroad to British Columbia. What is stated in regard to the small depth of snow on the Red River prairies will be reassuring to those who have entertained serious fears for the practicability in winter of our Northern Pacific enterprise. Mr. Russell's compilation is remarkable for its conservatism and the absence of a *parti pris* in the arrangement of its facts. His book, indeed, which has a fair map and numerous illustrations, might be used quite properly as a text-book in American geography for the ground it covers; and anybody possessed with the spirit of a Livingstone or a Schlagintweit will learn from it of a number of choice fields for exploration, which still await description and a nomenclature.

—A London paper having stated that Capt. Joseph Howard Cromwell, of Cincinnati, is a lineal descendant of the great Oliver, was taken to task by a correspondent of the *Times*, who declared that "the historic name of Cromwell has had no living representative since 1799." One J. G. C. (Cromwell), however, writes to the *Athenæum* of March 18 that the *Times* writer placed unwarranted dependence on the authority of the Rev. Mark Noble, who composed the "Memoirs of the Cromwell Family" towards the close of the last century; the said "worthy but somewhat weak clergyman" having considered all the male descendants of Oliver whose history he could not trace to have died—for his purpose at least. J. G. C. professes to be the grandson of one William Cromwell, who in 1786 "was enrolled in the Guild of London Masons, and of whose existence Noble apparently had never heard." This ancestor was born somewhere between 1755 and 1765, dying in 1837 at the age of seventy-nine, as he reckoned it, and giving his sons to understand that "in their veins ran the blood of Oliver Cromwell." Possibly, as his grandson conjectures, he was "a child of one of the numerous sons of Major Henry Cromwell, who died in Lisbon, on foreign service, in 1711." And this remark seems to have some weight: "If the persons in England and in America who now bear the name of Cromwell are not descended from Oliver, as they themselves by tradition have received, then from what branch have they come? The name is a very uncommon one, and is not likely to have been assumed by any one in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, for it could only have led the bearer to incur obloquy and contempt." The *World* recently asserted, on the word of "a trustworthy informant," that Earl de Grey and Ripon, of the High Commission, has the Lord Protector's blood in his veins.

—When the necrology of the present year shall be completed, it is hardly probable that any month will exhibit such distinguished losses to literature as the March just elapsed. On the 17th died Robert Chambers, and on the 18th Professors Augustus de Morgan and George Gottfried Gervinus. They were all born in that nineteenth century of which the last-named was destined to be the illustrious historian, and within a few years of each other; so that they were contemporaries in the strictest sense. In the intellectual and moral struggles of their age they were still further connected as members of the liberal party however named. For what we have to relate of the first two we are immediately indebted to very full notices in the *Athenæum* of March 25. Robert Chambers was born at Peebles, on the Tweed, in 1802, the second son of a muslin weaver whose business was subsequently ruined by the competition of machinery, which compelled the family to remove to Edinburgh. From early youth he was passionately fond of books and reading, and at the age of sixteen he undertook to support himself by bookselling. In this business he soon joined himself to his elder brother William, who had started as a printer and bookseller, and a weekly miscellany called the *Kaleidoscope* was the first and least permanent literary production of their life-long partnership. Of this Robert was the editor, and from it he passed to the composition of books. His "Illustrations of the Author of Waverley" had the benefit of the popularity of those novels, then at its height, and was followed by "Traditions of Edinburgh," which has had a constant sale ever since its first appearance. "Walks in Edinburgh;" a his-

tory of the remarkable fires in that city (written to alleviate the sufferings caused by the fire of 1824); "Popular Rhymes of Scotland;" the "Picture of Scotland" (a sort of tourist's guide); five volumes of Constable's Miscellany, consisting of "Histories of the Scottish Rebellion" and a "Life of James the First;" "Scotch Ballads and Songs;" "Biographical Dictionary of Distinguished Scotsmen;" and a handy "History of Scotland," represent the works which, chiefly composed for other publishers, endeared their author to his countrymen. The publications of his own house, which circulated wherever the English language was spoken, giving knowledge and pleasure to millions of eager minds, were of later date. The first number of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, projected by William, was issued on Feb. 4, 1832, and had such a prodigious success that "all Edinburgh proved to be equal only to produce the Scotch edition, one of the largest printing-offices in London being employed to work off the supply for England and the colonies." Here again Robert became the editor, as, afterwards, with Mr. Carruthers, of the useful "Cyclopædia of English Literature." We have not space to mention the numerous works of education and popular information which have made the name of Chambers a household word the world over. Nor can we more than allude to the "Vestiges of Creation," which was attributed to Robert Chambers, and has also been ascribed to his wife, but of which at all events he bore the brunt of the theological odium. His investigations as a geologist, which had won for him scientific distinction, of course gave strength to the allegation that he was the author.

—A scarcely less voluminous writer was Professor De Morgan, who was born at Madura, in Southern India, in June, 1806, of a family distinguished in the military service. His mother's grandfather, however, who was a mathematical teacher of some eminence, may be supposed to have predetermined his career. In 1827, he gained at Cambridge the first place in the mathematical tripos of that year, but declined to subscribe to the religious tests necessary to obtain either the degree of M.A., or a college fellowship. In 1828, he accepted the professorship of mathematics in the London University, the principles on which that institution was founded being in accord with his religious independence; and he abandoned this position in 1866 when, as he thought, in violation of those principles, James Martineau was refused a professorship on account of his theological opinions. In the service of the London insurance companies, "he raised the actuary's vocation to the dignity of a profession," and was almost to his last day the confidential adviser of several associations. His "Essay on Probabilities," "Elements of Algebra," "Formal Logic, or the Calculus of Inference Necessary and Probable," and "Differential and Integral Calculus," are among the works which made him distinguished, but which show but a small part of his intellectual activity. He was a constant contributor to various periodicals, to the *Athenæum* from 1840; and by no means on mathematical subjects alone. "His contributions to Knight's *Penny Cyclopædia* are a considerable proportion of the entire work. "He passed for diversion's sake from one arduous study to another;" but found time to acquire a good degree of proficiency as an instrumental performer, and was a habitual and eager reader of novels, especially of humorous novels. As a mathematician he had the rare merit of not overestimating his favorite science, though he proved by his "Formal Logic" that it was not incompatible for a mathematician to be also a logician; and he was accordingly one of the weightiest adherents that Spiritualism has ever won over. A treatise of his on these manifestations, entitled "From Matter to Spirit," was written in 1863. As a writer and a teacher, he was one of the clearest minds that ever gave instruction, while his genial and hearty manners in private and in the school-room strongly attached to him all who came in contact with him. He was a man of full habit, much given to snuff-taking; and those who have seen him at the blackboard, mingling snuff and chalk in equal proportions, will not soon forget the singular appearance he often presented.

—Gervinus was born May 20, 1805, in Darmstadt, and as De Morgan originally studied for the bar, so he was bred, against his tastes, to mercantile pursuits. Devoting himself, however, to the study of history, he became professor first at Heidelberg and afterwards at Göttingen, and acquired great repute by his "History of German Literature," which was begun in 1835. In 1837, as one of seven he protested against the King of Hanover's infractions of the constitution, and was in consequence deprived of his professorship and banished the country. Improving the interval for study and travel, he reappeared at Heidelberg as Professor of History and Literature in 1844. Patriotic still, in 1848 he was one of the deputies to the National Parliament at Frankfort; and the strength of his republican feeling may be judged by the grief he lately expressed at the consummation of German unity and the re-establishment of the Empire through so much bloodshed and as the result of arbitrary and illegal administration, when in 1848 all might have been peacefully accomplished had the King of Prussia accepted the proffered opportunity. He withdrew, after some months of active participation in the Assembly, to continue his studies, and produced his masterly works on Shakespeare and Händel. These were followed by his great "History of the Nineteenth Century," concerning which and the author's rank among the writers of the present day we hope to speak more at length on another occasion.

THE DESCENT OF MAN,*

EQUALLY noteworthy with the candor, the modesty, and the earnestness which characterize the author of the "Origin of Species" is the self-control which has not only led him to avoid anything like an answer in kind to the many violent attacks upon him, but has also enabled him to defer for so many years an application of his theory to the creation of man: he feared that he "should thus only add to the prejudice against his views," and wished that "Natural Selection" should be considered and judged upon its merits as a scientific theory alone. But it was not to be expected that a sensation-loving public, and those who write for it, would exercise an equal discretion; and soon attention was called to a passage near the close of the "Origin of Species"—"Light will be thrown on the origin of man, and on his history"—with others in which the belief is expressed that "all animals are descended from four or five—perhaps a single progenitor;" and since the human body is unquestionably animal, vertebrate, and mammalian, the conclusion was inevitable that these "ancient progenitors" were the remote ancestors not merely of dogs, of horses, and of monkeys, but likewise of man himself. Nor was this all. The gradual narrowing of the supposed "great gulf" between man's body and that of the apes has slowly forced upon shrinking humanity the probability that our nearest relatives, not only zoölogically, but genealogically, are the so-called anthropoid and tailless apes—the orang, the gorilla, and the chimpanzee—which are, if not themselves our ancestors, at least the less developed descendants of some ancient, ape-like, and now extinct progenitor. The storm raised by these ideas has not yet ceased; even now, the clergy are called upon to stop the progress of the heresy, and are asked: "What is the use of your asserting, Sunday after Sunday, that man was made only a little lower than the angels, when right under your noses are a set of anatomical miscreants who contend that he is only a little higher than the monkeys?"

For all such objectors this last work will be evidence of its author's own total depravity and foreordained eternal condemnation. But to more liberal minds, it will appear the most lucid and impartial exposition of the present state of scientific opinion respecting the origin of man and his relations to the lower animals. But here a very essential qualification should be made. The word "man" includes three very different ideas: one is of the human body, which, whatever its first origin, is now regularly developed from a germ which is to all appearance identical with the germ of a fish or a serpent—even at a much later period the human embryo is undistinguishable from that of a dog, and the fully-formed individual differs less from the higher apes than they do from the lower monkeys. The second part of man is the animal mind and instinct and intelligence which we surely possess in common with the lower animals, and which, perhaps, as Darwin holds, may be only a higher development of their own. But the third and essential idea of man is of his immortal soul; and although some hold that beasts, too, are immortal, and although Darwin concludes that even conscience and the religious sentiment with belief in a creator are not inherent with man (vol. ii., p. 377), yet on the following page he implies that at some stage in his upward progress he did "become an immortal being," though, while admitting the impossibility of determining that stage, he suggests that it is really of no more consequence than it is to determine the exact period when the forming germ receives the immortal soul in the development of a single individual. At any rate, we accept what he here says as warrant for the exclusion of the immortal part of man, with all its powers and capacities, from the discussion of his present and past relations to the lower animals. With the above qualification, we may let our author speak for himself, from the concluding chapter of the "Descent of Man," admitting that he presents his view far better than any one can do it for him:

* "The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex. By Charles Darwin, F.R.S., etc." With illustrations. 2 vols., pp. 409. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1871.

"The main conclusion arrived at in this work, and now held by many naturalists who are well competent to form a sound judgment, is that man is descended from some less highly-organized form; . . . the grounds of facts upon which this conclusion rests will never be shaken; . . . the close resemblance of the embryo of man to that, for instance, of a dog—the construction of his skull, limbs, and whole frame, on the same plan with that of other mammals—the occasional reappearance of various structures which man does not normally possess, but which are common to the quadrumana, and a crowd of analogous facts—all point in the plainest manner to the conclusion that man is the co-descendant with other mammals of a common progenitor."

"Judging from the habits of savages and of the greater number of the quadrumana, primeval men, and even the ape-like progenitors of man, probably lived in society" (vol. i. p. 148). [According to most accounts, however, the anthropoid apes are *not* very social.] "There can be hardly a doubt that the inhabitants of these countries, which include nearly the whole civilized world, were once in a barbarous condition" (p. 176). "The highest form of religion, the grand idea of God hating sin and loving righteousness, was unknown during primeval times" (p. 175, p. 62). [And he further argues that all morality and conscience sprang by "natural selection from purely selfish sources" (p. 157).] "It would be impossible to fix upon the stage when ape would become man through a series of connecting forms, and it is a matter of very little importance" (p. 226). "The problem of the first advance of savages toward civilization is at present much too difficult to be solved" (p. 161).

"By considering all these things, we can partly recall in imagination the former condition of our early progenitors, and infer that man is descended from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World. This creature, if its whole structure had been examined by a naturalist, would have been classed among the quadrumana as surely as would the common and still more ancient progenitor of the Old and New World monkeys. The quadrumana, and all the higher mammals, are probably derived from an ancient marsupial animal, and this, through a long line of diversified forms, either from some reptile-like or some amphibian-like creature, and this again from some fish-like animal. In the dim obscurity of the past, we can see that the early progenitor of all the vertebrata must have been an aquatic animal provided with branchiæ, with the two sexes united in the same individual, and with the most important organs of the body (such as the brain and heart) imperfectly developed. This animal seems to have been more like the larvæ of our existing marine ascidians than any other known form."

We may here remark that the omission of Birds from this genealogical tree is less a defect than at first appears; for, although we are far from being willing to give up the old class of Aves and consider Birds as only outlying and rather aberrant members of the new combination Sauropsida (which includes turtles, lizards, alligators, pterodactyls, and ichthyosauria), yet their whole organization brings them so near to the higher reptiles that it is easier to regard them as a divergent branch from the stem which afterward produced the mammalia, and at last man.

A careful study of the "Descent of Man" has added many to the general and special difficulties of natural selection which arose during the examination of the "Origin of Species;" but we have space for only a few cases. Our author gives no sufficient grounds for his belief that our "ape-like progenitor" possessed a caudal appendage. Man has a rudiment of a tail which in the embryo projects like that of a dog; but since it does not increase, the subsequent development of the legs throws it into obscurity, whence it but rarely emerges as a "small external rudiment of a tail" (i., p. 45). "No explanation has ever been given of the loss of the tail by certain apes and by man;" but the "great diversity in its length (consisting in some monkeys of five, and in others of twenty-five vertebræ) indicates that it is of not much importance to them, and, therefore, apt to become more or less rudimentary" (i. p. 144). But how, then, can we account for the great length of the tail in some Old World monkeys (with whom it is not prehensile as with the New World species), since we are further told (p. 145) that "modifications which are of no service to an organism cannot have been acquired through natural selection;" and again, if, "being of little importance, they are likely to become rudimentary," they become exceptions to the other general rule given in vol. ii., p. 370: "Modifications formerly of importance, but no longer of any special use, will be long inherited." Our author seems to base his conclusion that our ape-like progenitor possessed a tail, only upon its occasional reappearance as a rudiment ascribable to reverson; but surely a few more generations back can be no obstacle, since he thinks the human nose had its commencement in the Hoolock Gibbon (which is less man-like in other respects than the noseless gorilla and chimpanzee), while it is carried to a ridiculous extreme in the *semnopithecus nasica*, a yet lower monkey, which possesses a tail of considerable length.

These, and other cases which we must omit, are not given as in any way militating against the general hypothesis of Derivation, but only to show the inconsistencies into which we are led in the effort to account for the origin of organisms by means of natural selection of "minute infinitesimal variations."

In the "Origin of Species" two pages were devoted to that kind of selection which is called "sexual;" but the conviction of the necessity of some auxiliary to natural selection, together with the accumulation of evidence of its importance, has led our author to devote the greater part of his last work to the elucidation of sexual selection, and to conclude that of all the causes which have led to the differences between the races of man, and, to a certain extent, between man and animals, it has been by far the most efficient. The terms "natural" and "sexual selection" are defective, as our author admits, since both are natural, as contrasted with artificial selection by man, but they are defined as follows:

"Natural selection depends on the success of both sexes, at all ages, in relation to the general conditions of life; sexual selection depends on the success of certain individuals of the same sex in relation to the propagation of the species" (ii. p. 380).

The latter is further defined:

"The sexual struggle is of two kinds; in the one, it is between the individuals of the same sex, generally the male sex, in order to drive away or kill their rivals, the females remaining passive; while in the other, the struggle is likewise between the individuals of the same sex, in order to excite or charm those of the opposite sex, generally the females, which no longer remain passive, but select the more agreeable partners" (ii. p. 380).

The result is summed up as follows (ii. p. 384):

"Courage, pugnacity, perseverance, strength, and size of body, weapons of all kinds, musical organs—both vocal and instrumental—bright colors, stripes and marks, and ornamental appendages, have all been indirectly gained by the one sex or the other through the influence of love and jealousy, through the appreciation of the beautiful in sound, color, or form, and through the exertion of a choice."

It would appear, then, that selection is through love or through war, but that in either case the successful competitor is the more likely to perpetuate whatever individual peculiarities he may possess as to strength, weapons, or ornament, and thus originate a new variety which, by wider and wider divergence, will, in course of time, be entitled to rank as a new species, and may finally differ generically as to family, ordinal, class, and branch characters from the parent stock. Supposing this to be true, Darwin is right in denying the existence of anything like species, genera, etc., excepting as more or less different varieties ("Origin of Species," 62, 155, 432, and 433); and this is totally incompatible with the view so forcibly stated by Agassiz: "Individuals alone have a *material* existence; species, genera, and all higher groups exist only as categories of thought in the supreme intelligence; but as such have as truly an independent existence, and are as unvarying as thought itself after it has been once expressed."

Let us glance, however, at some special difficulties of the theory of "selection in relation to sex." The male salmon fight with each other for the females, and the larger may naturally be supposed to have the advantage, yet the males are *smaller* than the females (vol. ii. p. 7), as is generally the case with fishes, and Darwin admits that this fact is surprising. In some cases, even, there is antagonism between natural and sexual selection; for instance, "stags are loaded with an additional weight of many pounds, and will be greatly retarded in their flight from wild beasts." . . . . "Male birds have sometimes acquired ornamental plumes at the cost of retarded flight, and at the cost of some loss of power in their battles with rival males" (ii. p. 248); and although our author would account for these and other cases by assuming that these spreading antlers enabled the stags best provided with them to overcome their rivals, and that this was of more consequence than the ability to escape their pursuers, yet the admitted and inexplicable facts of caprice on the part of the females of many species (ii. p. 256), causing them to prefer some other than the conqueror, make the explanation less satisfactory. A still more difficult case is that of the "spike-horn bucks," which seem to be increasing in number among the Adirondacks. "The spike-horn is a more effective weapon than the antler in combat of all kinds, and far less likely to hinder escape from beasts of prey. Undoubtedly the first specimen was merely an accidental freak of nature. But his spike-horns gave him an advantage, and enabled him to propagate his peculiarity" (vol. ii. p. 245). Now, when the remote ancestors of these deer first began to acquire horns, it is more likely, upon any kind of hypothesis, that the horns were spiked or simple than branching. If they are more useful now, why were they not then? and how did antlers originate and become the rule? Again, if the other kind of sexual selection be appealed to, we must assume that the females had an inherent admiration for antlers, and

selected such individuals as had them. But aside from the general difficulty of accounting by natural selection for any such latent preference, why is it not equally operative at the present day? In fact, our author acknowledges the difficulty in these cases, and we recommend a careful study of the explanation given for the long and backward-curving horns of the oryx leucoryx (on page 241 of vol. ii.), as an instance of the unsatisfactory nature of all reasoning from natural selection when applied to particular cases. Everywhere some other condition is required, for which no sufficient cause is assigned.

Darwin not only ascribes to selection the power of producing men from monkeys, but also of originating all the many shades of difference as to color, length, and distribution of hairy covering, form of features, limbs, and skull, which distinguish the human races—differences which some regard as specific in their character. But he seems to make it harder than is necessary for us to agree with him, by holding that all these race distinctions have arisen since the birth of the first human beings, whereas more time would have been allowed by supposing that several "ape-like progenitors," in different parts of the world, produced as many races of men. We are led to say this because Mivart is inclined to doubt whether even the millions of years which geology allows would be sufficient for the production of the human races by the slow process of selection.

As to color, if we suppose black to have been gained by sexual selection (ii. 365), what was the original color? and if, "with the lowest savages, the people of each tribe admire their own characteristic qualities" (p. 367), how can we account for any divergence from the original color of the skin so as to form races? The same inconsistency between the above general law and the existing facts is found in respect to all the characters that distinguish the races of men, for since these race distinctions are confessedly of no value in respect to ordinary natural selection, we can only account for the preservation and perpetuation of differences in color, length of hair, etc., by assuming an inherent preference in the minds of the women for things which had not previously existed, and in direct contravention of the rule above given.

We will not discuss in detail the difficulties which Wallace has found in the way of the production of human beings through the unaided operation of selection, but refer the reader to his most instructive work.* Darwin alludes to these objections, and attempts to refute them, in which we do not think he is successful; on the contrary, we are more than ever inclined to believe that selection is insufficient not merely for man, but for all other organisms, and would call attention to the following remarkable admissions of our author:

"Variability is the necessary basis for the action of selection, and is wholly independent of it (ii. 381). With respect to the causes of variability, we are in all cases very ignorant (i. 107). The laws of inheritance determine the manner of transmission of sexual characters (ii. 381). These laws, from unknown causes, are very liable to change (i. 286). Stripes may be due to the action of some unknown cause (ii. 291). An unexpected residuum of change, perhaps a large one, must be left to the assumed uniform action of those unknown agencies which occasionally induce strongly marked and abrupt deviations of structure in our domestic productions (i. 148, and i. 240). In the greater number of cases, we can only say that the cause of each slight variation and of each monstrosity lies much more in the nature or constitution of the organism than in the nature of the surrounding conditions, though new and changed conditions certainly play an important part in exciting organic changes of all kinds" (ii. 371).

Here is almost all that is required by Mivart, and is, as was said by him of admissions in the later edition of the "Origin of Species," "nearly tantamount to a change of front in the face of the enemy;" and as most of these admissions occur in connection with the attempt to apply the doctrine of selection to a single species, and that the highest, it may be said, without intending a pun, that the theory is disproved by the "argumentum ad hominem." Surely, if Darwin is obliged to fall back upon unknown agencies, and upon such vague hypotheses as pangenesis, to furnish the means of originating species by natural selection, why should we not, like Mivart, ascribe to them the sole power of producing species, and restrict selection to the preservation of favorable individual variations within the species?

It is objected to the view of Mivart that it is merely giving a name to a hypothetical principle, and means no more than to say that "opium is narcotic because of its soporific quality." Why not? There are many things of which we merely know that they are such and such, and do so and so. The progress of science simply lessens their number, but can never do more than reduce them to one, the invisible First Cause. Hence, if the origin of species requires the co-operation of any unknown law or force, as Darwin himself admits, there are reasons for supposing that some such unknown law is the principal cause, and that selection merely aids it. At any rate, it is no more inconceivable that, by the operation of such unknown laws, a fox should produce a dog, or an ape a man, than that, from equally unknown causes, a human being should give birth to a hideous monster; and the brains figured by Vogt in his "Microcephaly," of idiots who were unquestionably human beings, were simply as much smaller than those of their parents as the first man's brain may have exceeded in size those of his "ape-like progenitors."

* "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection."

KING AND HAGUE'S MINING INDUSTRY.*

THE book before us is the third in number (though the first issued) of five volumes, describing the "Systematic" and "Descriptive Geology," "Mining Industry," "Zoölogy and Palæontology," and "Botany" of the country adjacent to the 40th parallel of latitude, between the eastern boundary of California and the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. The geological and topographical survey of which this report is the first-fruit was authorized by Congress, and, although placed under the direction of the engineer department of the U. S. army, the execution of the work was confided to a civilian, assisted by civilians. The volume now issued, which is devoted to the mining industry, is a large quarto of 624 pages, printed in large and clear type, on heavy, slightly tinted paper, and followed by a good though not wholly satisfactory index. It contains thirty-seven plates, illustrating the mining and metallurgical processes and vein-phenomena of Nevada and Colorado, and is accompanied by a folio atlas of fourteen maps, depicting, on a large scale, and correlating the underground works and geological structure of the various parts of the Comstock lode, and the geology of the Toyabe mountains and of the White Pine district.

The ten chapters composing the volume are separately written by Clarence King, geologist in charge, and the members of his corps, J. D. Hague, S. F. Emmons, and Arnold Hague. In the chapter on the Comstock lode, Mr. King gives, first, a description of the geology of the Washoe district, with a careful and valuable study of the lithology, and then proceeds to an elaborate analysis of the structural and mineralogical characteristics and the vein-phenomena of the famous vein which in one decade has contributed over $100,000,000 of bullion. In the next two chapters, Mr. Hague treats of the mines on the Comstock lode from the standpoint of a mining engineer. In a style of description which is remarkable for its clearness and conciseness, as well as for its adaptation to the comprehension of the general reader, the methods and difficulties of mining in Washoe, and the machinery and metallurgical processes used, are explained and illustrated by engravings. Mr. Hague furnishes information of the first importance to all interested in mining, in a series of well-discussed, analytical, statistical tables, showing in minute detail the experience of these mines in regard to production, cost, and profit. As for the future prospects of the Comstock lode, we gather from Mr. Hague that, to say the least, they are not brilliant. The great wedge-mass lying above the line of intersection of the two walls of the vein has been quite thoroughly explored, except in a few points where it extends below the workings, and even there its limit may be foretold from the convergence of its sides. All the economically important features of the lode appear to be intimately dependent upon the exceptional conditions existing in this portion of the vein—conditions which, in their turn, appear to have been rendered possible only by comparative proximity to the surface. That part of the vein which lies below the wedge has not thus far given promise; it is shrouded in the uncertainty that envelops an entirely unexplored deposit. But although the great wedge-mass has yielded up the greater part of the rich, concentrated bodies of ore, Mr. Hague holds out hopes of a continued product from the poorer portions of the same part of the vein:

"Whatever good or ill fortune may attend the explorations of the lode in depth, there is still much hope for a long-continued bullion production and remunerative mining industry in the existence of large bodies of ore near the surface, that, until now, have remained undeveloped by reason of their low value, being too poor to pay for mining and milling, at prices hitherto existing, but offering a margin of profit under conditions that seem possible for the future."

These conditions are in part already promised in the decrease of the cost of labor and materials by the construction of railroads.

* "United States Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel. Clarence King, Geologist in Charge. Vol. III. Mining Industry, by James D. Hague. With Geological Contributions by Clarence King."

A chapter on the "Chemistry of the Washoe Process," by Mr. Arnold Hague, throws a great deal of light not only upon the remarkable metallurgical processes of that region, but also upon the "ways that are dark" of "process-venders." This chapter is based upon observations at the mills, and upon a considerable amount of original experimentation in the laboratory: and we could wish that Mr. Hague and Mr. Daggett, who aided him, had carried their investigation further into the obscure, but for us highly-important, domain of amalgamation.

In Chapter VI., Mr. J. D. Hague describes the mines, metallurgy, and economical results of the industry in Western Nevada, Reese River, and White Pine. In other sections of the chapter, the geology of the Toyabe range and Egan Cañon district, and of the White Pine district, are described respectively by Mr. Emmons and Mr. Arnold Hague in a manner which indicates very careful and well-balanced observation. In the following chapter, Mr. King describes the "Green River Coal Basin," giving a very graphic explanation of the topography of the region, and a very clear general exposition of the geological history of an exceedingly interesting coal-field—one that is already feeding the engines of the Union Pacific Railroad at a cost of only $1 75 per ton. This great area of coal deposits extends from the Wahsatch range eastward, and certainly from New Mexico to Dakota, though its northern and southern limits are unknown. One of the earliest indications of its existence was discovered by Dr. Newberry in exploring the cañons of the Colorado. Seams of coal, five to fourteen feet thick, are now being worked, which yield a fuel of very fair calorific value.

The succeeding chapters, by J. D. Hague, are devoted to the mining industry of Colorado, a country which has hitherto been equalled only by Missouri in the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy information concerning its resources. Mr. Hague gives an elaborate description of the typical gold and silver mines, of the essential and temporary difficulties under which the business is conducted, of the mining machinery used, the processes of mechanical preparation and metallurgical treatment of the ores, together with detailed statistics of cost, production, and profit. Concerning the present condition of mining industry in this territory, we learn, that, "although the annual production of bullion is less than the reported products of the earlier years, while the rich placers were being worked, the business, based as it is chiefly upon the development of mineral veins, and only to a slight extent upon the readily exhaustible alluvial deposits, is assuming a more permanent and reliable form." . . . "The methods of mining are gradually improving; the costs of labor, materials, and supplies are being steadily reduced; metallurgical processes, adapted to the several classes of ore, have been introduced into the region and successfully applied to their purposes, and the business is slowly but surely establishing itself on a permanent and healthy basis." The bullion product of the territory, up to 1866, probably amounted to somewhat more than $30,000,000. During the two years, 1868 and 1869, it was $6,500,000 coin value—a little more than one-half of which is to be credited to 1869.

The volume by itself is a scientific manual of American precious-metal mining and metallurgy, and an invaluable work of reference concerning the mode of occurrence of gold and silver; and it is most fortunate that it has been so beautifully prepared as to invite the reader, and rescue it from the general mass of public documents, which either grow dusty on library shelves or play an important part in the commercial transactions between the wives of country "constituents" and the rag-man.

Elements of Astronomy. Accompanied with numerous illustrations, a colored representation of the Solar, Stellar, and Nebular Spectra, and Celestial Charts of the Southern Hemisphere. By J. Norman Lockyer. American edition. Revised and adapted to the Schools of the United States. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1870.)—The admirable "Elementary Lessons in Astronomy" of Mr. Lockyer bear the same date as this reprint, and afforded no reasonable pretext whatever for the work of revision and adaptation to which, according to the title, it has been subjected. The only important additions to the text which have appeared, on a tolerably careful comparison of the original and reproduction, consist: first, in extending and altering the title unwarrantably; second, in additions, mostly trifling and of a verbal kind, on a few pages in the body of the book; third, a poor reproduction of the celestial charts in Arago's "Popular Astronomy;" and, fourth, a history of astronomy in two and a-half duodecimo pages, together with a few pages of mathematical definitions telling the nature of a straight line, a circle, etc. Greater liberty has been taken with the illustrations. Those in Mr. Lockyer's book are carefully selected, and of the most admirable execution; many of these have been omitted in the reprint and their place supplied by others of inferior workmanship and illustrative value. We miss, for instance, in the reprint of the illustration of the star-clusters, the beautiful cluster in the Crab given in the original; while that of Hercules, which is reproduced, and the five others which are added, are so poorly drawn that we cannot feel compensated by the liberality. In the illustration representing the appearance of the double double star in Lyra under different magnifying powers, the reproduction utterly fails to represent what the original shows so beautifully. The seventy-eight illustrations in the original have been swelled to one hundred and eleven by the introduction of various figures and diagrams; but as the reader has no clue to those which have or have not had the approval of Mr. Lockyer, he is necessarily left in doubt as to whether he is getting the opinions of a renowned observer or of the unknown hack who has been muddling his work.

Another addition of very doubtful value is a set of questions at the foot of the page, in deference to an absurd and, we are sorry to say, in the main, American custom of helping an unintelligent pupil or teacher by supplying interrogations in the text above. And apparently these changes entitle the publishers to a copyright—a hardship for the author which is aggravated by the fact that his book is by far the best of its kind in our language. It is rare, indeed, that the great masters of a science can be induced to pause in their work of research to help the beginner over his difficulties by writing a text-book. It is, moreover, of the greatest interest to education that these works should be written by masterly hands, and not in the perfunctory way of the professional compiler. Our science is moving so rapidly that, if we wait, as we generally do, until the discoveries get from the memoir to the encyclopædia, and thence through the uncritical hands of the text-bookmaker to the public, we shall remain a generation behind the discoverers. On the other hand, Mr. Lockyer has doubtless reckoned upon the returns from this laborious work of popularizing the discoveries in which he has borne so noble a part for the means to carry further the researches with which all educated men are deeply concerned, and the chance of considerable success very likely depends upon the reception of his book by the people of this Greater Britain, to which he has in all justice a right to look for support.

So much has been said about the republication that little space can be given to the original work. The well-made plate representing in colors the spectra of the sun, two fixed stars, and a nebula, which serves as a frontispiece, is a characteristic and important feature of this work, the spectroscope and its results figuring largely in the researches described by Mr. Lockyer. The chapter on the physics of the sun is admirable; the plates particularly exceed in beauty anything which has for a long time appeared in a text-book. The paragraphs on the moon are also excellent; and the plate representing Copernicus, one of the craters in that body, is a real masterpiece of drawing and engraving. One point only presents itself for criticism. Mr. Lockyer holds to the Herschellian view of the relation between our galaxy, or the stars included in the Milky Way, and other similar galaxies or universes, as the author singularly enough calls them. Although the existence of many galaxies may in time be proved, there can be no doubt that Mr. Proctor has thrown great doubt on the old view. We are on this account a little surprised to find no qualification in the statement of it here.

Honduras: Descriptive, Historical, and Statistical. By E. G. Squier. (London: Trübner & Co. New York: Leypoldt, Holt & Williams.)—A great interoceanic highway, a railroad across the Central American Isthmus, will be completed next year (1872). Commencing at Port Cortez, better known as Puerto Caballos, on the Bay of Honduras, it runs nearly due south across the continent and wholly through the Republic of Honduras to the Bay of Fonseca on the Pacific. This line of communication will of itself invest Honduras with new interest and importance. There are but few authors of books of travel who possess as fully as does Mr. Squier a long and intimate acquaintance with the countries they describe. From extensive travel and long sojourn in the countries of the American Isthmus, Mr. Squier brings to his task a wealth of observation and a mass of information on the subjects treated not exceeded by those of all the writers who have preceded him. His book fully answers to its promise of being descriptive, historical, and statistical. The chapter on "The Aspects of Nature" presents a lifelike picture of the country. Another on the precious woods and one on the mines give us the best and clearest idea of these peculiar resources of Honduras we have ever had; and the description of the growth and harvesting of the

mahogany, the rosewood, the lignumvitæ, the fustic, Brazil, and Nicaragua woods, the copaiba, liquid amber, and copal trees, the Palma Christi, ipecacuanha, caoutchouc, and the various gum- and medicine-producing shrubs, forms a chapter exceedingly interesting even to the general reader.

As information increases concerning these countries, we find ourselves compelled greatly to modify our impressions concerning their climates. The earliest travellers, seldom penetrating into the interior, truthfully reported that they saw low coasts covered with dense forests kept in rank vigor by constant rains, where marshes and lagoons, sweltering in a fierce sun, generated deadly miasmatic damps. But they could tell us nothing of the high plateaus in the interior, where the rains are light, the country open, and the climate relatively cool and salubrious. Thus Mr. Squier states (p. 96) that certain valuable gold and silver mines of Honduras are not largely worked "for precisely the reason which is most likely hereafter to commend them to American and European enterprise. The natives cannot be induced to establish themselves in their vicinity, *on account of the coldness of the climate.*" Mr. Orton, in his work "The Andes and the Amazon," makes a statement quite as new to us in saying that the entire vast valley of the Amazons is throughout healthy and the climate temperate. Mr. Squier's work is accompanied by that *sine quâ non* of a book of travel—a good map of the country described.

Appleton's European Guide-Book Illustrated. (London: Longmans; New York: D. Appleton & Co.)—As may be supposed, this book is of English authorship, and, like most of the publications from the Chiswick Press, is well printed and on good paper. It contains the usual current information as to routes, hotels, etc. American travellers in Europe well know that the perfect guide-book has not yet appeared. For some it would include only France and Italy. For others, it should confine itself to Germany. While for a large class, whose foreign lingual progress, like Napoleon's Russian invasion, is stopped by the elements, and who care to hear nothing but their beloved English, a good foreign guide-book shbuld tell us of no country but Great Britain. The judiciously prepared guide-book must then, perforce, make of its pages partition as far as possible among the various countries sought by tourists—due regard being had to their relative attractions and to the number of places of salient importance. Measured by this standard, the book before us credits Americans with too slight an interest in Italy and Germany, in giving one hundred and eighteen pages to Italy and but one hundred and eight to all Northern and Southern Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia, while one hundred and seventy pages are devoted to Great Britain with patriotic leaning towards local detail. It is really of no possible interest to us to be told that "the castle on the river at the east end of the town is the residence of Sir Denham Norreys." Only with feeling of surprised disgust can the American traveller receive the information (p. 47) that Paul Jones was a "pirate." And if we needs must have whole pages of Burns quoted at us, we might at least be spared the long inscription on the tomb of the father of Burns, and the superfluous information that "the last line is copied from Goldsmith's Deserted Village."

We cannot help thinking, too, that the large amount of space occupied by the one hundred and twenty "illustrations" of the work might be filled to better advantage by necessary information. The tourist who visits the places or monuments thus pictured has no need of their counterfeit presentments when standing before them, and if he should desire pictures as souvenirs or for preservation these would be far from answering that purpose.

John Wesley. By Julia Wedgwood. (New York: Macmillan & Co.)—A plain, zealous Methodist, who stood looking at the elegant marble church of that order on Arch Street, Philadelphia, as sorrowfully as if it were some whitened sepulchre built in honor of the prophet by the Pharisees who had derided him in his life, seeing Bishop S. approaching, exclaimed with a sigh, "Ah, Bishop! what would John Wesley say if he could look upon such a thing as this?" The Bishop, surveying the edifice as if for the first time, replied: "If he had travelled as extensively as I have in the country, he would say this is decidedly the finest specimen of church architecture in the Connection!" The layman did not for a moment suspect that it was himself that was running Methodism into the very formalism against which its origin was a protest—that ignorance, poverty, baldness were the accidents of the system at the first, and the attempt to perpetuate these as essential features of the system, or to propagate the system by these, must be fatal to the church as a spiritual power. The Bishop had the sagacity to perceive that the future of Methodism in the United States will depend quite as much upon flexibility and power of adaptation in the externals of the system, as upon coherence in its vital principles; that an educated ministry and a communion of growing intelligence and refinement may disfavor the noisy demonstrations and the emotional excesses of primitive Methodism, and yet conserve the marvellous consolidation and the administrative efficiency of the system. Not dress, manners, modes, places, but doctrine and duty, discipline and devotion, were the points about which Wesley constructed his system, using quite as much the circumstances of the time as any faculty for organization within himself. It is these circumstances and conditions, rather than the personal biography of Wesley, with which Miss Wedgwood's clever and instructive volume is chiefly occupied. It is a book of topics rather than a history. What she aptly styles "the Evangelical reaction of the eighteenth century" is her leading theme, and Wesley its most conspicuous representative. The book is written in a candid spirit, and with no special enthusiasm for Wesley as a hero; indeed, the author quite dissents from the eulogium of Macaulay, "that he had a genius for ecclesiastical government not inferior to that of Richelieu." The class system, the fiscal system, the itinerancy, the conference system, which give to Methodism its unity and energy, were not original parts of a scheme devised by Wesley, but were adopted by him, item by item, as occasion demanded or suggested them. "On the one hand was a man of iron will, profound conviction, a single aim, and all the advantages of a learned education. On the other, was a set of half-educated or uneducated people, not remarkable in any way. The only position in which they could stand to him was that of subordination." Wesley was in reality the founder of an order; and time only makes more patent the unwisdom of the Church of England in suffering such an order to be divorced from her communion.

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 20, 1871.

The Week.

THE Senate amendments to the Ku-klux bill, which the House cannot swallow, are of a most extraordinary kind. As the bill stood, it made it a high crime "to interfere, by threats or violence, with the person or property of a United States officer on account of his discharge of his duty;" but the Senate made it read, "while engaged in the lawful discharge of his duty," thus making United States officers, including all persons in the service of the Government, a privileged class. Another amendment authorizes the President to use the army and navy whenever the conspiracies or combinations shall seem to him "to obstruct the equal and impartial administration of justice." Think of leaving such a point to be decided by one man, and giving his decision such momentous consequences. Besides allowing him to use the army and navy, however, he is also to be allowed to use "such other means as he may deem necessary" for the suppression, etc. Under which clause he might seize and confiscate live stock. Twenty Senators, headed by Mr. Morton, actually voted for entrusting him with these amazing powers till March, 1873, or in other words, till after the next Presidential election, in which he will probably be a candidate; but this was a little too much. The country is indebted to Messrs. Trumbull and Schurz in the Senate, and to Mr. Garfield in the House, for the strong and able opposition to this reckless and unscrupulous legislation. The bill will perhaps pass, but if any attempt is made to enforce it, the only effect will be to cover its authors with even deeper disgrace than that under which they now labor.

We have commented elsewhere at some length on the main features of this extraordinary bill, the passage of which would certainly, were it not for the strong hold which legal habits still have on the great body of the people, reduce the Constitution to the level of the constitutions of France—that is, make it a mere expression of the opinion of the majority for the time being as to what is convenient or what is in accordance with the eternal fitness of things. Mr. Sumner has distinguished himself in this debate in the Senate by more than ordinary absurdity. We use the term in its logical sense, and not as a mere term of abuse. He has spent a good deal of time of late denouncing the President as a "colossus of ignorance," and various other colossal things; he has arraigned him formally in the Senate, too, within one short month, as guilty of no less usurpation of power than declaring war on a friendly State, without the knowledge or consent of Congress; and with having contracted obligations, in the nature of treaties, with foreign powers, through the medium of agents unknown to the Constitution and the laws; and with having, in short, to use Mr. Sumner's own language, in "Naboth's Vineyard," "offered violence to Dominica, violence to Hayti, violence to Public Law, including the violence to the Constitution of Dominica, and also to a treaty between Dominica and Hayti, crowned by violence to the Constitution of the United States." More recently still, he has denounced him as the "head of a Ku-klux" operating against the Dominican blacks. It seems scarcely credible, after this, but it is nevertheless strictly true, that Mr. Sumner, the author of this denunciation, has, within a week, in the Senate, voted for a bill conferring on the dangerous, unscrupulous person whom he thus denounced the right of suspending the habeas corpus and proclaiming martial law in any part of the Union, for a variety of vague and ill-defined reasons, of the existence of which he, "the colossus of ignorance," is to be the sole judge.

The speech in which this remarkable vote was defended was enough to make the orators of the Folies-Bergères, including Citizen Blanqui himself, turn pale with envy. As "to the cry of centralism or, it may be, of imperialism," he scorned it. "These are terms," said he, "borrowed from France, where this abuse has become a tyranny, subjecting the most distant communities even in the details of administration to central control." "No such tyranny is proposed among us, nor any interference of any kind with matters local in character. The nation will only enter the State as the safeguard of rights national in character, and then only as the sunshine, with beneficent power and, like the sunshine, for the equal good of all. As well assail the sun because it is central—because it is imperial. . . . Give me the centralism of liberty! Give me the imperialism of equal rights!"

We do not hesitate to say that, if oratory of this kind on a great constitutional question really affected any considerable portion of the people or shook their ancient and priceless respect for the forms of law and fixed rules of interpretation, we should know that the reign of loafers, blackguards, and visionaries, in every city in the Union, was not far off, and that Tweed, and Fisk, and their like would, before long, have Sumner, and Phillips and their like, chopping logic, under a strong guard of "brutal mercenaries," in the Dry Tortugas, or some other place of security. There was a time, in the old days of corporal punishment, when an upright and well-informed pedagogue would have soundly whipped any boy of over fourteen who stood up before him and professed to believe that centralism, or its product, imperialism, was introduced in France, or any other country, for its own sake; or that, wherever these exist, they were not begun for precisely the same reasons as are now urged in defence of the Ku-klux Bill—that is, for the protection of life and property in disturbed districts, or, as it is called in Continental Europe, "the maintenance of order," and for the preservation of, or strengthening of, national unity. It was for the sake of union that centralization began in France, and it was for the sake of order that she placed her neck under the heel of a blood-stained imperialism.

That noble old pedagogue would have again chastised the boy if he had professed to believe that any government which undertakes the policing of a region can long avoid undertaking all other details of administration. Police is the basis of government, and surely draws all other things after it; and, to police thoroughly, you must, sooner or later, take all the rest of the machinery of government into your hands. So has it been everywhere and in all ages; so will it be here, if the crazy theories on which it is now proposed to pacify the South receive the support of the American people. Mr. Sumner might as well cry, "Give me the sunshine of the dungeon; give me the purity of the brothel; give me the logic of the lunatic asylum; give me the agility of old age and the experience of extreme youth," as cry, "Give me the centralism of liberty and the imperialism of equal rights." There is only one short way of characterizing such talk, and to that we do not choose to resort. The *Tribune* says he supported this bill "with fire," meaning thereby to pay him a compliment. It might as well compliment an oculist by saying that he removed a cataract in a burst of passion, or of a doctor that he amputated at the hip-joint with oaths and execrations. The work of legislating for the South requires, above all else—we might almost say to the exclusion of all else—patience, calmness, and common sense. More delicate or momentous work mortal brains have never gone about. It is not the life and limbs of the negroes of the South that it concerns, but the liberty and progress of countless generations yet unborn of both blacks and whites, and the success of the greatest push for happiness the race has ever made.

There has been a decided reaction in the President's favor since the publication of his last message, leaving the San Domingo matter to the judgment of Congress and the people. That it should be possible for him to win "golden opinions" simply by abandoning a course which the public had all but unanimously condemned, and which had come near splitting up the party hopelessly, and which he had per-

sisted in for nearly two years, shows how easy it is for the President to retain popular favor. As might have been expected, however, the Administration organs are trying to get more out of the reaction than it contains, and would fain have us believe that the San Domingo scheme is gaining ground in the public mind also. So we are assured that everybody except a few disappointed politicians are very anxious for it.

The United States Supreme Court decided a year ago that the Legal Tender Act was unconstitutional as to contracts made before its passage, but as only seven judges sat on the bench when the case was heard, and the decision was given by only a majority of one, Attorney-General Hoar moved for a rehearing as soon as the two vacant places were filled. We presented some of the political objections to this at the time (April 7, 1870), and we presume most of our readers were relieved when the Court was soon after prevented passing on the application by the withdrawal of the appeal. The matter is now coming up once more before a full bench of nine judges, and the Court has ordered the question both of the constitutionality of the law as to contracts made before its enactment, and as to contracts made after its enactment, to be argued by the Attorney-General and Mr. Clarkson Potter. The rehearing on the first point—the constitutionality of the law as to contracts made before its passage—is an acknowledgment by the Court of the soundness of the arithmetical view of its powers, namely, that the claims of its decisions to popular respect depend for their validity on the number of judges who concur in them. Considering that Congress has the right to increase the number of judges at pleasure, it is hardly short of suicidal for the Court to give any countenance to the notion that nine judges have power which seven have not, or that a majority of three can give weight to a judgment which a majority of one could not give it. We therefore look on the reopening of the question of the applicability of the Legal Tender Act to contracts made before February, 1862, as a great misfortune.

The Florida carpet-bagger, if not typical of the species, is one of the most formidable competitors for this distinction, as good judges, who have had experience, will readily admit. There has been a falling out between two of the most conspicuous—the present United States Senator Osborn, and the Hon. C. M. Hamilton, Representative of Florida in the Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses, who incurred Osborn's enmity by successfully resisting a railroad subsidy scheme in which the latter was heavily interested. Hamilton makes affidavit that he was approached with all sorts of the most tempting bribes by the Osborn ring to secure his influence in passing the necessary bill through Congress, and he prints three letters from Osborn's brother—said to be a doctor of divinity, residing in Brooklyn—which should become classic in the literature of political swindling. Hamilton was invited to choose between half-a-million of stock in the "Great Southern Railroad Company," a readjustment of the Federal offices and reapportionment "to his better satisfaction," his return to Congress, and support in all his measures there, and permanent attorneyship of the road at such salary as he might name—all this on the one hand, and political ruin on the other. The Governor's name is freely used by the writer as one of their accomplices, and the leading politicians who are not to be reckoned among them are few indeed.

A curious incident marked, during the week, the usually dull and uninteresting routine of legislation at Albany. During the whole session, Tweed has had everything his own way, the Democrats furnishing him with the constitutional majority without question or murmur. One of them, however—Irving, an ex-pugilist—took it into his head to punch the head of a brother member, which roused the sensibilities of the country Democrats to such a degree that Irving, dear as he is to the city Democracy, had to resign to avoid expulsion. This deprived Tweed of his necessary majority, and the Republican members of Assembly, sixty-four in all, then drew up a declaration, which they all signed, solemnly pledging themselves to oppose three or four of Tweed's most nefarious measures then pending. Now, we venture to say, not ten men of ordinary intelligence in the State expected that they would hold out to the end, particularly after it was announced that Tweed was ready to give $75,000 for a vote. The principal subject of curiosity was, who would first give way. In a day or two, a sinner named Winans, an employee of the Erie Railroad and a member from Chautauqua County, was found ready to vote with the Democrats as often as they asked him; and he has done so. Tweed has got all his bills through. One does away with the registry law in this city to all intents and purposes; the other gives the complete disposition of the taxes to four Ring-leaders for two years certainly; and so on. The whole thing is a shameful farce, and nothing in it is more of a farce than the spasmodic attempt of the Republicans to be virtuous.

The position of Winans, the sinner who has got the money, if one was to believe the *Tribune* and the *Times*, is one of frightful disgrace. But Winans knows better. The worst that can happen him is not to get a renomination; but this is as likely to happen to a pure man as to him, and even more likely. Moreover, all through Western New York there are plenty of cases in which farmers and lawyers have gone to Albany as legislators for one winter, and come back rich, without meeting with any social reprobation. The charge of corruption made against a man by the newspapers does not hurt him much, because it is made against the best men, when they displease the party, and was made against even such men as Trumbull and Fessenden during the impeachment trial. So our advice to Winans is, to be of good cheer, put on a bold front, subscribe handsomely to charities, and buy two big diamonds, one for the forefinger of his off-hand, and the other for his shirt front, and eat good hearty food, and drink nothing but water. In this way, he will be able in about twelve months to hold his head as high as anybody.

The movement begun by the Hamilton County Association in Ohio seems to have spread to St. Louis, where a similar organization has been formed, calling itself the "Liberal Republican Executive Committee of St. Louis." It has published a platform demanding "quality of citizenship," a general amnesty, and supremacy of constitutional government; condemning the President's commission of acts of war against Hayti; denouncing the committal to the President's hands, as proposed in the Ku-klux bill, of the right to proclaim martial law, and suspend personal liberty, even in a condition of actual war; opposing all protective tariffs, or taxation for any other purpose than the raising of "the needed revenue;" advocating an immediate return to specie payments, and opposing an effort to compel the present generation to pay the principal of the public debt; and calling for reform in the Civil Service.

The coal miners and operators have at last erected machinery of arbitration in the shape of a council made up of delegates from both sides, and they have jointly chosen an umpire in the person of Judge Elwell, of Pennsylvania, and it is to be hoped that in this way an arrangement will be reached which will cause an early resumption of labor. The success of the experiment is to be desired most earnestly, with regard to future differences as well as with regard to this one, for it is the civilized, as distinguished from the savage, mode of ending disagreements between employers and employed.

A Mr. John Stiles, of Washington, being applied to by the Secretary of the Free Trade League, a few weeks ago, under the impression that he was a free trader, for facts showing that it was not the tariff which caused emigration from Canada to the United States, wrote him a saucy letter, overwhelming the League with a solemn opinion that it was the tariff and the tariff only that drew population over the border. This Mr. Stiles sent to the *Tribune*, which published it conspicuously, and must have laughed over the League. It now turns out, however, that the wretched Stiles was, one short year ago, a free trader, and applied to the League for the beggarly sum of $50 or $75 a week, to enable him to carry on a "thorough free-trade paper," named the *Saturday Evening Visitor*. The League refused the money, and soon after Mr. Stiles's "views" seem to have undergone a change, and he has since evidently made a careful study of Mr. Greeley's

writings, as his last letter had an amusing amount of that "plain but wholesome" savor which so strongly characterizes Mr. Greeley's economical disquisitions.

Business shows no signs of increasing activity, although the distributing trade continues fair. Dry-goods have been rather firmer, and the sales as a general thing more satisfactory. In other branches the complaint is general of accumulated stocks and tendency to lower prices. The export trade continues dull, cotton about steady, in spite of uninterrupted heavy receipts, the English market absorbing the supplies with unexpected readiness. Breadstuffs continue firm, the European demand is good, and stocks on the coast are light; but in the interior a large stock is believed to be on hand, and, with the early opening of canal navigation, will soon be in market. The diminished exports and continued large imports keep our foreign exchanges at the specie-shipping point, and one or two important parcels of American coin have again gone forward; but gold, which alone seems to resist all speculative influences, has advanced barely one-half per cent. In the stock-market the great bull-combination have things all their own way; but although the brokers have pretty much all turned speculators, from the dearth of legitimate orders, there is no increase to the participation of outsiders. Money is easy, the banks being free lenders, and prices of all securities are very high. But there are not wanting persons of judgment who anticipate a further great advance in figures. Governments dull and steady; the funding progresses slowly. Failures, defalcations, etc., are again the order of the day. The affairs of the Commonwealth Fire Insurance Company, recently closed by the Superintendent from Albany, disclose, in addition to mismanagement, apparent fraud and indifferent supervision on the part of the directors.

"The more than ever heroic city of Paris," under her more than ever illustrious Commune, has had another week of revolutionary and military glory, such as all other cities emulous of the sublime may justly envy her. She has confiscated the silver plate of the ministerial residences; ransacked or taken the inventory of churches—and that in accordance with a decree separating the church from the state; decreed pensions to widows and orphans—legitimate and illegitimate—of her fallen heroes; organized a system of requisitions; re-established the syndicate; founded a general metropolitan court-martial; judged heroic warriors and sublime world-regenerators—like Bergeret and Assy; refused passports to women and children, while causing hundreds of thousands of her citizens to fly out of her walls; ordered the demolition of monuments; erected batteries, barricades, and earthworks in her principal thoroughfares; thundered from all her forts; and driven her sons to the ramparts and out of them to earn by Spartan deeds—under a Sarmatian commander—the immortalizing praise of that hero of two worlds, Cluseret, the friend and disciple of George Francis Train. And all this she did while still mourning her revolutionary darling, Flourens, who was cut down with a sabre before achieving the necessary disguise after the flight from the battle-field of April 2, and his worthy fellow-commander, Duval, who, before he was the chief of an army, had attained the rank of chief of *claqueurs* at the Beaumarchais Theatre.

Not all the original heroes of the Commune, however, had met with a glorious death in the grand manœuvre of April 2. General Bergeret survived the shock of defeat and returned to Paris—to be brought before a military commission for coming back neither with his shield nor on it. General Granier or Ganier, the shopkeeper and commander of Montmartre, had fortunately resigned his high command before General Flourens and General Duval led the hosts of the Commune against Versailles. General Lullier, the ex-marine, was then luckily laboring under a momentary eclipse, being regarded by some as a traitor to the cause, and by others as cracked; he has, however, revolted and set up a republic of his own, consisting of himself and "200 determined men." General Eudes—this turns out to be his right name, he being not a Spanish Lafayette, but an *émeutier* of the "La Villette riot" of August last—also remained among the living, and probably General Brunel too, the "*ouvrier*," who, in the earliest days of the present revolution, formed with the *émeutier* aforesaid and with *chef de claque* Duval a military triumvirate, but has since vanished from the foreground of the scene. All these having one way or other deserved the thanks of revolutionary Paris for not despairing of the Commune, a live Polish officer, Ladislas Dombrowski, volunteering to hold the chief command, and Cluseret volunteering to organize victory in the capacity of a Carnot, even without the financial support of George Francis Train—not gratis, however, we suppose—it is quite natural that war *à outrance* was again and again lustily proclaimed from the barricaded Hôtel de Ville, with the approval of that leading citizen, Bourset, the liquor-dealer, and amid the applauding screams of mistresses decreed to be wives and expectant of pensions.

Fortunately this splendid but rather bloody game of civil war, the last scenes of which are too contradictorily reported to be spoken of in detail, threatens to be more short-lived than the Commune would like to make it for the benefit of an admiring world, and that for very prosaic reasons. The common people of Paris, and among them some who have to do the fighting, are getting hungry again, and have besides lost all relish for siege-food, such as horse-flesh, donkey, rats, and cats; Prussians occupying and reinforcing the forts to the North and East of the city, and Versailles troops operating on the West and South, cut off almost all communication with the country; distrust, fear, and despondency gradually creep into the hearts even of the heroic citizens and "citizenesses"—in the language of "a besieged resident"—as they see that all the admiration they meet with is not sufficient to create armies of relief or imitation insurrections in the provinces, the stupid "rurals" continuing to prefer Thiers and the National Assembly to Blanqui and the Commune; reinforcements are steadily arriving both for the Prussians and the forces of the Versailles Government, for the latter also from Germany; MacMahon, Ladmirault, Vinoy, Ducrot, Cathelineau, and Charette, are all in full earnest, in spite of checks and difficulties; Thiers listens to no proposals of a treaty made to him in the name of the "free and sovereign municipality of the Universal Republic," though he is ready to purchase a surrender at the price of rather exorbitant concessions; and Paris—revolutionary Paris herself—is getting tired of the affair. She has shown great apathy in her supplementary Communal elections, and she even delays the demolition of the column at the Place Vendôme. It looks as if she were going to betray "venerable" Blanqui, Lycurgus Assy, Hector Dombrowski, Carnot Cluseret, and the shades of "le grand Gustave" Flourens and Claqueur Duval.

Following close upon the admirable self-restraint which the Germans have shown in their peace rejoicings, comes the Reichstag's address to the throne, in which the peaceful disposition and mission of the new Empire are asserted in the most solemn manner. It thanks Kaiser William most of all for having guaranteed the German people against further attacks from France, whose present calamities, it says, only enforce the truth—"which has never been disregarded with impunity"—that the mightiest nation may be dreadfully led astray if it does not prudently confine itself to the full development of its inner life. Germany itself, it adds, has suffered most from this intermeddling with the affairs of its neighbors; but now, armed only for defense, it cannot be diverted from the works of peace. Without being influenced by prepossessions or prejudices, it freely concedes to every nation its progress to unity, and its constitution in the form which suits it best. "The day of interference with the inner life of other peoples, under whatever pretext and in whatever mode, is, we hope, gone never to return." Such, with a few words as to the legislation necessary for temporary and permanent necessities, and the prospects of a successful reabsorption of Alsace, was the substance of the address, the debates on which, however, were, by the reinforced Catholic delegation, turned almost exclusively upon religious matters, as if the immediate and urgent question were how to postpone or how to provoke a war with Italy.

THE FORCE BILL.

ITS MILITARY FEATURES.

In passing the statute popularly known as the Ku-klux Bill, Congress has confessedly entered upon a new field of legislation, in that it has assumed for the first time to take cognizance of and provide for the punishment of acts of violence to the persons and property of private citizens. The bill is artfully drawn, and its intent is veiled in language purposely vague and verbose; but still its design is plain. It means that persons guilty of homicide, robbery, arson, mayhem, assaults, and the like, may be brought within the jurisdiction of United States courts and be punished by United States authorities: it means this or nothing. We are familiar with its historical origin, with the avowed purpose of its authors, and with their diligent care to conceal and yet to accomplish their end by the tricks of language. In the light of these facts, it is our design to examine into the validity of this statute.

Before proceeding to discuss the central idea of the whole legislation, and the essential features in which this idea has been expressed, we must dispose of certain other portions which are rather auxiliary than necessary. The first section is practically of no importance. It is logically the statement of a truism. It substantially enacts that whoever violates the Constitution shall be amenable to certain penalties; but it does not descend to particulars and describe the acts and defaults which shall constitute such violation. If the statute consisted only of this section, it would be equally harmless and valueless. The second section contains two different provisions relating to different subject-matters, and depending upon different principles, although they are grammatically united in one sentence. The first declares that certain enumerated acts of resistance and hostility to the authority of the United States, to its laws, and to its means and measures of administration, shall be crimes, and that the offenders shall be liable to indictment, trial, and punishment in the national courts. This clause is, beyond all question, valid and proper. It is to be ranged in the same class with the statute which makes it an offence to obstruct the transportation of the mail. It has never been doubted that, so far as Congress may legislate, it may enforce its laws and protect the officers of the Government in their administration by penal enactments.

Although the statute under consideration is entitled "An Act to carry into effect and to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution," the third section must be partially, and the fourth section wholly, referred to other portions of that instrument. We here collect all the constitutional provisions to which they can by possibility relate, and which can by possibility be considered as their foundation. "Congress shall have power to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions" (Art. I., sec. 8, § 15). "The United States shall protect each of [the States] against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence" (Art. IV., sec. 4). "The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it" (Art. I., sec. 9, § 2). The third section under review enables the President, under circumstances therein described, in case of "insurrections, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies in a State," which are to be directed against the authority of that State, to suppress the same by the military, or otherwise, as he may deem proper. For all this there is no support in the clause above quoted from the eighth section of Article I. That clause provides in terms for enforcing laws of the United States by the militia, this statute provides for the enforcement of State laws by the military under the direction of the President; the insurrections spoken of in that clause are, from the context and from the express provision found in Article IV., plainly to be those against the United States, while this statute purports to arm the President with power, on his own motion, to suppress insurrections against a State.

But there is a difficulty of far greater magnitude—a violation of the fundamental law far plainer and more dangerous. This third section enables the President to suppress not only "insurrections," but "domestic violence, unlawful combinations, and conspiracies" by means of the military. These latter terms were not inserted without a design. They describe something less than insurrections; they descend in magnitude and criminality until they end in conspiracies, which may perhaps be attended by no overt act, no outbreak of violence. While, therefore, the Constitution only permits a calling out of the militia to suppress insurrections, which are, in fact, incipient wars, Congress has gone to the length of empowering the President to use the military in time of peace in putting down mere domestic violence and in breaking up conspiracies. It is plain that this section of the statute finds no warrant in the clause quoted from the first article of the Constitution, although it is probable that the ingenious author of the bill artfully chose his language, so as to make it appear, by the use of the word "insurrections," that there was a solid basis of validity for his proposed enactment. Nor can this section be rested upon the IVth Article of the Constitution, although that article does not require that an insurrection should be in progress, but makes it the duty of the United States Government, under certain circumstances, to protect a State against mere domestic violence. This duty, however, can only arise upon the happening of one or the other of two contingencies: either the State legislature must apply for aid, or the State governor, when the legislature cannot be convened, must apply for aid. This parenthetical and conditional clause means something; it is the key to the whole position; it describes the sole occasion on which the National Government may interfere with the function of maintaining domestic quiet which normally belongs to the States. We remark, in passing, that it is only by giving full and affirmative force to another and similar parenthetical and conditional clause that Congress acquires the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus under any circumstances. Congress has utterly ignored this necessary limitation, has treated the constitutional provision as though it did not exist, and as though the article read "the United States shall protect each of the States against domestic violence." There could be no plainer departure from the fundamental principles of the organic law, no clearer violation of its express prohibitory clauses.

The fourth section of the statute is evidently based upon the clause of the Constitution relating to the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. As there is no pretence of an invasion, Congress has undertaken to define a rebellion. Rebellion is a word well known to all writers upon public law; it has a well-ascertained and precise meaning, and describes a positive fact and not a theory or supposition. Congress, however, has now declared that several different circumstances or conditions, not united but each separately, shall constitute a rebellion—namely (1), when any of the "insurrections, domestic violence, combinations, or conspiracies" already mentioned shall be so powerful as to be able to set at defiance the authorities of the State or of the United States, or (2) whenever the authorities of the State shall be in complicity with, or shall connive at, the purposes of such combinations, and the public safety in such State shall thereby become impracticable. In each of these alternatives, the combination, violence, or conspiracy shall be deemed a rebellion against the United States, and the President may suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. The Constitution uses the word rebellion in the sense recognized by all jurists. Congress cannot change this meaning, because it cannot change a fact; it cannot make that a rebellion which is not a rebellion. Rebellion is war—war no longer incipient, but actual; it is a condition in which all civil administration is suspended or overthrown, and the nation must, for the time and in the district infected, employ its military arm alone to overcome the insurgent enemies of the Government. It should be remembered that Congress cannot inaugurate a civil war. That state of hostilities must be commenced by the rebels, and must have developed itself into a war, before the peculiar military powers conferred by the Constitution become operative. But this statute contemplates no such state of active hostilities. It makes, among other alternatives, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies, with the purposes of which the State authorities are in complicity or at which they shall connive, a rebellion against the United States. No war is described here, nor even any resistance to the national authority as such, because the combinations, violence,

and conspiracies spoken of are to be in opposition to State laws alone. It needs no further analysis of this section to show that it cannot be sustained by the constitutional provision which declares under what circumstances the writ of habeas corpus may be suspended. Congress cannot, by any mere array of words, make that exist which does not exist in fact.

It has been asserted that these several provisions were copied from an early statute, passed in 1795, authorizing the President to call out the militia in certain cases, and that the Supreme Court has decided, in a case arising under it, that the President possesses an unlimited and final discretion over the whole matter of employing the military force. Nothing could be more untrue. The statute of 1795 was carefully drawn, so as to comply with the very letter of the Constitution. It simply declared that "whenever the United States shall be invaded, it shall be lawful for the President to call out the militia," etc.; also, "in case of an insurrection in any State against the government thereof, it shall be lawful for the President, *on application of the legislature of such State or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened*, to call out the militia," etc.; also, "whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed or the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, it shall be lawful for the President to call out the militia," etc. All this was plain, accurate, and in exact conformity with the organic law. The case referred to was Martin *v.* Mott (12 Wheaton's R., 19). The President, during the war of 1812, having called out certain portions of the militia, a person subject to the call refused to appear. Being tried by a court-martial and fined, he brought an action against the officer who collected the fine, alleging that there was no necessity for the President's action. The Supreme Court decided that, under the statute, the President alone could determine whether a call of the militia was necessary, and that his discretion over this particular subject was absolute and final. The statute did not assume to define an invasion nor an insurrection, nor did it confer upon the President any such function; much less did it authorize him to decide that to be a rebellion which is no rebellion. The Court went to no such absurd length. It simply and properly held that when the United States shall be invaded, the President alone, by virtue of this particular legislation, must judge whether the use of the militia is necessary. How different from all this is the statute under review. Our President is not now called upon, during the existence of facts patent to all men and which cannot be controverted, to determine simply whether the employment of the military and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus are expedient; he is to pronounce upon the nature and effects of the domestic violence, combinations, or conspiracies, and to decide whether the State authorities are unable or have failed to protect the people, and whether they are in complicity with or connive at the unlawful purposes; he is to pass judgment upon the acts and defaults of State governors, judges, sheriffs, and juries, and find them to be aiders and abettors of violence, directed not against the authority of the United States, but against their own local laws; by his fiat, he is to raise this domestic violence to the dignity of an insurrection or a rebellion against the nation; he is to make that a war which is no war, and to follow up his decision by the extreme measures only designed for the suppression of actual hostilities; he is, in fact, to be a dictator. Never in the political history of the country has so direct a blow been aimed, under color of legal authority, at the supremacy of the Constitution, or a precedent been established so dangerous to free institutions.

ITS CIVIL FEATURES.

We are now prepared to examine the central idea of the whole legislation, and the essential features in which that idea has been expressed, to which the portions already described, however important and startling, are auxiliary rather than necessary. This central idea develops itself into a plan by which the United States courts may exercise full criminal and civil jurisdiction over any and all acts of violence to the persons and property of private citizens; by which, in short, Congress and the national tribunals may assume and wield a complete police power throughout the States. This is evident from all the remaining clauses of the statute. They all provide, under many artful involutions of language, that conspiracies and combinations for the purpose of depriving persons of their rights and privileges, or of the equal protection of the laws, shall be crimes against the United States punishable by its tribunals; and that, when any violence or injury is done to person or property in the furtherance of such a conspiracy, the offender may be sued for damages in the United States courts. The third section, in terms, enacts that in all cases of such conspiracies or combinations, if the State authorities shall be unable, or shall refuse, to protect the people in their rights, "such facts shall be deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws," and the President may thereupon employ the military, and the offenders arrested shall be delivered to the civil authorities of the United States, to be dealt with according to law. All this can only mean that the ordinary crimes of violence committed throughout the States, and the ordinary trespasses to person or property, are justiciable in the national tribunals. The extreme care with which the word conspiracy is everywhere used does not change this result. A conspiracy is in no way essentially different from an offence done by one, or by many, without concert. A conspiracy to murder, if consummated, is only murder; it simply involves more than one guilty person, and, after the union in criminal purposes has been established, makes each participant responsible for the overt acts of the others. There is no legal magic in the word conspiracy, no power to confer jurisdiction, and no strength is added to the statute by its use. If valid now, it would have been equally valid had its penalties been applied in terms to acts of violence done by single persons.

The main argument which has been employed in support of the measure is the following: The supreme government in every nation must be assumed to have full authority to protect its own citizens in their lives, persons, and property, for that is the final object of all good government. The United States is no exception to this rule. Even if the Constitution contains no express grant of power, such power must be implied in the very existence of the nation and its government, and can only be wielded by the national legislature. It would be a contradiction in terms to say that while the United States may legally use all measures to protect its citizens abroad, it is powerless to afford them any protection at home. It is now conceded that the very idea of a nation involves the power to use, and the necessity of using, all means for self-preservation, and for the same reason, and to the same degree, does it involve the power and necessity of using all means for the protection of citizens. The statute is based upon, and is fully supported by, these political truths. We have thus fairly given the argument, and have certainly not diminished its force by our statement. The premise upon which it rests we fully concede. It is an axiom of political jurisprudence, that the government which exercises sovereignty in a nation must have authority to protect the citizens at home and abroad, and the United States is no exception to this rule. But the difficulty in the argument—a difficulty which cannot be obviated, and which destroys its entire force—is that, by the Constitution of our own country, no single government is clothed with the complete functions of legislation or of administration; none exercises the complete sovereignty which the people alone as an organic whole possess, and which they alone can delegate. The exercise of a large part of this sovereignty, and, so far as national purposes are concerned, the most important part, has been exclusively committed to the national government. The exercise of another large part, which peculiarly relates to all domestic matters, the rights of person and property, has been in like manner exclusively committed to the governments of the separate States. Within their respective spheres, these two classes of governments are as independent as though they represented different nations. The Supreme Court has repeatedly affirmed this doctrine in the most solemn and effective manner, and only within the past few weeks has reiterated it with an emphasis which cannot be mistaken, and applied it to abridge the national attribute of taxation. It makes no difference with the truth or the application of this principle what theory we adopt as to the origin of the Constitution and of the nation: whether we consider the nation as a union between originally independent States, and the organic law as an assemblage of powers delegated by them; or whether we consider the people as from

the first a sovereign unit, and the national and the State governments as equally their handiwork, the same practical result must follow. Because the United States Government is the sole representative of the country to the whole world, the function of protecting the citizen while abroad was exclusively confided to it. On the other hand, the function of protecting the citizen at home, of preserving personal security, property, and order, by legislation, and of enforcing these laws in the courts, was exclusively confided to the government of each State within its own territory. For that territory, and for its inhabitants, it was made the sole depositary of the people's sovereignty so far as respects the private rights of life, person, and property. This is confessedly the theory upon which the Constitution is constructed, and from this theory the Supreme Court has never departed, and the Congress had never departed until now. It is not claimed that without the Fourteenth Amendment there exists any clause of the Constitution which, either directly or impliedly, authorizes the legislation under review, and we now see that the argument which finds the authority in the very notion of a supreme government is a fallacy, because in regard to this very matter of internal protection the national government is not supreme.

We are brought therefore to the Fourteenth Amendment, and, in order to discover its legitimate effects, must first ascertain its design and the evils it was intended to remove. Prior to its adoption, classes of citizens within a State might be exposed to injustice and oppression from the local legislation. The comprehensive bill of rights contained in the first eight amendments applied to the action of Congress alone, and did not control that of the States. If oppressive and discriminating statutes were passed by the State legislatures and upheld by the State courts, the injured parties were remediless, because the Supreme Court of the United States could only expound these laws under the guidance of the construction put upon them by the local tribunals. This was a great evil, and there was danger lest it might become greater. To remedy it, the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted. This was the sole design of that most just and beneficial change—a change which brought harmony and unity to our entire governmental system. The amendment says, in a few plain words which admit of no nice and technical construction, "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The State is here directly addressed and limited, and not its private citizens nor its constituted authorities. How can a State violate these prohibitions? Certainly in no other way than by an organic act, and the legislature, being the supreme power in a State, is its sole organic representative. In other words, the only way possible for a State to violate this amendment, the only way possible for the amendment to be violated by any one, is by the passage of a law in conflict with its mandates. The sole effect of the amendment upon such a law is to make it utterly null and void. This particular provision of the organic law needs no legislation to enforce it; it enforces itself; its effects are felt directly and at once; it is exactly similar in this respect to the clauses which forbid the States from passing bills of attainder, or *ex-post-facto* laws, or laws impairing the obligation of contracts. The only department of the Government which it can ever call into action is the judiciary.

We must now compare this result with the statute which Congress has seen fit to pass. This statute is not directed against any State laws, and is not based upon the assumption that they are improper, unjust, or void. On the contrary, it concedes their correctness and validity, and aims all its penalties against private citizens who break them. It has to do with acts of private violence, and declares them to be not only a denial to the parties injured of the equal protection of the laws, but a denial made by the very State whose authority is outraged. In one portion it is expressly said that if the constituted authorities of a State —that is, the governor, judges, sheriffs, etc.—shall fail or be unable to protect the people, such fact shall be deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws. The other portions require no such official default, attempt no such definition, and are aimed exclusively at wrongs done by individuals. It is a monstrous perversion of legal language and legal thought to maintain, as this statute does, that any violence or wrong done by private citizens, either singly or in numbers, either with or without concert, can constitute the denial of the equal protection of the laws contemplated by the Fourteenth Amendment. Every crime done to person or property is, so far as an injury is committed, a denial to the party molested of the protection which the laws afford. If, therefore, the position assumed in this statute be correct, Congress and the national courts may, with equal propriety, draw to themselves jurisdiction over all crimes, and become the sole guardians of order, the single depositaries of the police authority. Nay, they may, according to well-settled rules of constitutional construction, oust the State governments and State tribunals of all jurisdiction over the subject-matter, and thus establish a centralized administration. In fact, such is the logical and necessary tendency and result of the statute. It is no less monstrous to impute to a State in its organic character the defaults or incapacities of any of its executive or judicial officers, and to enact the falsehood that such defaults shall be a positive denial by the State of equal protection. Constitutional authority and jurisdiction cannot be thus acquired by a lying quibble.

The foregoing careful analysis was necessary to demonstrate in a clear manner the invalidity of all the important and practical provisions of this new measure. To sum up the results: The statute violates the letter of the Constitution by declaring that to be a rebellion against the United States which is nothing more than violence to individuals, and by permitting the writ of habeas corpus to be suspended in time of peace; by authorizing the President to employ the military forces in repressing opposition to State laws without any application from State authorities; by extending the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment to cases of private wrong; and by clothing the national courts with jurisdiction over ordinary crimes and with the function of ordinary police repression. It violates the entire spirit of the Constitution by conferring upon the President in time of peace a military discretion which belongs to him only as Commander-in-chief in time of actual war; and by destroying the separate—although subordinate—independence of the States within their appropriate spheres, which was firmly established in the Constitution as an essential feature of our institutions.

SEX IN POLITICS.

Owing to the interest excited by the condition of the city and State of New York, and the condition of the South, and by the condition of France, all of these countries being nominally governed by a numerical majority, and all badly governed, the foundations on which democratic government rests are receiving a probably more serious and thoughtful examination than they have ever received before, much talk as has been expended on them in various ages. There is this enormous difference between the discussion of democracy which is now raging and all discussions of it which have been carried on heretofore, viz., that the debaters have their subject before them. Hitherto, democracy has been discussed in very much the frame of mind in which men speculated on the form and habits of dragons or the scenery of the Hesperides. All propositions laid down about pure democracy were strictly *à priori*, and one was, consequently, about as defensible as another, and the argument furnished an admirable means of sharpening the wits, as there was no earthly means of bringing it to a conclusion. Now, however, we have at last got the thing itself under our very eyes, and the debate has—and one might almost say suddenly—assumed a gravity, and even a solemnity, it has never before had. It used to be a pleasant exercise for clubs and speculative philosophers; it is now shaking society to its centre. We used to wonder what its effect would be on manners and clothes and public conveyances and literature. We are now considering what effect it is likely to have on property and marriage, or, in other words, on the two things which are to every man and woman the most serious interests of this mortal life.

The time of rest and tranquillity which the more ardent spirits are constantly promising themselves as the result of this or that change in the government or in the social organization is either never to come, or its coming is so far off that for us it has no more practical

interest than the probable duration of the supply of coal or of the sun's heat. Under monarchy, life was stormy and full of trouble; under democracy, it will be stormy and full of trouble too; but our duties are much the same under both; and foremost amongst them is the duty of thinking before acting. The heavy reformatory work of the next century will probably consist largely in educating people into taking large views, and especially *long* views, of public policy. That this is going to be a tough job, there is no denying. Anybody who considers seriously what is meant by the conflict between labor and capital of which we are only just witnessing the beginning, and what is to be done to give money legitimately that influence on legislation which it now exercises illegitimately, must acknowledge at once that the next generation will have a thorny path to travel.

This leads us to ask whether this is just the time to add one more to the sources of distraction—and distraction here means confusion—by bringing the influence of sex into play in the political arena. We have once or twice called attention to the extent to which the woman's suffrage champions escape the grand difficulty of their position by treating sex as simply a physical difference, in no way affecting character. Mr. Mill started this theory by the extraordinary assertion that the differences between men and women were no greater than would exist between lord and (male) serfs who had been kept systematically for ages in the same state of subjection as women. His disciples in this country have improved upon it, and now invariably treat the exclusion of women from political life and certain employments as a pure piece of tyranny, having no better foundation than selfishness. In nearly all their discourses, the sexual passion is either ignored altogether or treated as a vice which is not worthy of consideration at the hands of politicians, and which will either disappear altogether as society grows in moral culture, or else simply incline men and women to sensible and happy matrimony. They take it for granted, as an axiom of social science, that in the natural state of things men and women could meet together for business on precisely the same basis as men, and discuss, vote, and co-operate with perfect freedom from all disturbing influences, other than those which operate on assemblies or companies of one sex only. They would have us believe, for instance, that if half the Assembly at Albany were composed of women, although measures might be carried under the influence of corruption, as now, votes would not be influenced by sex; and that though the power of evil might triumph, it would not triumph through the aid of female fascinations.

Now, we are not going to argue directly here against female suffrage. If the men and *women*—for, assuredly, so tremendous a change should not be introduced without taking the sense of the women on it also—of the country desire it, we know of no reason why they should not try the experiment. What we insist upon is, however, that they shall go into it with their eyes open, and after full discussion, so that we shall not, twenty years hence, hear such wailings and lamentations as we now hear in this State over the elective judiciary with which people saddled themselves in a burst of rashness in 1846. We protest most earnestly against women's being admitted to the franchise by driblets, and dodges, and surprises, under the policy which the suffragists are now pursuing in various parts of the country, and which consists mainly in bullying or seducing solitary or timid or muddleheaded registers or inspectors of election, in remote districts, on unimportant occasions, into letting women enrol themselves as electors, or drop their ballots into the box. Their idea doubtless is, that if this is done often enough, and over a sufficiently wide area to familiarize people with the spectacle of women's voting, and to make it seem illogical not to let them all vote, the suffrage will at last be conceded, on the ground that whatever the general merits of the question may be, it is too late to resist. Now, it may be that the admission of women to the franchise would be a great gain, but it may also prove a tremendous evil, which would positively throw civilization back a century or two. Women have thus far played so small a part in the heavy and active work of life, that the materials for prediction as to the part they would play in politics are very scanty. The arguments in favor of their admission are, thus far, all *à priori*, and it must not be forgotten that the women most busily engaged in the advocacy of it are picked specimens of their sex—that is, either women of great vigor or of a singularly masculine type of mind, or very slenderly influenced by what we may call the sexual side of character. To act on any argument which has yet been laid before the public, and in that profound darkness in which we now sit as to women's capacity, would be, we do not hesitate to say—no matter what its results might prove—one of the most stupendous pieces of folly of which any community was ever guilty. It would resemble, in many respects, the conduct of the young women in the country districts of whom we read in the papers every now and then, who marry plausible, good-looking adventurers on a week's acquaintance. No doubt, in many of these cases, the match turns out well; but in a large number the husband runs off with the bride's trinkets and money, after a few days' of honeymoon; and no apostle has ever yet risen up to proclaim that because there was a chance of the stranger's proving an honest man, this was a wise way for a young woman to enter the gates of matrimony. We mean nothing disrespectful to the woman's suffragists by this comparison; we simply intend to show that there are certain great rules of human conduct by which communities no less than individuals are bound to walk, and in disregard of which no enduring happiness is to be found.

We confess for ourselves that there is nothing which has inspired us with as much distrust of the movement as the persistence with which its promoters ignore the influence of the sexual passion on nearly every field of human activity. No people can safely heed the political counsels of persons who take no note of this most tremendous of all the social forces. Let us go back ever so far into the night of ages, and we find it there, shaping nearly every one of the problems by which the race has ever since been vexed. Go down as far as we can into the recesses of human character, and we find it there, it may be enriching and elevating, it may be dwarfing and degrading, but still active and potential. There is no custom or habit which it has not originated or colored; no war or migration which has not owed something to its instigation. It has had to do with the building up and the downfall of great empires, and with the fighting of great battles. It has blasted some of the greatest names of history and adorned others. It has been, in short, the source in all ages of the greatest virtues and the foulest vices. In fact, if history as well as individual experience teaches us anything clearly, it is that no system of society or government which does not take note of its tremendous energy can hope for a long or prosperous existence. No man can tell what would be the effect on such persons as now compose our legislatures of the accession of a body of the kind of women who, *in all probability*, as soon as the first excitement and novelty was over, would devote themselves to the work of politics. They might be Motts, Howes, and Livermores, but, reasoning from experience, the great mass of them would be—but we will not mention names; and we should then have added to the corruption of money, which is bad enough, a deeper, and darker, corruption still.

What has passed in Washington, in the case of the Vinnie Ream statue, is enough to set thoughtful people thinking very hard. We know of nothing against Miss Ream's character, but there seems to be no doubt that the serious business of making a statue to a public man—the honoring of whom, at this moment, is a solemn duty—was in her case committed by legislators to a young person, and a large sum of public money voted to pay her, who had never made a statue in her life, in disregard of the claims of a dozen American sculptors of established reputation, under the influence that comes from curls, and bright eyes, and the pats of a pretty hand, and the beseeching tones of a soft voice. In other words, legislators did what legislators have done a thousand times before, made asses of themselves under the influence of what are called "female charms," but which, for the purposes of this discussion—which requires exceedingly plain speaking—we shall call by its proper name, the sexual passion. Suppose this influence to be organized and systematized in the person of a large body of female members of Congress, and brought to bear on land-grants, subsidies, tariffs, charters, and public offices, what kind of thing would our legislation be? What kind of place would the republic soon become if every State capital was a stage on which female adventurers could push their fortunes, cheek by jowl with the Irvings, and Tweeds, and Morrisseys? A

curious and striking illustration, too, of the constant preoccupation of the lower order of female suffragists, with the probable influence of this passion on all relations of men with women, is found in the fact that they account for hostile comments of a leading newspaper on their own performances, or those of their favorites, by ascribing them to the editor's having offered his hand and heart unsuccessfully to divers female agitators, lecturers, authors, and poets. Fancy the Washington correspondents, who now so freely ascribe base motives to the opponents or supporters of this or that measure, telegraphing long speculations as to the probable influence of Mr. Smith's *liaison* with Miss Brown on their both voting against the San Domingo annexation or the duty on pig-iron, and we shall have some idea of the sink of iniquity into which a false step in this matter might convert the capital.

THE EDUCATION OF MINISTERS.

ONE meets every now and then with statements very like the following, which we cut from a recent number of the *Christian Union:*

"Prof. Seeley, in an article in his volume of Miscellanies, every page of which is valuable, draws the attention of the English people to the great defects of 'the church as a teacher of morality.' He draws a very dark picture of the unpractical, indirect, dogmatic, formal character of the teaching of the English Church. We cannot think that the American pulpit, in any considerable portion of it, deserves the serious strictures he lays upon the English. But we are convinced that morality, supported by religious sanctions, needs to be taught in all American pulpits with far more system, far more detail, far more urgency, and far more study on the part of the preachers. If, in place of so much general speculation, poetic discursiveness, ingenious discussion, and vague sentimentalism, much more of mere dogmatic iteration of truths that lose their meaning in their familiarity, we could have Honesty discussed in its principles, its trials, its temptations, its specific, practical difficulties, would there not be found a draught on religious faith which would make it much more real than when faith is discussed without reference to actual life? Mrs. Opie on Lying, or something better, needs to be reproduced in the pulpit. People's attention must be directed to their duty to their children in their education, government, dress, manners, and morals. We want, too, our social and political duties treated in some other way than by spasms of eloquence in moments of great social sins or political campaigns. If morality were treated systematically, all things would come up in course and in due place, proportion, and order. In our judgment, there is more religion than morality about, and religion is often made a convenient substitute for morality. Prof. Seeley says that the only morality the church teaches enough is that of alms-giving. Certainly, between church-going and alms-giving American religion is now somewhat too exclusively divided."

It is somewhat remarkable that a writer who sees so clearly what the proper work of the agency known as "the pulpit" is, and how far short it falls of doing it, should have let the subject drop without going one step further, and enquiring why the pulpit fails to do its work. There is no doubt whatever that every commercial community has undergone a serious deterioration as regards that branch of morals included under the term *bona fides*. In other words, there is more lying, cheating, and stealing, in proportion to population and in proportion to the temptation that comes from want, than there used to be. We believe even the most ardent admirers of "the age we live in" do not deny this. If we go to a lecture, or take up a magazine article in which its superiority to past ages is insisted on, we find that in the selection of points of comparison, common honesty is usually carefully avoided. The orator and writer shows how much more comfort we have in our houses; how much more easily we travel; how much kinder we are to prisoners, and captives, and paupers; how much less flogging of children we do, and so on: but he never says we are more truthful, and just, and scrupulous in our dealings, less prone to tell a good profitable lie, or sand the sugar, or stick bits of lead to the bottom of the scales. In fact, fraud is generally acknowledged to be the vice of our time, *par excellence*. We cheat in buying and selling, in the administration of justice, in the election of public officers, in the passage of laws, in the transportation of passengers, in the insuring of lives, in the administration of trusts. We help even the noblest causes by downright lying. We lie for the propagation of our pet ideas, and for the promotion of our pet charities. It is indeed one of the curious signs of the times, that the temperance advocates should be amongst the most unscrupulous of orators, and that temperance papers should be amongst the most dishonestly managed periodicals in the country; or, in other words, that the extirpation of a vice of which the root is beyond question largely physical, and the prevalence of which is, therefore, undoubtedly likely to be temporary, and its influence on society in the long run slight, should be sought by numbers of earnest men through the practice of another vice, which is wholly moral, and eats out all that is best in human character. It has taken all but complete possession of the two great classes into which the community is now divided—the capitalists and laborers. The capitalists are cheating in the management of their great combinations known as corporations and in the corruption of legislatures, and the laborers are imitating them by refusing to do good work, and using all their powers to deprive society of the means of making them do it. Flimsiness, brittleness in structure, evanescence in color, slovenliness and coarseness in detail are acknowledged, not only by Jeremiahs like Ruskin, but by the soberest and most hopeful observers of our industrial progress, to be the characteristics of articles of modern manufactures, compared with those of even a century ago; and the worst of it is that society encourages them by an enormous demand for cheap imitations of good things, and places its greatest glory in the wide diffusion of these imitations through all classes of the community.

Thomas Carlyle about thirty years ago seemed likely to bring about a powerful reaction against this state of things by his denunciation of "shams," and his exhortations to honest toil and truthfulness, and did produce a deep impression on the young men of that generation, who forthwith began to "emancipate" themselves as fast as they could from the bondage of various social and religious ideas in which they had been bred. But the movement never produced much, if any, effect on practical life, and, indeed, seems never to have gone beyond the process of "emancipation." Many people, having once begun it, were so delighted with "emancipation," that they have gone on "emancipating" themselves ever since, and their mode of leading a new life consists in periodical meetings with persons of their way of thinking for the purpose of hurling defiance at the "old theology," and mentioning the particular portions of it that they consider peculiarly monstrous and absurd; and they have apparently as much confidence in this performance as a means of discipline as if they knew that familiars of the Holy Office were waiting outside for them with the boot and thumbscrews.

The one solid and real effort against the vice has come from the body of art reformers known and ridiculed as the "Pre-Raphaelites." We have nothing to say here of the purely artistic merits of their work. But there is no question that their devotion to truth, and the enormous importance they attached to representing things as they are, whether as they seemed or not, however faulty the artistic result may have been, gave it a very great ethical value, and has exercised, as far as it has extended—which is a very little way, we are sorry to say—a more healthy influence than any reformatory movement we know of on morals. This influence, too, has become more marked, and more valuable, as they have extended the application of their theory to furniture, dress, and the construction and decoration of houses. The pertinacity with which they insist on reality and solidity, or the preservation of the idea of utility and naturalness even in ornamentation, and fight against veneer and shabby imitation, cannot but have, and have had, a healthy influence on the morals both of manufacturers and customers; but then as regards range, it is hardly worth mention. If we look around for any other real fight against lying and cheating, we find uncommonly little to comfort us. The press is supposed to be a great exposer of shams and impostures; but then it is too much of a commercial enterprise not to be something of a sham itself. The omniscience of the editor, the ubiquity of the reporters, the grim determination of the publisher to give Satan no quarter, are all unfortunately for sale; and when things are for sale one never knows how they may turn out.

The only body of men in modern Christendom which can be said to be expressly devoted to the work of reform, without being open to the suspicion of carrying it on as a commercial venture, are the ministers of the various religious denominations. It is melancholy, but true, that the ministry is the last surviving "profession," using the term to indicate a calling pursued purely for its own sake, and with little or no reference to its pecuniary returns. Of the great mass of the community in this and every other country, it is safe to say that they draw from attendance on religious worship the sole reminder they receive that there are such things as questions of morals, that good wages or fair profits are not the great ends of existence, that the opinion of one's fellows does not always settle the question of right or wrong, and that the man who never asks himself, Why am I here? whither am I going? and why do I this, and not that? does not lead a really human life, but that of a dexterous brute. Never since the world began were

questions of morals so perplexing as they are now; never was the rule of conduct, even to the eye of the conscientious man, hidden under such a load of circumstance, and distinction, and allowance, and custom. It is easy to see, therefore, that anybody who sets up to be a teacher of morals in our day must be a skilful casuist; and no man can excel as a casuist whose knowledge of affairs is not very extensive—that is, for the skilful application of moral rules to given states of fact, familiarity with affairs is almost as necessary as for the skilful application of legal rules; and this brings us, though late, to the topic which stands at the head of this article.

Here is Professor Seeley, a thoughtful and religious man, and here is the *Christian Union*, a thoughtful and religious paper, both calling on the clergy for the inculcation, from the pulpit, of practical morality, "for the discussion of honesty and its principles, its trials, temptations, its specific practical difficulties," or people's duty in the matter of "the government, dress, manners, and morals of their children." Now, just consider for a moment what this means. Consider what are the trials, temptations, difficulties, of a broker, or lawyer, or merchant, or railroad man, or banker, or commission merchant, in our day. Their name is legion; to understand them and weigh them, one would need not only to have considerable knowledge of human nature, but a wide practical acquaintance with the political economy and customs of many trades and manufactures and of the money market, and a fair acquaintance with the practice of the courts and with legal history and legal principles. To advise a man of his duty in the matter of "the government, education, manners, and dress of his children," one would have to keep one's self not only perfectly familiar with all that is going on in the educational world, but with the tendencies in society and business which help to make or mar a young man's career; and to prevent one's opinions on all these subjects, even supposing the sphere of one's personal observation to be never so large, and one's experience of life never so great, being crude and narrow and incomplete, one would have to keep up a fair acquaintance with a wide and growing body of literature of various nations. Even if a minister had all this and more, he would, as a teacher of morals in our day, labor under considerable disadvantage as long as he had not himself had a varied and long experience of life and its trials. There is a wisdom which rarely comes but with years, and often only comes with sorrow and disappointment, without which the best equipped philosopher, or student, or observer will, after all, to a great body of persons perplexed by life's problems, be but an indifferent adviser.

But it would be difficult to imagine poorer preparation for such a field of duty as is here traced out than is afforded by most of our theological seminaries. The course of education in most of them is still that which would fit a man to deal out dogmatic theology to a simple agricultural community seriously occupied about doctrines, and sincerely believing in them, and deeply respecting the minister and his office, and rarely brought face to face with problems of morals of which the Ten Commandments did not afford an easy solution. The student is, perhaps, well grounded in ecclesiastical history and literature, in Biblical exegesis, the topography of the Holy Land, Eastern manners, moral and mental philosophy as taught by one school, and homiletics, and he is then sent out into the world to help men to wrestle successfully with the moral difficulties of a commercial society of extraordinary complexity and considerable corruption, which is fast losing hold of its old faith and uncertain or unconcerned by a new one. No wonder his preaching consists largely of "general speculation, poetic discursiveness, ingenious discussion, and vague sentimentalism." What else can it, in the large majority of cases, consist of? Why, it is almost in the power of any lawyer in his congregation to persuade him that a proper regard for the independence of the bar and the due administration of justice requires that a counsellor should occasionally help his client to commit a burglary if he asks him, because nobody can tell, till the case is carried into court and the judge has ruled on it, whether it is really a burglary or not; or for a railroad president to persuade him that playing tricks with the stock of his own road is a pious and laudable operation, which managers of corporations occasionally have to resort to to save the estates of the widows and orphans invested in it; or for a politician to satisfy him that, when he receives a large bribe for putting through a land-grant or subsidy operation which he really believes to be a good thing, he is only doing his solemn duty to his "common country." We venture to assert that there are not ten ministers in the country who are able to collar a knavish lawyer or operator in their congregations, and drive him into a corner, and put him to shame, or to meet a skulking, lazy, and tonguey trades-unionist on the labor question and show him that, so far from helping his class by making the shirking of work the great object of the laborer's ambition, he is ruining it body and soul. No man can, in short, be a successful moralist in our day who is not a good deal of a jurist, and of an economist, and of a business man and scientific man; and what is done to give ministers even an inkling of jurisprudence, or political economy, or finance, or natural science? We may say almost nothing. Canon Kingsley, in an address to the clergy in England, the other day, called loudly for an infusion of natural science into clerical education, to enable the pulpit to hold its own; but natural science is not enough. As ministers go out into the world now, they are a singularly helpless class. The wealthy knaves pet and subsidize them; the feeblest little huckster that measures out tape by the yard feels himself qualified to disregard their opinion on all matters not appertaining to doctrinal theology. So that, no matter how often a minister is brought in contact with a man whose doings seem to him suspicious, he is fain to follow Dogberry's advice to the constable: "to take no note of him, but let him go, and thank God he is rid of a knave."

ENGLAND.

LONDON, March 31, 1871.

WE are just now in a holiday mood. The weather is delicious; parliamentary debates have become wearisome; and in a few days we shall be welcoming the spring, after our fashion. To-morrow the whole of London will turn out at nine in the morning to see whether the Oxford or Cambridge lads can row the quickest. A very exciting race is expected, and from east to west, from what Macaulay describes as "bleak Hampstead's swarthy moor" on the north to "Surrey's pleasant hills" on the south, there is scarcely a haberdasher's shop that has not its show of light and dark-blue ribbons, or even a cabman who does not tie a bit of his favorite color to his whip. The young gentlemen who are the centres of attraction would scarcely change their position for a seat on the Treasury bench, and to-morrow will form an epoch in their lives, often to be remembered in country parsonages or at the mess of legal circuits. The worst of it is that the gentlemen who have ruined the morality of horse-racing are beginning to take their parts in the rising excitement.

On Wednesday last a great gathering took place to witness a ceremonial of a very different kind—the opening of the great Albert Hall. I fancy that I have mentioned that remarkable edifice to you already. It is enough to say that it is the biggest of all rooms in London—that it resembles in appearance the Colosseum of Rome, built of red brick, reduced in all its linear dimensions to one-half, and crowned by a dome of glass and iron. About 8,000 people occupied it, the other day, to hear the Queen pronounce it "open," and to listen to a performance upon the biggest organ in the world. At least 7,999 of the audience had not the faintest notion of the purposes to which this gigantic room is to be applied; and there is only, as far as I can make out, a sort of *à priori* impression that, as there is a very big room in the midst of a huge population, it must be possible to make some use of it. The Bishop of London prayed that the designs of its founders might be fulfilled, and that it might not be applied to immoral purposes. The last is a modest petition, which we may hope to see fulfilled; the first requires a certain amount of faith, not only in Providence, but in Mr. Cole, the energetic ruler of the little cluster of museums and schools of art which is growing up at South Kensington. In one way or other he has done so much, in spite of a good deal of abuse, that, for my part, I hold that he will make something of the Albert Hall. But my faith is of the unreasoning kind, and is not shared by all men. Meanwhile, it is safe to say, that if the Hall, and the gorgeous memorial which is rising opposite to it in Kensington Gardens, be taken as measures of the popular enthusiasm for the late lamented Prince Consort, no hero of our own, or indeed of any other time, has ever excited such intense feeling. We have been at work some fifteen years in erecting a monument to the Duke of Wellington, who was a popular man in his day; and, so far from being completed, it has just come to a stop, amidst vehement recriminations between the artists employed and the officials, who won't pay for unfinished work. Indeed, putting together the Duke and Nelson, and all generals, admirals, and royal personages of the last generation or two, their memorials would not be half so conspicuous as the buildings which are to express our enthusiasm for the Prince's memory. Some people say that it is not so much the memory of the dead as the ambition of the living which has been consulted; but the Prince was really a sensible and useful man in his day, and it is a pity that his memory should be "exploited" after this fashion. We shall end by thinking that we have heard enough of him.

The mention of this memorial reminds me that the marriage of the Princess Louise to the Marquis of Lorne took place a few days before, and that one great inducement to be present was the pleasure of seeing the newly wedded couple. The *Times* and the *Telegraph* were fairly unmanned by the performance of the ceremony. They indulged in such beautiful flights of language and effusions of rose-colored sentiment, in short, so many variations on the well-known tune of "Bless ye, my children!" that I feel I ought not to tread in the same steps. I can only beg your readers to refer to the articles in the *Telegraph*, which decidedly maintains its pre-eminence in the style of which Mr. Sala is regarded as the author. We used to laugh, we still laugh sometimes, at American "buncombe;" and we may have occasional pretexts for amusement; but I think we may fairly boast that the British article which most nearly corresponds to it can now be produced at home on such terms as to defy foreign competition. Poor Mr. Matthew Arnold has run some tilts at the *Telegraph;* and has, indeed, lately collected some of his letters into a little book called "Friendship's Garland," of which it is the purpose to prove that his countrymen in general are fools, and that the *Telegraph* is their teacher. I don't think it is in his happiest style of humor; he is hampered by an elaborate fiction about Grub Street and Arminius von Thunder-Ten-Tronckh, and so on; and scarcely writes with his usual delicacy of satire. But Mr. Matthew Arnold, at his best, must feel that he has an up-hill battle to fight. The *Telegraph* has been recently informing us that it has an average daily circulation of over 190,000 copies; and I fear that the immense majority of those who buy it are cased in manifold armor against any weapons suitable to the hands of refined scholars. If they sympathize with the floods of unctuous rhetoric poured out upon the heads of the devoted Marquis and his bride, the British constitution should be safe for centuries.

Meanwhile, to return to the point from which I started, Parliament feels the languor of the approaching season. A debate on the Conference occupied last night, and few less lively entertainments have ever been produced on those boards. Sir Charles Dilke moved a censure upon government for having consented to the Conference. In his view, it was a humiliating concession to the unwarrantable demands of Russia, and, in fact, was simply a sham procedure, meant to cover the readiness with which we swallowed the leek. It is curious to look back upon the feelings with which we regarded the question a few months ago, and the utter indifference with which these remarks were received. Then we felt that we might be on the brink of a war, and a war which, however just, was to be waged for objects about which we cared as little as possible. Now there is only one sentiment which survives in the matter; it was pretty well summed up by one of the speakers in the remark that everybody was glad of the conclusions reached by the Conference, whilst nobody was proud of them. Sir Charles Dilke labored in vain by producing Russian newspapers and passages from official correspondence to prove that we had truckled to Russia, that we had alternately cajoled and bullied the French, that we had given up points in which we were deeply interested, and that we had every reason to be ashamed of ourselves. No member of government even condescended to answer him; and, after a perfunctory debate, he was refused leave to withdraw his motion, and it was negatived without a division. Mr. Bernal Osborne expressed the general feeling when he complained of having been called down on the eve of the Easter holidays "to preside at the flogging of a dead horse;" and he hoped that the result would be a warning to patriotic young members not to come down to the House with their fine sentiments, and then to slink off with their tail between their legs. And so the Russian Conference will be buried fathoms deep in the waters of oblivion, and we shall be able to go to sleep for a time and forget all about it. All that will survive is a homily or two which will be treasured up by politicians with long memories; but it would be difficult to exaggerate the indifference to the whole question which at present pervades the country at large.

And thus we have drifted on in one way or another to the Easter vacation. The cumbrous machinery of Parliament has been creaking along with rather fewer remarkable performances than usual. Government has probably rather lost than gained in public opinion; they have suffered one or two defeats on minor matters; they have on other occasions only carried motions by the help of their opponents, and their radical supporters have grown rather more mutinous than they were ten months ago. Nor has any great amount of work been actually done. The wheels of the machinery already show the customary symptoms of being clogged, and we are beginning to calculate what parts of the burden will have to be thrown aside. On the other hand, the main proposals of the government have been so far carried, and there seems to be little doubt that in one way or other they will be converted into law by the close of the session. The measure of army reform will be carried, in spite of a good deal of hostile criticism from all sides, and it must be admitted that, though far from being all that could be desired, its terms indicate a rapid advance in public opinion. The mere mention of the abolition of purchase was scouted as a visionary and absurd proposal a very few years ago, and now any serious opposition is seen to be hopeless. After all, we live fast in these days, and, when one watches the rate at which ancient landmarks are left behind, it is difficult to say how far we may find ourselves on the way down "the Falls of Niagara." Some of our enthusiastic reformers have apparently been encouraged by such reflections to anticipate the speedy construction of an English Republic, and the workingmen have been accordingly getting up republican clubs in some of the large towns. People who wear black coats are not in a very favorable frame of mind towards such agitations, inasmuch as the present state of Paris is rather discouraging to the class with something to lose. Whether the agitation really means much is a question which must be decided by time, and meanwhile I will only remark that two causes contribute to it at the present moment. The first is the comparative effacement of the Royal Family of late years, and the marked diminution, for one reason or other, of any warm personal loyalty. The second is that an agitation in France always spreads by sympathy to certain classes in England. The International Society is a machine for spreading the contagion of revolutionary sentiment. There is, of course, no want of people to be impressed by the success of the Commune. Prof. Beesly, for example, the most fanatical of the Positivist school, has written a letter to the *Beehive*, the organ of a large number of workingmen, taking up their cause, and extenuating the crimes of which they are accused. Undoubtedly there is a certain stir of republican feeling, which may become of importance if circumstances should favor its growth. For the present, I don't think it is of much significance; and, though the word "republic" is pronounced more frequently than has been hitherto the case, it does not seem as yet to indicate any very vehement or generally diffused sentiment. The symptom, however, is rather novel, or, at least, we have heard little of such things since 1848; and, seeing the rapidity with which the old order now yields place to new, it is perhaps worth while to make a note of it.

Correspondence.

SENTIMENTALISM APPLIED TO CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In your comments of the Week, in your last issue, you refer to the "Ku-klux Bill," so-called, which is now a law, as a measure which, if passed, will prove "a precedent of the most shocking kind, which bad men, in bad times, will not hesitate to use." I am inclined to think you would never have ventured on this criticism had Mr. Sumner's speech on this bill been made before your issue of the 13th went to press. "Give me the centralism of liberty. Give me the imperialism of equal rights." In this noble formula is, I take it, included a final and conclusive answer to your objections to this bill. It is a measure in furtherance of the good cause, and from it no precedent can be drawn in favor of any bad cause. You intimate an intention of further commenting on this measure. Should you do so, I hope you will consider this fundamental distinction.

Neither our Constitution nor any written law ever was intended, or, in the nature of things, could have been intended, to do either of these two things: 1. To hinder the doing of that which is right; or, 2. To protect and perpetuate that which is wrong. Knowing, therefore, as they do, that what they desire is right, and knowing also that what they desire to put a stop to is wrong, the friends of the Ku-klux legislation feel that the constitutional restrictions do not, and were never intended to, apply to them. Was our Constitution meant to protect midnight ruffians? The very suggestion carries its own negative. But you, and the large class of halting brothers whom you represent, continually urge upon us the precedent thus created. Will not bad men claim the same exemption from law should they obtain power? For one, I am very weary of this argument, if, by courtesy, it may be called so. Once for all, we, the good men, *know* we are right; the bad men know they are wrong; constitutional limitations were intended to protect good men from bad men; and when the bad men are in power, then these limitations will become effective. To argue otherwise is to place good and bad on an equality; to allow nothing to

that spirit of liberty towards which Burke was so tolerant; to say that one law applies to him who wishes well to the race and to him who wishes ill.

Let me suggest a case in point. Wendell Phillips, a few days ago, declared that we should never have peace until half-a-dozen wealthy Southerners were "shot" by order of a "drum-head court-martial." A few years ago, Mr. Phillips was protected by constitutional and legal provisions from continually threatened violence, and pursued the good work in safety under the very eyes of an enraged majority, lashed almost to frenzy by his unceasing denunciations. Now, in protecting Mr. Phillips, the Constitution and the laws only fulfilled their functions, for he was and is a good man, engaged in a good work; when, however, that Constitution and those laws shelter the Ku-klux, they are perverted from their noble design, and should not be allowed to stand between the miscreant and the "drum-head court-martial."

So also of Mr. Sumner. A few years ago, an infamous Supreme Court, through the Dred Scott decision, endeavored to create a centralism of slavery—an imperialism of caste. Zealously and successfully did Mr. Sumner appeal to the Constitution to stay the tide. He was right; and the Constitution stayed the flood. Excuse me for saying that I really cannot understand how a reasoning being, such as in many points you undoubtedly are, can fail to see why a man may strenuously resist a centralism of slavery and an imperialism of caste, and yet strongly advocate a centralism of liberty and an imperialism of equal rights. To me the distinction is too obvious to admit of argument; it is at least as well defined as the evident difference in Wendell Phillips's mind between mob-law as applied to himself, and drum-head court-martials as applied to his opponents.

I do not think any constitution can eradicate the difference between right and wrong—the mastery, innate in the eternal fitness of things, of the good man over the bad man. Every one must on these points evolve a decision for himself out of his own inner consciousness. That honestly done, and himself knowing that he is right, he cannot but be exempt from technical limitations, obviously intended only to restrain the evil-doer or the uninformed. Sumner and Phillips have passed through this process; the precedents they create can never apply, except in the case of men equally good and equally certain they do right. Such are not likely soon to appear again, and to all others the constitutional restrictions apply. In view of this obvious limitation of the effect of the precedents we are now erecting, I fancy you will dismiss from your own mind, and from those of your readers, all further apprehension on this score.

A Sentimentalist.

Boston, April 15, 1871.

Notes.

The third volume of Prof. G. W. Greene's "Life of Nathanael Greene" is among the announcements of Messrs. Hurd & Houghton. "In the Hartz Mountains, and Pictures of Sweden," forms part of the Hans Christian Andersen series. Haliburton's "The Clockmaker: Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville," is to be revived for the series known as the Riverside classics. The same firm have in preparation several juvenile works: "Little Jakey," by Mrs. S. H. De Kroyft; "Tables of Pilpay;" and "Little Folk-Songs."——Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. have in press and will shortly publish the recent lecture on "Lawyer and Client," by William Allen Butler; Dr. O. W. Holmes's "Valedictory Address," delivered last month to the graduating class of the Bellevue Hospital College; a "Treatise on Diseases of the Nervous System," by Dr. Wm. A. Hammond; "Psychology, or the Science of Mind," by Rev. O. S. Munsell, President of Illinois Wesleyan University; "The Antigone of Sophocles," edited by Prof. M. J. Smead, of the University of Georgia; and the following reprints from English works: Dr. Andrew Combe's "Management of Infancy;" Stricker's "Manual of Human and Comparative Histology;" "Fragments of Science for Unscientific People," being essays, lectures, and reviews by John Tyndall; and "Metaphysics; or, The Philosophy of Consciousness, Phenomenal and Real," by Henry L. Mansel.

—The *New York Observer Year-Book and Almanac for* 1871 will be found useful for its very full lists of preachers and officers of the so-called Evangelical denominations, and for its tables of particulars concerning the higher institutions of learning, in the United States, as well as for its copious political and commercial statistics. The feature which will probably do most to ensure its preservation beyond the current use for it is the reprint on pp. 175–187 of the greater part of the first directory ever published in this city. It bears the date of 1786, and is a striking evidence of the paucity of inhabitants and contracted area of New York ten years after the Declaration of Independence. This instrument had not yet been forgotten, it seems, as the names are given of the President (Hon. John Jay), Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, and Standing Committee of "The Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated," which met "at the Coffee-house" in Wall Street. This was one year before Franklin was made president of the revived "Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery," etc., first organized in 1775. The antiquity of our May movings is seen in the advertisement that "The New York Directory will in future be published every twentieth day of May in each year."

—Some one whose motives admit of considerable speculation has collected in a quarto volume those singular "Letters on the Whipping of Girls, addressed to the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*," which at the time of their appearance made even Englishmen blush for the average British matron. Scarcely any domestic practice could seem, to American families of equal breeding, so unnatural, not to say degrading; and an American mother might find it hard to imagine that these letters could be republished by one not in sympathy with the writers, as a contribution to the history of the manners of the age. The manners of the fifteenth century are amusingly if rather broadly set forth in the "Diary of an Embassy from King George of Bohemia to King Louis XI. of France," which has been literally translated from a contemporary manuscript in the Slavonic tongue, by A. H. Wratislaw. Still other recent English publications, historical or antiquarian, are: the second volume of "The Mansions of England in the Olden Time," by S. Stanesby; "Rambles of an Archæologist among Old Books and in Old Places," by Frederick William Fairholt, which consists of papers on art in relation to archæology, painting, art decoration, and art manufacture, illustrated with a great number of engravings; "The Songs of Scotland Chronologically Arranged," with an introduction and biographical notes; "Was Shakespeare a Lawyer?" on the strength of certain passages selected from "Measure for Measure" by "H. T.;" "The House of Argyll and the Collateral Branches of the Clan Campbell, from the Year 420 to the Present Time;" "The Land of Lorne, including the Cruise of the *Tern* to the Outer Hebrides," by Robert Buchanan; "The Secret Documents of the Second Empire," translated from the papers found in the Tuileries, by T. Curry. Of books of travel, "Ten Years North of the Orange River," by John Mackenzie, has a present interest, though it treats chiefly of life among the South African tribes; "My First Year in Canada" is by Bishop Oxenden, of Montreal; "Pau and the Pyrenees," by Count Henry Russell, is, as surely as there are invalids, certain to be read; and so is "Turkish Harems and Circassian Homes," by Mrs. Harvey. Three biographies are worth mentioning: "Life and Travels of George Whitefield," by James Paterson Gledstone; Mark Boyd's "Reminiscences of Fifty Years;" and the "Life and Adventures of Count Beugnot, Minister of State under Napoleon I.," edited from the French by the indefatigable Miss Yonge. Two political titles, whose authors are anonymous: "Words of Weight on the Woman Question;" and "Cumulative Voting, its Nature, Operation, etc.;" and, to conclude: "Critical Miscellanies," by John Morley, mainly reprinted from the *Fortnightly Review;* and "On International Reform," by Frederick Seebohm.

—The library of Mr. Kirkup, of Florence, well-known to most residents there during the past few years, has been sent to London for sale. It includes manuscripts of great value, amongst others four copies of Dante's "Commedia," viz., an octavo of 1368, written, therefore, within fifty years of Dante's death; another with a commentary of the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century; one with the commentary known as the false Boccaccio; and a fourth of the fifteenth century, on paper, but unfinished. Besides these is a rare collection of old and curious books, amongst which are many on Spiritualism, in which Mr. Kirkup has taken a great interest. The sale will probably take place in July, but we shall endeavor to give due notice of it as soon as determined, with particulars as to the works, etc. Another bit of interesting intelligence which we receive from England is to the effect that Professor Owen will criticise Darwin's last work through the medium of the *Edinburgh Review*. It is expected that his opinion will be other than approving, the more as Darwin has not spared Owen in his book, the general reception of which in England has been very favorable.

—We need not apologize for adding to the sketch we gave last week of the late Professor De Morgan a few remarks of a more critical nature. Among mathematicians he was distinguished more for the completeness of his logic than for analytical facility. His pupils speak of him with warm admiration, but it may be presumed that they gained from him even more of general skill in accurate reasoning than of specific mathematical power. His elementary books, which are not enough known, are excellent, especially for students who have no natural turn for mathematics; and his work on the calculus is unusually complete, and its demonstrations particularly instructive. Of his researches, one of the most noticeable is his paper on triple algebra, which traces out the consequences of certain definitions of symbols in a manner much like that of his formal logic; but for this difficult subject De Morgan's analysis was not sufficiently subtle, and he can only be said to have started the enquiry without having arrived at any valuable results. His best contributions were to mathematical logic. In his controversy with Sir William Hamilton, in 1847, both disputants fought in the dark, because Hamilton's system had never been published, and Hamilton had never patiently examined De Morgan's. All the points of Hamilton's attack were, however, completely disproved. Upon the publication of Hamilton's works, De Morgan renewed the controversy with Mr. Spencer Baynes, who, after an unconditional pledge to produce proof of his position, was compelled to abandon the field. Since that time Hamilton's once celebrated system has fallen into neglect, while De Morgan's commands more and more respect. In point of fact, Hamilton's system, like De Morgan's, is mathematical, but is the work of a mind devoid of mathematical training. It would be premature to try to say what the final judgment of De Morgan's system will be, but it may at least be confidently predicted that the logic of relatives, which he was the first to investigate extensively, will eventually be recognized as a part of logic. The best statement of De Morgan's system is contained in his "Syllabus of a Proposed System of Logic," but his fourth and fifth papers on the syllogism are of later date. De Morgan was a deep student of the history of the sciences to which he was devoted. He wrote many biographical notices of mathematicians in the "Penny Cyclopædia" and the "English Cyclopædia," as well as a bibliography of arithmetic. Indeed, the amount of his writing upon various subjects in the two cyclopædias, in the *Athenæum*, in the *Companion to the British Almanac*, in seventeen or more separate books, and in various scientific periodicals, including the *Journal of the Philological Society*, is enormous, and it is all very pleasant reading for its perspicacity, vigor of thought, wit, and a certain peculiar flavor of style. The last qualities are well seen in his "Budget of Paradoxes," published in the *Athenæum*.

—The curious phenomenon in the construction of the Greek temples of the better epoch, of a universal curvature of the horizontal lines and a convergence towards a hypothetical point, high above the structure, of the columns, has given rise to a great many hypotheses. The latest and perhaps the best of these has been contributed to a London journal by Mr. W. J. Stillman, who, in photographing the Acropolis as an architectural study, has viewed it probably from more, and more unusual, points than any living person. After remarking that the stylobate (the marble floor on which the bases of the columns rest) of the Parthenon has a curvature so decided as to be easily perceptible even in front, and that all the horizontal lines sympathize, while the columns fall slightly inwards, he gives it as his opinion, that this is done simply to produce an exaggeration of the perspective lines, thus increasing the apparent magnitude of the building. All horizontal lines seen above the eye droop at the extremities, and all parallel vertical lines seem to converge by the natural effect of perspective. If, then, we give the former an actual curvature in the same direction, and the latter an additional convergence, we make the perspective seem to be greater, and produce that variation from the right line which would be given by a building longer and higher. This seems what the builders of the Parthenon wished to do, and the minor differences confirm the theory. The lines of the architraves, which, being higher above the eye, have more *apparent* curve, are given less *real*. Then, as the perspective diminishes the apparent distance between the columns as they recede from the eye, the architect has diminished the distance between the ex treme columns, giving greater effect of recession. But this only on the end façades; on the long flanks, the effect produced by the actual perspective is sufficient.

—In due time we may expect of the Prussian General Staff a professional history of the late war such as it made of the war of 1866. On the French side, not only is there no corresponding organization, but if there were it could not possibly pass in review its own shortcomings and incompetency. The papers found in the Tuileries, and of which presumably only those which best served the political objects of the Provisional Government were published, are valuable for the light they throw on the defects of the French military system, and on the blind and ignorant self-confidence of its chiefs, the Emperor included, before the war. But for many important particulars of the operations of the first two months, which cost France its armies and its government, we must depend on personal memoirs, of which thus far the number has been very small. Indeed, the first we can name since Bazaine's official report concerning the surrender of Metz is the "Histoire de l'armée de Châlons, par un volontaire de l'armée du Rhin," which has just been published in Brussels. The work is divided into two parts, one giving the history of the French Seventh Army Corps, and the other the history of the Army of Châlons and the campaign of Sedan. We lack the necessary space for an abstract of this narrative, and in fact for more than a few remarks on the first part of it. Of the Seventh Corps less was hitherto known than of any of the others. It was the last of all to receive its orders and a commander. Its artillery was gathered at Rennes, and as preparations were made at the same time at Brest for a camp of 45,000 men, and the marines were held in readiness to transport large bodies of troops and quantities of munitions to the North, it was inferred that the Seventh Corps was intended to make a diversion from the side of Denmark. On the 18th of July, however, the artillery and engineer staffs were ordered to rendezvous at Colmar, at the opposite extremity of France from Rennes, and it then appeared that the Seventh Corps was to form the right wing of the French army of invasion, holding the line from Mulhouse to Strasbourg, and prepared to co-operate with MacMahon at a moment's notice. The Corps found itself at the beginning of its march supplied with no more camp equipage than would suffice for a single regiment, but trusted to be fully provided at its place of destination, and only feared to be behind the rest in crossing the Rhine. The railroads being overtasked, they lost a whole day at Mulhouse. At Colmar, no provision was made for quartering them, since everybody thought of the advance; nor for feeding and paying them, since the Corps intendant was still in Algiers. They were thus for eight days without organization or unity, and at last learned that their commander was Gen. Félix Douay, with headquarters at Belfort, and that he was astonished that the artillery and engineers had been sent to Colmar. Further delay was caused by Douay's making a trip to Paris, where he was, against his entreaties, detained a week. The result was that the Corps was separated from the Army of the Rhine, prevented from co-operating with it, and reduced to the rôle of a reserve. When MacMahon was threatened at Frœschweiler, it could send him but a single division, without artillery.

—Two recent French publications, "De Froeschwiller à Paris," by Émile Delmas, and "Paris assiégé," by Jules Claretie, are valuable and extremely interesting contributions to the history of the recent war. The author of the first is an Alsatian who, as a volunteer medical assistant, saw many of the battle-fields of the first period of the war, for, with the neutrality which his position gave him, he was able to pass within the lines of both armies. His account is written with the utmost simplicity, there being not a trace of the bombast which one is accustomed to find in Frenchmen who have to write about their country's failures. He exposes the manifold shortcomings of the French soldiers and officers with a calm sorrow that is affecting; and he speaks of the Germans with an intelligent admiration that one seldom gives to one's conqueror—and which, one might fancy, augurs but ill for those prophets who expect Alsace and Lorraine to be so much of an ulcer in the side of Germany. In the beginning he describes the rout of the French army after the battle of Froeschwiller, or, as it is better known, of Woerth. Here a characteristic example of the manner in which the French managed the war met his eyes; he found the captured French surgeons treated as prisoners. Although France had signed the convention establishing the neutrality of those commissioners who wore on the arm a red cross on a white ground, it would seem that the French army was ignorant of the significance of the badge, and in consequence of this ignorance the French surgeons had been considered as ordinary prisoners of war. Some of them had forgotten that there had been such a convention, others had never heard of it. Of course, when their profession was discovered by the Germans they were allowed to tend the wounded; but as their ignorance had cost them the loss, in the general rout, of most of their material, they were able to be of far less service to their suffering countrymen than they should have been. The author himself and his companions had

been mistaken by their own army for spies or *francs-tireurs;* by the Germans they were everywhere treated with the utmost respect and courtesy. It is to this astonishing ignorance rather than to brute ferocity on the part of the French that is due the fact that they often shot at the Prussian ambulances. We also find in M. Delmas' work a long list of telegrams, sent to the Ministry of War from Metz, Strasburg, Verdun, and other places, in the last week of July and the first week of August, in which the officers of the army complain of the lack of certain articles of food and of equipage, and the absence of proper assistants in the Commissariat and the Quartermaster's Department. Another proof of almost incredible incompetence is the fact that the most curiously useless maps were sent to the army, as, for instance, maps of the coast of France to the troops who were to go to Berlin. To the fleet none at all were sent; and in the "Paris assiégé" we find that, with a bitter irony of accident, maps of the Rhenish frontiers were distributed among the army for use in one of the sorties from Paris. M. Claretie exposes also the latest falsehoods of the Imperial Government, which gave to the country no other information of the battles before Metz than an apocryphal account of the driving of Steinmetz's army into the quarries of Jaumont, and of the complete destruction of Bismarck's white cuirassiers. He spares neither the weakness of the Government, the incompetence of the officers, nor the demoralization of the men. Perhaps as striking as any example of the terrible mismanagement of the French is that afforded by M. Delmas' account of the fate of some supplies which he saw almost given to the German army. After the battle of Sedan, Gen. Vinoy, who was retreating with his corps upon Paris, telegraphed to Laon that he had arrived at Marle, only ten miles distant, and asked that bread and grain be at once sent to his army, and that some empty cars should be run down for his disabled soldiers. Six car-loads of supplies were immediately sent on, our author accompanying them. On arriving he finds no one to receive them. He makes his solitary way to the town, which is full of drunken soldiers. No one can direct him to General Vinoy. He meets another general, who regrets that it is not his business, but sends him to some one else. With another he has the same luck. In despair he returns to the station, and with his friends unloads the grain from the cars. Soon a few soldiers appear and carry off half a wagon-load of bread; but the grain they refuse to touch—"it is not their business." M. Delmas returns to Marle and beseeches an officer whom he finds in authority to take some measures to remove the supplies; "the train must leave; the Prussian scouts have been signalled." The officer declines, however; "that is not his business." The train returns with the greater part of the rejected supplies, and the Germans the next day take possession of what grain was unloaded.

—"Paris assiégé" is the title of a journal kept throughout the siege of the city by M. Claretie. He entered the city with Victor Hugo, and by virtue of his position was able to see many of the members of the Government during the whole of that time. He is an ardent republican, and indeed a friend of the Commune, but he was able to oppose the effort of the Reds to mar the harmony of the defense by civil war. Under the date of Nov. 16 he records the death of Mérimée, and mentions a work of his which had been found among the papers of the Empress. It was a little volume containing a story of adultery, called "La Pantoufle bleue," written and illustrated by Mérimée's own hand. In speaking of the heroine, he says: "Her clothing smelt of vanilla. She adored the favorite perfume of the Empress." The story is signed: "Prosper Mérimée, fool in ordinary to Her Majesty the Empress."

—The latest amusement of the ex-Emperor at Wilhelmshöhe was the composition, in January last, of a work on the German military system, which Baron Stoffel's reports, if they had been read when received, would have saved him the trouble of writing. A brochure of 85 pages besides a preface, which alone is of special interest, it is entitled, "Note sur l'organisation militaire de la conféderation de l'Allemagne du Nord" (Brussels, 1871). Enumerating the lessons of the war, the author is unsparing in his reproaches of the military chiefs of France, as if his former influence or authority with them, or responsibility for them, amounted to nothing; and he pretends to have been one of those who were well aware and insisted that the military organization of his country bore no relation to its political condition. The Prussian army, "composed not of hirelings but of the flower of the nation, and resting on the principle of authority, which is not in conflict with the rights of the citizen," he pronounces the strongest safeguard a nation can have. The weakness of the French soldier is expressed in his favorite boast: "I serve no man, I serve my country;" a mere pretext, says Napoleon, for faithlessness, scepticism, and perjury.

THE STUDY OF THE CIVIL LAW.*

THERE is, perhaps, nothing more remarkable in modern "progress" than the tendency of the various nations of the civilized world to assimilation, not in manners only, but in legislation. As the power of custom and tradition declines, there is, of course, a general disposition to draw more and more of the principles of jurisprudence from the fountain of "right reason," and this disposition naturally enough is bringing into prominence the Roman Law as the most wonderful application of the rules of "right reason" to human affairs in existence, and perhaps, whether we consider its history or the nature and extent of its services to European society, or its influence on the thought of the Western world, one of the most striking achievements of the human intellect. Its history is marvellous, and the part it has played in our civilization hardly less so. It was built up in the ancient world by the labors of thirty generations of jurists; its growth and its supremacy as a rule of conduct continued through a thousand years of Roman wars and revolutions, and under every form of government. It doubtless, as Mr. Maine maintains, had a strong influence on the formation of the theology of the Western Church; and it was bequeathed by the dying Empire to the barbarians as the best and greatest of its treasures. It presided at the foundation of all the modern states on the Continent; held its place in men's memory and reverence during the dark ages; and formed, on the revival of learning, the object of the eagerest study in the principal universities. It has since then furnished the groundwork of their jurisprudence not only to the "Latin states" of the Continent—France, Spain, Italy—but to Germany and Scotland. More than this, it has supplied the canonists with the principal portion of the instruments by which the great corporation, known as the Catholic Church, has been built up and perpetuated; it has furnished the principles by which nearly all civilized states regulate those great departments of human affairs included under the terms marriage and testamentary disposition; and it has given England and America the basis of their commercial law, and has furnished international law with nearly all its leading rules and with much of its terminology. If the great tribunal of which so many of us now dream, which is to decide all controversies between states and put an end to war, is ever set up, it will be in the Roman Law mainly that the advocates will find the materials for their arguments and the judges the reasons for their decisions.

It is no wonder, then, that as the barriers between nations erected by local custom and by tradition, and by difference of manners and ideas and language and religion, begin to fall away, the great storehouse from which so many ages have drawn legal wisdom should begin to be more and more resorted to. In Germany, as our readers know, the Civil Law is already the subject of an extraordinary amount of study at the universities, not only for its relation to the jurisprudence of the various German states, but as a means of mental culture, and for its use in ethical, historical, and classical studies. In England, after having been neglected for centuries, it is rising once more into importance, under the influence of the general alienation from the worship of precedents so long the most striking phenomenon of English politics and society, and growing power of utilitarian views of legislation.

Mr. James Bryce, already well-known in this country as the author of "The History of the Holy Roman Empire," and now professor of the Civil Law at Oxford, has opened his course by the lecture before us, which is attracting a good deal of attention from the English public, and in which the claims of the Civil Law on the attention not only of the lawyer and politician, but of the man in search of general culture, are asserted with great force and lucidity; and he lays down the proposition, which, doubtless, will startle many, but which can hardly be questioned, that such is the value of an acquaintance with a system of *principles* to any man entering even on the study of the English Common Law, that of two students, one of whom goes to work in the usual way at English law alone, and the other of whom begins with the study of the Civil Law and constructs from it a foundation on which his case law is afterwards to be built up, the latter will, at the end of three years, "prove to be not only a better jurist but as good an English lawyer." "The conspicuous merit of the Roman Law is," says Mr. Bryce, "that it is clear and intelligible. It is a system, instead of a mere congeries of rules and dicta—a system which, although it cannot be exhausted by the labor of a powerful intellect during a long life, may be mastered in its outline and leading principles in six or eight months of properly directed industry. A philosophical mind is at-

* "The Academical Study of the Civil Law. An Inaugural Lecture, delivered at Oxford by James Bryce, D.C.L., Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford." London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

tracted by its symmetry; the taste is pleased by the graceful propriety of its diction; the learner's interest is kept awake by watching the skill and subtlety wherewith its technical rules are manipulated and kept in harmony with the dictates of equity and common sense."

The study of the Civil Law, out of Louisiana and Lower Canada, is, we need hardly say, scarcely known on this continent. In the general decline of interest in legal and political science which the last twenty years have witnessed, it could hardly be expected to obtain much recognition. In Philadelphia, we believe, a few faithful disciples keep the old lamp burning in the midst of the general indifference. Here, where some of our ablest jurists are absorbed in the task of fighting the battles of thieves and ruffians before judges whom they have corrupted, the Pandects, we need hardly say, have little chance of attention. Indeed, we doubt whether the Civilians to be found in the whole Northern States might not be counted on one's fingers. There are, however, signs of a better day. Professor Hadley, of Yale College, has, for some time past, lectured on the Roman Law to his own classes, and, we are glad to say, has now been invited to deliver a university course at Harvard, which, we trust, will have the effect of rousing the interest of young men in this splendid application of pure morality to the tangled web of human affairs.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW FOR APRIL.

THE first article in the current number, called "An Erie Raid," is by Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., and ought to be read in connection with the fifth, on "Lawyer and Client," by Mr. Albert Stickney, of the New York bar. Lawyers have found in General Barlow's letters to the *Tribune*, what the laity may find in these articles, an exposure of the most terrible system of organized fraud, corruption, and violence that what we are pleased to call the civilized world has ever seen. Most of the facts recounted in the *North American* have already appeared, but these two articles put them in a novel and interesting light. Mr. Adams gives, in "An Erie Raid," a pictorial or dramatic form to events which elsewhere have been produced only in their legal or historical order, while Mr. Stickney explains for the benefit of the public the legal transactions connected with the Albany and Susquehanna conflict, in a manner which brings out more clearly than has been elsewhere possible the true nature of these transactions. Our space prevents us from giving our readers any adequate idea of the scope of these articles, and we are obliged to content ourselves with a single extract from Mr. Stickney's, which strikes us as particularly well put. After giving an account of the well-known writ of assistance which was telegraphed from New York to Albany by Mr. Shearman, he says:

"But how far is this to go? You can obtain your writ with the evidence at one end of the telegraph, and the writ at the other end. You can execute your writ with the original at one end, and the sheriff with the copy at the other end. Why not do away altogether with the two useless elements, the evidence and the original writ, and get on with copies alone? Or may we make our own originals? Or may we have our writs and orders signed in blank? Among the glorious inventions of the nineteenth century will be recorded that of obtaining process of court without evidence, and executing process of court without having it. The name of the inventor is unknown; but the glory of the invention lies, as far as yet appears, between Mr. Thomas G. Shearman and Mr. David Dudley Field.

'Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.'"

The question of the title to this invention has not yet been settled, though it may be inferred from Mr. Shearman's anxiety to defend his use of the telegraph that he, at least, is willing to "go to the country" on the merits. In a letter which has appeared since "Lawyer and Client" was written, he says that service of process by telegraph is no more novel than the introduction of written process must have been to those who had from their youth been accustomed to oral orders. This question ought to be discussed by the Bar Association. The introduction of telegraphic service would be welcomed by lawyers all over the country; every lawyer could have his own galvanic battery; and few such criminals as Ramsey would escape, if not condign punishment, at least an injunction or arrest.

Ernest Gryzanovski, a gentleman whose name is new to the American public, writes a valuable article on the "Origin and Growth of Public Opinion in Prussia." Without showing what is generally known as a scientific turn of mind, it is distinguished by two excellences which are in their way quite as serviceable in political writing—remarkable descriptive power and great impartiality. No one can read this article without finding a great deal that is new and interesting; among other things, a justification of the Prussian interference in Denmark which will convince any candid American that he may as well, once for all, admit that European politics are unintelligible to him. If there is one thing that almost all thinking people in this country have been agreed upon, it has been that the Prussian descent upon Denmark was an act of ruthless wrong. The belief probably came, like most of our beliefs about Continental politics, indirectly from the English newspapers; but wherever it came from, it was entertained with all that devout conviction which opinions received on authority commonly engender. It is curious to see what Mr. Gryzanovski says about the Denmark war:

"The Prussian interference in Denmark was fully as just and as righteous as the interference of France against Austria in 1859; or, if the one was wrong, then the other was equally so. That foreigners cannot speak of this Danish war without crying, 'Fie for shame!' is a perfectly unintelligible fact. If the doctrine of nationalities is a fallacy, its enforcement in Lombardy was as wrong as its enforcement in Schleswig-Holstein. The incorrigible and persistent cant about 'poor Denmark' shows how vicious and how worthless contemporary opinion is apt to become when those who shape and influence it indulge in loose or lazy habits of thought."

Such is the conclusion of an impartial spectator, whose opportunities for understanding the question have been undoubtedly greater than ninety-nine-hundredths of the editors who formed public opinion upon it on this side of the Atlantic. The sentence we have quoted shows Mr. Gryzanovski's keen and pure style. The most curious thing about the article is the excellence of its English. Perhaps, taking everything into account, less fault could be found with the English of this article, written by a Prussian Pole, than with that of any other in the number.

The literary matter contained in the *Review* is that embraced in the "Critical Notices" and in Mr. Charlton Lewis's essay on Mr. Bryant's translation of the Iliad. Mr. Lewis makes a very good article, in which he puts clearly and forcibly the argument against believing that the Iliad, let alone the Iliad and the Odyssey together, was the work of any one man, and discusses with acuteness the various theories of translation upon which various translators have acted. "The reasonable demand upon a translator," says Mr. Lewis, "is that he shall give, in the worthiest metrical form he can command, a faithful expression of Homer's thoughts, telling the story he tells, and setting before us the characters he describes in every situation in which he placed them. He must give us, in noble English poetry, such a picture of the manners, culture, morals, and belief of the heroic age as Homer gives." By "noble English poetry" Mr. Lewis means a metrical form which is in itself fit to express the noblest sentiments, and which has been so used for this purpose by English poets as to be imperishably associated in our minds with the best imaginative products of our literature. Now, what metrical form is this, we would ask? It is not the ballad form, which was the choice of Professor Newman when he undertook the Iliad, for that is associated with all that is low, vulgar, and commonplace in the national mind. Nor is it the English hexameter, for while the Homeric hexameter is more musical and less like prose than any form of metre of which our language is capable, the English hexameter is precisely that one among our metres which resembles prose most closely. Nor is the English heroic couplet, fine as it may be, a measure into which we can put the easy flow of the noble Homeric songs. It is Miltonic blank verse, says Mr. Lewis, which most nearly answers the requirements of a translator who tries to convey to us not only Homer's thoughts, and the culture, morals, and manners of the age in which he lived, but also to produce upon us the impression which was produced upon the Greek who stood by and listened while the minstrel sang of the wrath of Achilles or the madness of Ajax. Probably this is so; and English blank verse will be in the future, as it has been in the past, the metrical form to be most favored by those who attempt English versions of the Iliad. But the more like poets the translators are, the readier will they be to confess, even in the presence of a version great as Mr. Bryant has made, that between a metre "most nearly answering the requirements of a translator" and a metre which shall enable the translator to give not only the Iliad's thought, but the Iliad's poetic charm, the distance is infinite. Metres have not so much to do with it after all. Perhaps it would be a safe thing to say that, next to a prose translation, a translation into that metre which exacts least distortion of the thought is the best. That our English blank verse merits this praise seems to us the reason why it is most to be praised as the metre for rendering any poetry for which it is not too weighty.

Of the critical notices, all are good, and two or three excellent with a high degree of excellence. Such are the reviews of Westphal's "Methodische Grammatik" and March's "Anglo-Saxon Text-Books." Of the review of White's "Words and their Uses" we may take occasion to say something at another time.

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The publication of an American edition of "Laurie's Homœopathic Domestic Medicine" was commenced about two years ago, in the *Homœopathic Sun*—a family Homœopathic Magazine—published in New York, under the editorial management of Professor F. W. Hunt, of that city. As the work appeared with the monthly parts of the magazine, it attracted great and deserved attention, and was pronounced the best and most comprehensive treatise on homœopathic domestic practice that had been issued in this country. Messrs. Boericke & Tafel, the successors of Mr. Radde, determined to discontinue the publication of the *Homœopathic Sun*, but were induced by the repeated demands for the "Domestic" to go on with that work; and, subsequently, placed it in my hands for completion. At the cost of considerable time and labor, the task has been accomplished; and I trust that the value of the original work has been greatly enhanced by the efforts made to perfect it. Chapters have been added on comparatively new diseases, and the "New Remedies" have been introduced whenever definite and accurate indications for their use could be given. The numerous alterations and additions have been prompted solely by a desire to render the work more available for domestic use; and a Repertory, or key to the remedies, has been added with the same view.

The merits of "Laurie's Homœopathic Domestic Medicine" are best attested by the popularity of the work in Great Britain, where upwards of twenty thousand copies have been sold to the most intelligent portion of the community—homœopathic families there, as well as in this country, belonging almost exclusively to the educated class of society. For the simple and ordinary ailments of life, it will be found to be all that is required in a medical treatise, while for more dangerous maladies, acute or chronic, where the services of a competent homœopathic physician are unattainable, it will prove to be perfectly clear, exact, and reliable, in the description of diseases and of their proper homœopathic treatment.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1871.

The Week.

THE session of Congress closed in the House with a more than usually repulsive row between Mr. B. F. Butler and two of his enemies, Messrs. Beck and Farnsworth, brought on, as is so often the case, by "a personal explanation" on Butler's part. The origin of the trouble was to be found in a previous row of the same estimable citizen with Garrett Davis of Kentucky in the Senate, occurring a week earlier; and the way in which this one was treated by the Republican press goes far to explain much of Butler's bad eminence and mischievous activity. Davis might be—what we understand, however, he is not, but the contrary—a quarrelsome and ill-mannered man, but he is old, and is entitled to speak in his place in the Senate without annoyance or insult as long as he observes the rules of that body. He was speaking in a perfectly proper and inoffensive manner when Butler strolled into the Chamber, planted himself close to him, and right in front of him, and began to gaze fixedly at him. Now, Butler's expression of face is not prepossessing, and when turned on an enemy is not soothing or exhilarating, and Davis hated him—he knew he hated him, and doubtless meant to annoy him, and did annoy him very effectually—so effectually that Davis began to curse and swear and made preparations to pummel him; whereupon Senator Wilson interfered, and led Butler gently away. A more inexcusable outrage has rarely been perpetrated in a legislative body, or in fact any deliberative body whatever, than Butler's performance was under the circumstances; and yet the majority of the Republican papers came down far harder on Davis than on Butler; in fact, as far as our observation has gone, few, if any, seemed to think Butler was to blame. Davis, as might have been expected, made a subsequent attack on him in the Senate; this led Butler to make a "personal explanation" in the House; and this led Beck to reply, by bringing up a story of one of Butler's "frauds," and there then followed a bout of billingsgate, in which Farnsworth of Illinois took part, and in which Butler got horribly mauled, and lost his temper, and was reduced at the close to the necessity of telling Farnsworth that he was "not a white man," the House all the while roaring with laughter.

When we consider that there is probably not a man in the United States that would say he respected Butler, or had the slightest confidence in him, that his attempts at legislation have all displayed wickedness and folly in about equal proportions, and that he has probably done as much to debase the tone of public life at Washington as any ten of the worst men who have ever made their appearance in Congress, the tender indulgence with which the press treats him is highly discreditable, and very mischievous as well. It is bad enough, in all conscience, to have such a man returned by a Massachusetts constituency, but when the leading papers of the party of moral ideas always treat him as a simple oddity, and his tricks and dodges as the playful gambols of a rich and exuberant nature, they help greatly to lower the public standard of statesmanship, and open political life to charlatans and rogues of all degrees. The *Tribune* has at last, apropos of this last affair, spoken of him as he deserves. If the respectable Republican press would only give him his due, the task of finishing him might apparently be left to Mr. Farnsworth, who is evidently too much for him, and rejoices in hunting him with a savage joy.

The Supreme Court has, it is now positively announced, decided—five against four judges—that the Legal Tender Act was constitutional; that is, reversing the decision of the court last year, which denied the applicability of the act to contracts made before its passage. Of course, if constitutional with regard to these, it is *à fortiori* constitutional with regard to contracts made since its passage. Judges Miller, Swayne, Davis, Bradley, and Strong are said to form the majority—the Chief-Justice, whose health we are glad to say is nearly restored—and Judges Nelson, Clifford, and Field dissenting. There will be two opinions published, of course, but not till December. The act will now be sustained by the same majority—that is, one—which in the former decision overruled it, and it is certainly as ridiculous to allow one man to mulct all the creditors in the country in February, 1862, of from twenty-five to fifty per cent. of their dues, and shake confidence in all contracts, and reverse a decision of the Supreme Court, as to allow one man to set aside the construction placed by Congress on a clause of the Constitution. The present action of the Court is to be deplored, (1) because this sudden reversal of a former judgment, which had been maturely considered after full argument, will weaken popular respect for all decisions of the Court, including this last one; (2) because the value of a judgment does not depend on the number of judges who concur in it—judges being weighed, not counted, and because the rehearing of a cause in consequence of the number of judges having been increased is peculiarly, and for obvious reasons, objectionable, where the number is dependent on the will of the very body whose acts the Court has to review, and which in this very case it is reviewing; and (3) because the judges who have been added to the bench since the former decision are men who were at the bar when that decision was rendered, and were interested professionally and personally in having a different decision. We do not mean to insinuate that this has affected their judgment, but we do say that it is not enough for a judge to be pure; he must be likewise above suspicion; that is, he must not only be honest, but must give no man any reason for thinking him otherwise than honest.

It is rumored that the High Commission has completed its work, and provided machinery of some kind—what kind no outsider seems yet to know—for the settlement of all the outstanding controversies between Great Britain and the United States, viz., the *Alabama* claims, the fisheries, the San Juan boundary, and the British claim for damages sustained by British subjects during the war. If it be true that they are all to be included in one treaty, it must be regarded as unfortunate, inasmuch as some are much harder to settle than others. It seems a pity to provide that if all cannot be settled, none shall be. What will be the fate of the treaty before the Senate, it is useless to try to predict. There are several powerful influences adverse to any settlement at all. One is sheer hostility to England, and desire to have her on the hip somehow; another is the extravagance of the expectations which have been excited as to the sort of satisfaction which America ought to exact, and England ought to give, in the *Alabama* matter, but which there is no chance of any treaty meeting; another is the extreme lowness of the figure which the *Alabama* damages reach when put down in dollars and cents compared to what the popular mind fancies them to be; and, still more, the fact that the money will nearly all go to insurance companies, some of which are English. In fact, it will be very difficult for Mr. Sumner, for instance, to vote for any plan the Commission is likely to have to offer without palpable loss of dignity; if he does, it will bear a little too strong a resemblance to the course of the gentleman who asked the President to appoint him to the Paris mission, but contented himself finally with a suit of old clothes. Still, it is not well to take too despondent a view of the matter. It is said, however, that he has been made acquainted with what has been done, and approves. The United States has been well represented in the negotiation, and it is not likely that the American Commissioners have made any concession which is not capable of vigorous and effective defence before the American public. We have only to repeat the expression of our belief that if it can be shown that differences so grave between two such nations can be settled in this way, the gain to peace and civilization will be worth double their whole shipping, and more, as it will make war hereafter impossible.

The Democratic party has long been accused of want of principle, but it would seem, if we may judge from the address just issued by the Democratic members of the House and Senate, as if their greatest want just now was want of brains. No feebler state paper has made its appearance in the United States for some time. They might, if they had a man of even fair literary or dialectical skill amongst them, have made out a pretty strong case against the Republican party on various grounds, but its errors have apparently been of no use to them whatever. They charge it, in the style of a third-rate editorial article in a party organ, with the unprecedented multiplication of offices; the subordination of "moral worth" (this, it must be confessed, is tolerably barefaced) to "dishonorable compliance" in the selection of officers; with dishonesty in the collection of the revenue; with the unnecessary retention of taxation; with causing the shipping interest to "languish"; with "prostrating" the agriculturists by protective duties; with waste in the disposal of the public lands; with having conferred despotic powers on the Executive, and overthrown local self-government; with having done everything a "malicious ingenuity" could suggest to "irritate" the people of the Southern and Middle States, and having accompanied hostile legislation by no word of reconciliation. They warn their constituents not to aid the Radical partisans in stirring up "strife in the land," and accuse the party in power of having spent in the five years following the war, for ordinary purposes, a sum within $200,000,000 of the aggregate amount spent for the same purposes, in war and peace, during the seventy-one years preceding June, 1861—a curiously fallacious statement, which has not even the merit of ingenuity.

The framers of the address might have done much for constitutional government, and, above all, for local self-government, by a few words of remonstrance and warning addressed to their friends at the South on the subject of Ku-klux operations, but not a syllable of this kind does it contain. How necessary something of the kind is has been strikingly proved by a remarkable letter—in fact, the most remarkable piece of evidence about the condition of the South we have seen of late—which appeared in the *Tribune* on Tuesday, from a Mr. Luce, who went down to North Carolina to farm and establish iron-works—and, in short, appears to have been exactly the kind of Northern immigrant the South wants and is constantly clamoring for. He abstained from all meddling in politics, went diligently to work to develop the resources of the country; but, being in thinly-settled region, opened a church on his land, and got an Episcopal minister—an ex-Confederate officer, by-the-way—to officiate in it, and set up a Sunday-school for negroes, but carefully excluded politics or anything relating to it from the course of instruction. The school was attended with great eagerness, and all going well, when Ku-kluxing began in every direction around him. The negroes were flogged and shot at. He appealed to the leading Democrats in the neighborhood, and they refused to do anything for him, and he was finally warned that he would be hanged if he persisted in teaching negroes, and his family were so terrified that he had to shut up his church and Sunday-school.

Coming North on business, "the neighbors" put their heads together in his absence, and had him adjudged an absconding debtor, without any proper foundation in fact, and his goods and works seized. Thus ended an industrial enterprise of great promise, and of just the kind the South wants, the inhabitants of the district in which it was started showing themselves little better than a parcel of howling barbarians. Some of us here think this sort of disease can be cured by martial law, and that when the President issues his proclamation declaring the district in rebellion, and sends down soldiers, the people will rapidly begin to love education, justice, equality, and negroes, and to help to build up churches and schools. We suppose this delusion must run its course; but that we should have to wait for it to do so is sad enough. The cure for it all is education and experience of the material misery that comes from Ku-kluxery. A vote of money by Congress to enable all persons who were desirous of doing so to quit disturbed districts and settle elsewhere, would, we have no doubt, do more to pacify the South than an army of 100,000 men, and if Federal money is going to be spent in this work of pacification, it is in some such way it ought to be spent. It is in this way—that is, by the loss of population and money through local disorders—that the South must learn wisdom.

[Miss Hosmer, the sculptor, has written a singularly ill-judged and angry letter to the *Tribune* in defence of Miss Vinnie Ream, insinuating that the attack on Miss Ream and her statue are due to mean male spite and jealousy. The *Tribune* replies that "every sculptor of repute" condemns the statue, which may or may not be true, but does not affect the most important question. Miss Ream is not the first sculptor who has made a bad statue—even sculptors of repute have done so. The scandal and shame of this case are that Congress, having to erect a monument in the National Capital to one of the two most famous Americans—the one perhaps whose name is most widely known and will be longest remembered—passed by a dozen American sculptors of well-earned eminence, and gave the work to a pretty girl, who wanted to be a sculptor, but had never made a statue at all, and of whose ability nobody could tell much if anything.

Domestic trade continues moderately active in dry goods and groceries, but quiet and unsatisfactory in most other branches. The decline in prices of raw materials and in wages has, however, caused a revival in some of our exports of manufactured goods, and in several branches manufacturers are employed on foreign orders, a circumstance unknown for some years past. The cotton receipts continue on a liberal scale, and prices are about steady under large export orders and great strength in the Liverpool market, in spite of the heavy stocks. Breadstuffs and meats are both lower, the former yielding gradually under the prospect of large receipts from the interior, where heavy stores are accumulated, and of bountiful crops this season, which so far promise exceedingly well—the latter falling considerably, owing to the breaking-up of a great speculative movement in this city, which has held the price unnaturally high ever since the new crop came in. Fresh meat keeps cheap, and butter and cheese have likewise again declined, though city consumers scarcely as yet get the full benefit, owing to the great scarcity of really good dairy products of every description. There is no decided change in the situation of the coal region. Many of the iron furnaces have gone out of blast, and the iron men have held three or four meetings to agree upon an advanced scale of prices; but the limited demand helps them but little.

Financial affairs are marked by continued excitement among the professional habitués of Wall Street, where the cliques have again put up the prices of all leading stocks from two to five per cent. without rhyme or reason, and without attracting the large outside public, to whom they hoped to sell. Money continues extremely easy. Greenbacks are coming in from all quarters where dull business renders them useless, and general inflation is the order of the day. But neither the Treasury influence nor the reckless bank management seems to affect the ordinary course of the majority of people, who pursue their legitimate trades without being led away as during past years. Erie has furnished another brief excitement by the announcement, forced from them by the disclosures now going on before the Master in Chancery, that they have issued and sold three millions of new stock without giving the previous thirty-day notice required by the New York Stock Exchange, which should deprive them of the right to have their stock dealt in. But the Exchange, for some mysterious reason, has not yet stricken Erie from the list. The funding proceeds by dreary driblets. The specie exports to Europe have been large.

The only recent occurrence of moment in the French civil war is the fight at Asnières, April 18. At that place, situated on the left

bank of the Seine, in the Gennevilliers peninsula, half-way between the forts of St. Denis and Mont Valérien, the insurgents had erected considerable defensive works, consisting chiefly of huge barricades armed with mitrailleuses. These works were destined mainly to cover the various approaches to the bridge over the Seine, which they held. Having no cavalry, however, the insurgents were unable to reconnoitre, and ignorant of the fact that MacMahon's troops had erected heavy batteries against them at Gennevilliers and Colombes, north and northwest of Asnières. These opened suddenly a terrible fire upon their right flank and front, while two attacking columns advanced against their positions. The Parisians answered the cross-fire only by one volley from their mitrailleuses, and soon began a hasty retreat across the Seine. Their commander, Dombrowski, sent for reinforcements, and vigorously renewed the contest, leading a desperate assault in person, but in vain. They were forced from their positions on the left bank, with heavy loss. It appears, however, that the Versailles troops did not occupy the village of Asnières, but entrenched themselves west of it, on the railroad leading to Colombes, thus securing their left flank in their operations at Neuilly, which, on the 20th, became the scene of an obstinate fight, without decisive results. The insurgents continue to hold their barricades in front of the Maillot Gate, in spite of the shells from Mont Valérien, but the Versailles troops are in possession of both banks of the Seine from Château Becon to Suresnes. Further south, cannonading alone seems to be the order of the day.

From all before us it seems clear that the forces of the Versailles Government, though making but very slow headway, have had the advantage in almost all the conflicts with the insurgents since the beginning of hostilities. Cluseret, however, has his official say to the contrary about every single fight, and, to hear him, nothing can be more admirable than the behavior of the insurgent National Guards under fire. But this the insurgent National Guards themselves have excellent reasons to doubt, and somehow they have also begun to doubt the admirable qualities of their improvised Minister of War, Cluseret, himself. He appears to them rather slow in organizing victory, and the suspicion has arisen that his doings and omissions are prompted by a desire to make himself dictator—a dignity for which there is, in Paris, no lack of candidates, we presume. The Montmartre battalions of the National Guard, we are told, have, besides, their separate grievances; they complain of excessive work and defective arms, and of encroachments on the part of the Belleville battalions. Dissatisfaction is rapidly becoming general within the domain of the Commune. The late partial elections have disclosed this fact beyond doubt. Disgusted with their result, the great Félix Pyat threatens to resign. Tolain, on the other hand, is rejected by the Internationals as a "traitor to the working-classes." And against this general dissatisfaction even the new court-martial, "with summary powers," is unable to prevail. We therefore notice a considerable falling off of revolutionary pluck in the doings of the Commune. Churches have been allowed to be reopened and suppressed journals to reappear; imprisoned curés have been released, and funds robbed from the gas company restored with an apology—reactionary proceedings unworthy of "Paris once more laboring and suffering for the regeneration of France."

The spirit of revolution thus waxing milder from day to day—the increasing scarcity of provisions may have something to do with it—Paris, we hear, is inclined to treat with "the assassins of Versailles" on the following basis: "The maintenance of the Republic; the granting of communal rights to Paris and other cities, and the autonomy of the National Guards; the dissolution of the Assembly, and the election of a National Communal Representative Assembly in its stead; the formation of *ad interim* governments for Paris and Versailles," etc. And it is not unlikely that even more modest terms would now be acceptable to the somewhat tired and hungry followers of Blanqui, Ranc, Grousset, Eudes, Cluseret, and Co., though possibly not to those eminently patriotic and unselfish leaders themselves. Thiers, however, obstinately refuses to recognize the Commune as an authority to treat with, though declaring that his generals had power to grant a military truce whenever it should become necessary. According to a late report, a suspension of hostilities has actually been arranged at Neuilly, but only for a transient purpose. Hostile preparations continue to be made on both sides, the Versailles troops steadily receiving reinforcements from the provinces, and the insurgents augmenting and strengthening their barricades and batteries both within and without the *enceinte*. The Germans, who still occupy the forts north and east of Paris, show little disposition to favor the insurgents; but they are also inflexible in demanding the strictest execution of the preliminaries, which delays both the definitive conclusion of peace and the return of the French captives from Germany. Marshal Canrobert has joined MacMahon. General Ducrot has resigned, and Félix Douai takes his place.

The affairs of the Catholic Church seem to be reaching something very like a crisis in Germany, where the Ultramontanists are beginning to show themselves as a distinct political party, mustering about sixty strong in the Imperial Reichstag, and making the duty of the Empire to interfere in Italy for the restoration of the Pope the cardinal article in their creed. On this point they divided the chamber in voting the address in reply to the Emperor's speech. They are, however, by no means an influential body, and their following out-of-doors is small, and mostly confined to Eastern Prussia and Bavaria. They were beaten on various grounds, but most markedly on the ground that the creation of the Empire, and the bloody war which had preceded it, were distinct and solemn declarations of the duty and expediency of non-intervention in the affairs of other states. Another striking sign of the times is a division among the Poles on the Papal question, an anti-Papal party having sprung up among them at last, and the lower clergy in Bohemia are said to be rapidly going into opposition to the Papacy also under the pressure of the National Czech movement.

The most exciting incident in German politics, however, and indeed we may say in European politics (for the civil war in France has lost most of its political interest), is the attitude taken up by Dr. Döllinger, the famous Catholic theologian—we might say the greatest living Catholic theologian and scholar—towards the Pope. The latter has called on him to submit himself to the decisions of the late Council, and particularly to that touching Papal infallibility. This Döllinger has, in a long and able, and even threatening, letter flatly refused to do, both as Christian, theologian, historian, and citizen, and he insists on being summoned before a council of German bishops—which there is talk of convening at Fulda—or before a conference of theologians at Munich, where he offers to prove that the doctrine of infallibility is opposed to the teachings of the Scriptures, and to the first thousand years of Christian tradition, and to have been introduced into the church by shameless fraud. He declares, moreover, that the doctrines which are now put forth with regard to the relations of church and state would, if an attempt were made to apply them to the new German Empire, either prove fatal to religion or to society, and he refuses to accept or advocate them. The Council of Bishops is certainly to meet, and is to take into consideration the coercive measures proper to be adopted against laymen and priests refusing to acknowledge the Pope's infallibility; the relations of the church and the new empire; the convocation of a synod composed of the Austrian, Hungarian, and Polish bishops next fall, and the establishment of a new Catholic university at Fulda. It is already freely predicted that this council will resemble the famous Diet of Worms in more ways than one. Dr. Döllinger, we are sorry to say, is over seventy years old, but he has plenty of vitality, and will probably live to fight this fight out. The commencement of it is one more illustration of the wonderful way in which Germany is becoming the scene in which some of the most interesting problems of European government, and osiety are to be studied, if not solved.

POLICE DUTY.

THE Force Bill has been passed, and has received the President's signature, and is now a law, and, though it has undergone some modifications since we discussed it in detail last week, its most objectionable features have been retained, and particularly that which enables the President to suspend the habeas corpus and declare martial law whenever the occasion seems to him to call for it. The course of a considerable portion of the Republican press with regard to it has been so discreditable, and the readiness of the public—owing to the general confidence that the powers with which it arms the President will not be abused—to let it pass without protest is so widespread, that we cannot help calling attention once more to one or two of the remote dangers with which this legislation threatens us; and it will be seen that they constitute reasons of the strongest kind why the act should be repealed by the Republican majority as soon as Congress meets.

On the 13th of February, 1866, the Joint Committee on Reconstruction reported through Mr. Bingham the following amendment to the Constitution:

"ARTICLE —. The Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to secure to the citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and to all persons in the several States equal protection in the rights of life, liberty, and property."

If this had been adopted and ratified, it would have afforded justification for that portion of the Force Act which charges the General Government with the policing of the States, though not that portion which makes the President a dictator. But it was not adopted. It was found impossible to get Congress to recommend such a sweeping change in the Constitution, and the consideration of it was postponed indefinitely a fortnight later by 110 to 37. A month afterwards the present Fourteenth Amendment was reported, and for the above section the following was substituted:

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

This, it will be seen, is a prohibition imposed on the States with regard to a certain kind of legislation, and the effect of it simply, as we pointed out last week, is to make all such legislation null and void, and empower all persons aggrieved by it to appeal to the courts to have it set aside. The majority in Congress has, however, actually gone to work and legislated as if the amendment which was rejected had been adopted and ratified, and as if the powers of police which the Constitution reserves to the States had been transferred to the General Government, although it had previously, by the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Enforcement Act of May, 1870, as amended by the act of February, 1871, exercised all the power of legislation for the enforcement of the new amendments which anybody until now ever claimed or pretended that it possessed.

We freely concede that General Grant is not the man to abuse his dictatorship. We have no doubt that when he uses it he will use it honestly for the protection of life and property, but we refuse to treat this as a serious argument in defence of such a measure. It is one of the stock arguments by which imperialism justifies itself, and ought never to be heard issuing from the mouth of an American. That so many Americans should use it shows how rapidly people have been losing hold, under the influence of the excitement of the last few years, of the principles on the supremacy of which free government has always and everywhere depended, and, it is safe to presume, will always and everywhere depend. We acknowledge, too, that it sounds well to talk of "putting forth the whole power of the Government to protect the downtrodden and oppressed," and that if the whole power of the Government is put forth there will, as long as it is put forth, probably be some diminution of Ku-kluxing at the South. But the danger is, that if we do this long enough to bring the negroes and Unionists of the South any real relief, we shall destroy completely in the minds of the people of the Southern States all sense of responsibility for the local preservation of order, and this once destroyed, centralization becomes a matter of necessity. We ought not to forget that it is not to the goodness of the laws that the success of republican institutions on this continent has been due, *but to the habits of the people*, and notably to the habit which every man has of looking on the work of local police as his personal affair. This is the distinctive feature of American society. It is in a less degree a distinctive feature of English society, and the result of it is that government in America and England is free and successful, while government in France and Spain and Germany and South America is either not free or not successful. The contrivance by which the framers of the Constitution sought to preserve this habit, and at the same time build up a great central authority, was, perhaps, one of the happiest displays of the application of wisdom and experience to the work of politics ever witnessed. The present attempt, therefore, to undo their work, and destroy, root and branch, what they did all they could to preserve and foster, must be pronounced one of the greatest pieces of self-stultification ever witnessed. It makes all the difference between the success and failure of free institutions, whether, when my house is robbed or my life attempted, I and my neighbors join the sheriff to hunt down the criminal, or whether we shut our doors, and go about our business, and wait for the Minister of the Interior to send gendarmes and a prefect to work the case up. Even the feeling which sends men—as it often does at the West—disguised to the jail when there seems likely to be failure of justice, take out a thief or murderer and hang him up, is one which no wise man would weaken. It contains—wild, and reckless, and lawless as it is—the foundation on which alone any sure and lasting combination of law and order must rest. Things can never in any community go far wrong as long as the men of each county and each State say and think, "It is our business to see that the high-roads in this region are safe, that men sleep securely in their houses, and go tranquilly about their lawful affairs; that the people's writs run freely, and that the course of justice is not hindered." Destroy this way of talking and thinking, and teach men to look to Washington or any other capital for order and safety, and you will, under favorable circumstances, and as the best you can expect, get a government like that of France; under unfavorable circumstances, such as a division of population into two races and the prevalence of turbulent habits, you may expect a government like that of Mexico; and this, too, is the best you need expect.

But what if the people of the locality will not preserve order, and if a large proportion of the population, and that the most powerful and energetic, are actually engaged in the commission or encouragement of acts of violence against person or property? We answer, that if we found this to be the state of things, and if we had made up our minds, as the majority in Congress seems to have done, that we would sacrifice anything, even our liberty or the supremacy of the laws, in order to put an immediate stop to it, and were ready to appoint a dictator with full power to deal with it as he thought proper, as the majority in Congress has done, we should, without hesitation and in full confidence in the principle on which the American Government has thus far been administered, send for the Ku-klux and other malcontents, and hand the government of the disturbed State over to them bodily. If immediate peace and quiet be all we want—and we are determined to have them at any cost—this is the thing to do, and it is the only thing to do which will give us what we seek without fatally weakening the habit of self-government. For to all its other defects, the plan now resolved upon adds the capital one of being certain to fail. We venture to assert that not a man of those who voted for it believes in his heart that the expiration of this outrageous act will leave the colored people of the South one whit better off than it found them.

There is one other consideration to which it is impossible to do full justice in an article like this, but which few thinking men need to have discussed at length. Anybody who reads attentively the ablest and most influential of the papers which zealously support the Republican party—say the New York *Tribune* and *Times* and *Harper's Weekly*—will find that they justify their support largely by pointing out the dreadful consequences which would probably result from the accession of the Democrats to power. Judging from all one can see and hear, their apprehensions are well founded. We know of nothing

in the sayings or doings of the Democratic party to make its supremacy wear any other appearance than that of a great misfortune to the nation. The papers we have mentioned, above all things, denounce it for its unscrupulousness, its indifference to constitutional obligations, and its close alliance with or patronage of the worst and most dangerous elements in American society. But, then, they acknowledge, too, that its accession to power is by no means a very improbable contingency. The South is Democratic, and becomes daily more so; there is a very powerful Democratic vote in nearly all the Northern States, except Massachusetts and Iowa. The liquor interest, and that now most portentous of all the "interests" which threaten the basis of American society and government—the Catholic interest—and in this State the criminal and corrupt interest, look to the Democratic party as the one which is to give them what they want, and swell its ranks every day. In the meantime, the Republican party grows sensibly weaker under the decline in importance of the questions on which it rose into power, and under the steady rise of others in which its members are greatly and increasingly divided. Under these circumstances, the disaster with which Republican journals are constantly threatening us, and to avert which they are incessantly beseeching us to pardon the faults and shortcomings of the party, may any day overtake us. No man can tell how soon he may see a Democratic majority in Congress, and a Democratic President in the White House, and Tweed and Sweeny installed in Washington as "the power behind the throne." Now, when this comes to pass, what shall we have between us and all we most dread but the restrictions of the Constitution and the popular reverence for it and for the courts which interpret and enforce it? What is to prevent the nullification of the reconstruction legislation, the relegation of the negroes to serfdom, the repudiation of the public debt, the appropriation of money for church endowments, and the suppression of obnoxious minorities by military force, except the general acquiescence in and general fidelity to the principle that the Constitution is something higher than the will of the majority for the time being—something not only more sacred, but more valuable, than the idea of any man or body of men of abstract justice or truth or humanity? Is it not, with this prospect looming up, be it never so remotely, little short of madness to go to work to forge weapons which, harmless or useful as they may be in the hands of Grant, Blair or Sweeny or Wood might yet wield; to cultivate for the gratification of vague metaphysical notions about the powers and duties of government that disregard of contracts and conventions, and decisions and conventional obligations, which has thus far done more than all else to make good governments rare and short-lived?

WHAT WINANS'S REPLY OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN.

"Dear Brethren inside Politics:

"I was at first greatly surprised by the show of indignation made by you over my recent action in the Assembly. I acknowledge that I have been bought up by Tweed at a pretty good price, and that my conduct, on the whole, has in this matter been, judged by the standard in use among some people, very disgraceful. But then I did not, from what I know of you, expect *you* to take a severe view of it. You are practical men; I am a practical man; and you must, therefore, feel that it is rather funny to have you calling me, as you have been doing, 'a traitor, perjurer, and rogue,' 'a stench in the nostrils of all honest men,' 'a shameless scoundrel,' 'a poor, small-souled scoundrel,' 'a poor wretch,' 'a contemptible political traitor,' 'a prime scamp'; and to say of me, as you have been saying, that 'I shall be spurned from all decent association'; that, 'like Cain, I shall be a wanderer on the face of the earth'; and that, 'unless I am as cowardly as I am base, I will go out and hang myself'; that 'my descendants will curse my memory'; that, 'in that delightful fraternity inaugurated by Judas Iscariot, and in which figure Mr. Benedict Arnold and other honored gentlemen who have sold themselves body and breeches for pieces of silver, I shall find congenial companionship'; that 'my best plan is to cross the seas and live in exile'; that 'nothing of a political nature has so stunned the country since the dark days of the Revolutionary War as my base betrayal of the highest interests of the State.' I was, too, rather startled to hear from one of you that, when hereafter I go to a hotel, and write down 'my infamous name' in the book, 'the gentlemanly clerk will turn pale with scorn as he assigns me a room, and that a crowd will instantly gather round to gaze at me,' and that 'if I ever enter a house of worship, the whole congregation will gaze at me with horror, and in Christian pity will mumble a prayer in my behalf.' When I first read all this I was disposed to get mad over it; but I took it over to Bill Tweed, and we went through it together, and it gave us a good laugh, I assure you; for Bill was certain you were joking, and I am now persuaded myself that you were; but lest the public at large should not see the point, he advised me to put down on paper two or three of the reasons why I don't care what you say about me, and why your abuse of me sounds very ludicrous to those who know you as well as I do.

"In the first place, brethren, you never expected me to be incorruptible; and your pretending to be as much shocked and astonished by it as the disciples were by the treachery of Judas Iscariot is—forgive me the expression—very impudent on your part. You know very well that I have been for many years, and still am, an employee of the Erie Railroad, and that I was elected last year to my place in the Legislature by the influence of the road. You know, too, that when the present Erie managers allow one of their men to go to the Legislature, and do everything they can to get him returned, it is not with the view of having him set the other members an example of probity, or pass his time in prayer and meditation. You had, in fact, every reason for believing that I went to the Legislature to help out their schemes, and that I would help them out whenever it was necessary, at whatever cost; so that your now pretending that you thought me a rock of integrity, though a joke, is too much of a practical joke to be really good. If you were all to gather round Satan, and weep and wail because you had found him cut in a lie, you might think it good sport; but he would certainly consider it insulting, and resent it. I find, also, the immense importance you pretend to attach to my calling myself a Republican as an aggravation of my offence, a little too ridiculous for my taste. The fuss you are making is all based on the theory that Republicans are all incorruptible, and that when a Republican member of the Legislature takes a bribe, it is like the fall of an angel or of an apostle.

"The fact is, brethren, that if, the day before Jim Irving hit Weed in the face, you had been asked how many members there were in the Assembly who would not take a bribe, there is not one of you who would have put the number at more than ten, all told; nevertheless, you barefacedly pretended to believe that the whole sixty-five who signed the pledge to vote against Tweed's bills could in no way be induced to give way—whereas not one of you expected them all to hold out, and each of you was wondering which of them would have the pluck to surrender first and claim the money.

"You are well aware that the Republican members of the Legislature have for years past been as corrupt as any; and that, without this, the Tammany Ring could never have got possession of the State as it has done; all of which makes your horror over me very clever, but not genuine. Your display of it is made all the more comical by the fact that a large proportion of the active members of the party in New York city are, and have long been, as I am now, in the pay of the Tammany Ring, and are well known in all your ward meetings, caucuses, and conventions as 'Tammany Republicans,' and work steadily for Tammany interests. Your wondering over me, therefore, as if I was an ornithorhynchus, or a dodo, is simply absurd. You are as familiar with my kind of politician as you are with the common domestic turkey or goose of the barn-yard. Considering the kind of people, too, the hotel clerks assign rooms to without growing pale, and the kind of people church members take the communion with, I doubt very much whether my appearance in hotels and churches will make such a sensation as you are pleased to predict.

"Shall I now tell you plainly why I do not care two straws for your abuse of me, and why I even enjoy it? It is that you have no penalties left in your possession for the punishment of such offences as mine, and that you are estopped by your own acts from treating me as a really bad or dishonored man. You have, brethren, for some years

back, been trying to manage the party on the theory that a person may be a very estimable politician and yet a very great scoundrel. You have, consequently, elevated to high places and honors men whose lives have been stained by every description of infamy and vice, whose word no man believes, and the mention of whose honor would excite laughter wherever they are known. You have done this simply because, after a long career of rascality, begun in early youth, and protracted to the decline of life, they joined you when you became the winning side, and there was plainly more to be made by supporting you than by opposing you. Your leading journals, who are now pouring vituperation on me, never speak of these men, I am glad to say, except in terms of respect, and thus they render their own treatment of me perfectly harmless. By suspending the ordinary laws of morality, and setting aside the ordinary tests of character in the interests of the party, you have given me, and the like of me, just the license I need. If it makes no difference what I have done, or what I do, provided I am now 'sound,' I have all the rope I want. You never can get people to put a breach of party allegiance on the same level with theft or arson; and, if this is the worst offence I can commit, I shall speedily get over it, no matter what you say. You cannot maintain that I have damaged my moral character very seriously, because you have again and again ruled that, no matter how much a man may have lied, cheated, or stolen, he can wipe out his past, and become as good and respectable as anybody any day he pleases. Consequently, I shall be a rascal as long as Tweed, Fisk, and Gould wish me to be so; as soon as convenient I shall become suddenly good again, and take up 'a cause,' and you will have to receive me once more into regular standing. You cannot attempt to punish me more severely for a single slip, which you declare took you by surprise, than you have punished others for twenty or thirty years of solid villany. The names you call me do not affect me much, because you have bestowed them from time to time on some of the best men in the country. Newspaper 'Judases' are now as plenty as blackberries, and such of them as I happen to know, look fat, hearty, and comfortable, and seem to like being 'Judases,' and not to fear even a temporary occupancy of the conspicuous position which I now fill, of the Greatest Criminal of the Age."

OUR NATIONAL WEALTH AS REVEALED BY THE CENSUS.

The Census Bureau has so far progressed with its labors as to be able to present us with a concrete statement of the total wealth of the nation, as assessed for purposes of taxation. The figures do not give the true value of the property, as estimated by the census-takers, but they give the sum total of the valuation, as obtained from the local tax assessors of every State, upon which all State taxes are assessed. It may seem at first sight that figures coming from such a source are not of a highly trustworthy character. Indeed, we know that the assessments are very defective from the ignorance of the officials, or from their carelessness. But they are, nevertheless, of the greatest importance. Based as they are upon actual assessments upon which the payment of money depends, open as they are to correction from all injured parties, including, as they do, the whole tax-paying portion of the people, compared with whose vast numbers the intentional cases of false valuation must come to be very insignificant—these tax returns are fully as reliable as, if not far more reliable than, the loose and inconclusive returns from volunteer statements, or valuations obtained by a host of ignorant and, perhaps, incompetent census subordinates. Making allowance for the invariable practice of assessing property for tax purposes at much less than its market value, an undervaluation which is recognized and established by universal custom, if not by law, these tax-returns are considered by competent statisticians far more valuable for ascertaining the wealth of the people than those of the census. But lest exception be taken to this position, which is also denied by many, we propose, in examining the figures just published, to confine ourselves, in all comparisons, to figures obtained from the same source, so that all may be alike affected by the same objection, and the value of the comparison not invalidated.

According to these returns, the total value of property of every description in the United States in 1870, with certain exceptions to be referred to hereafter, was, in round numbers, $13,000,000,000, against $10,500,000,000 in 1860, showing an increase in value of $2,500,000,000, or less than twenty-five per cent. during the ten years. If we compare this increase with that of the previous decade, we find that, from 1850 to 1860, the increase was from $6,000,000,000 to $10,500,000,000, an increase of $4,500,000,000, or precisely seventy-five per cent. In other words, the increase in the previous decade was precisely three times as great as during the last. Prior to 1860 we were getting rich three times as fast as since 1860.

Prior to 1860 we had no debt of any consequence. We now owe, in round numbers, $2,500,000,000. If we deduct what we owe from what we possess, we find that our net possessions are about the same in 1870 as they were in 1860, in other words, that all the people in the country together have no more wealth in 1870 than they had in 1860. But as the number of people in the country has increased during that period from 30,000,000 to 40,000,000, there are now 40,000,000 of people who own no more property to-day than 30,000,000 of people owned ten years ago; in other words, the average wealth of each inhabitant of the United States is to-day twenty-five per cent. less than it was ten years ago.

However much we might be tempted to let these results stand as confirmation of all the arguments for years urged by the *Nation* in refutation of the absurd belief that we were rapidly growing rich on waste, and extravagance, and destruction, we are, nevertheless, obliged to point out that they are not necessarily conclusive as to the condition of the whole country. Although it is impossible for any part of it to be impoverished without all other parts being more or less affected in a similar manner, yet there is a nominal impoverishment which directly affects the owner without diminishing the real wealth of the country. In 1860, slaves were counted as property. Valuing five millions of slaves at an average price of $300, we could at once account for an apparent loss of 1,500 millions of dollars by the act of emancipation. Besides, the loss of the slaves rendered temporarily valueless, or at least much less valuable, great plantations and other tracts of land, which had heretofore constituted a great part of the wealth of some of the Southern States. And in addition, a large part of the loss and destruction of the war of rebellion fell most directly upon the seceding States themselves. If we, therefore, examine separately all the so-called Slave States, excluding Missouri, which was a slave State only in name, and excluding Alabama and Texas, the figures for which two latter are omitted throughout the returns, but including Virginia and West Virginia, we find that the wealth of the nine leading Southern States has actually decreased more than 1,800 millions of dollars during the decade. The South has lost in wealth; the North, East, and West have made not only the entire apparent gain, but have gained enough besides to make up the Southern loss. Separating the two sections, we say that the South has largely decreased in wealth, nearly fifty per cent., while the rest of the country has increased from 6,500 millions in 1860 to 10,800 millions in 1870, an increase of nearly 68 per cent. It will be observed that even this rate of increase falls materially behind that of the previous decade, even when leaving the debt out of consideration. Taking the debt into account, we arrive at the conclusion that the South has lost largely in wealth, while the rest of the country has increased about thirty per cent. during the decade, against an increase of seventy-five per cent. during the previous decade. This is the most favorable result to be deduced from the figures submitted by the Census Bureau.

There are some other results of interest to be derived from these statistics. The assessments separate real estate from all other kinds of property. Heretofore the increase in the wealth of the country has been far largest in the kind of property called personal, which includes railroads, bank and insurance stocks, merchandise, machinery, furniture, cattle, crops, agricultural implements, everything, in short, except the land and the buildings on it; everything that contributes most largely to the production of wealth, is the best evidence of wealth, and constitutes the truest measure of our civilization. In personal property, the increase during the last decade was ninety-five per cent. During the present decade there has been a positive decrease.

But if, remembering that the slaves were formerly counted as personal property, and that it is on this kind of property, too, that the destruction of war generally falls, we compare the position of the non-slaveholding States with that of ten years ago, we find that here personal property in these has increased about forty-seven per cent., against a corresponding increase of ninety-five per cent., or almost double, for the previous ten years. The increase in the amount and value of everything that contributes to the comfort, the well-being, the amenities, and the progress of life, has been just one-half as rapid as during the previous decade. But when we remember that real estate now contributes nothing whatever directly to the expenses of the General Government, or to the payment of interest and principal of the public debt, that, on the contrary, all United States taxes are borne by the consumers or employers of personal property, chiefly in proportion to the personal property so employed, and that the total assessed value of the entire personal property of the country is not equal to twice the amount of the national debt, it must be apparent that the increase in the personal property is not sufficient to affect the national debt.

The real estate valuation of the ten years preceding 1860 increased sixty-four per cent. at the time when the country was truly prosperous, and when personal property increased ninety-five per cent. During the ten years following 1860, when war has destroyed a large amount of wealth, and when personal property has increased only forty-seven per cent., we yet find that real estate has increased seventy-five per cent., or actually eleven per cent. more than during the previous decade. That there cannot be any true foundation for this advance in the value of real estate in a country where territory is unlimited, in a time when a large section of the country has been sunk for years in ruin, and when the true wealth of a country, its personal property, is increasing so slowly, if at all, must be evident to every one who attentively examines the subject. The value of real estate is measured almost exclusively by the prosperity of the community, all theories to the contrary notwithstanding, and for real estate to advance largely while general prosperity is nearly stationary is possible only as a result of gigantic speculation based upon widespread delusion.

The true condition of the country, as shown by the assessment statistics just published by the Census Bureau, is simply this: The progress in wealth of the entire country is not equal to the increase in the national debt, without counting the enormously increased debts of States, counties, and towns. The former slaveholding States have very materially declined in wealth. The rest of the country has advanced in wealth beyond the accumulation of the debt, about one-third as much as in the previous decade; but even this advance is chiefly due to the fictitious rise in the prices of real estate due to speculation.

THE PROSPECTIVE RATE OF INTEREST THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER OF A CENTURY.

NORWICH, April 20, 1871.

THE average rate of interest which during the next quarter of a century may be expected to prevail throughout the United States for money loaned on varying securities, is a question of no little importance to every business man, Government financier, or corporation—banks, railroad and insurance companies especially—contemplating money engagements in which the future enters as an essential element; inasmuch as the condition of all business, at all times and places, hinges upon the price or worth of capital, or its representative, money, as much as upon any other one contingency. Having recently given some thought to the question as above stated, and thinking that the facts and conclusions arrived at may be worthy of the attention of your readers and the public, I herewith submit the same for consideration.

Writers on politico-economic science are generally agreed that the principles which govern and determine the rate of interest—or, according to the common acceptation of the term, the price at which money can be hired—are, in the main, *three:* 1st, *the productiveness of labor in the community where it is employed;* 2d, *the supply and demand of capital;* 3d, *the safety or hazard of the capital when loaned;* and to these Mr. Amasa Walker, a recognized authority on these politico-economic subjects, adds a *fourth*, viz.: *The soundness of the currency.*

If these assumptions are correct, it is obvious that the answer to the question as to the future rate of interest in the United States must be sought in the application of the principles, as above stated, to the material and social condition of the country; and with this view, it is proposed to ask attention to such an application somewhat in detail:

1st. *Productiveness of Labor in the community where it is employed.* Capital, or its representative, money—which commands all other forms of capital—is essential to labor in the work of production. In fact, the productive power of labor could be carried but a very little way without capital; and, therefore, in every civilized community the two work together, or in partnership, and divide the profits from such conjoined effort between them. The standard according to which such division takes place is a varying one; but it is clear that the greater the profit accruing to labor, the greater will be the amount which it can afford to pay to capital for its use, and generally the greater the amount of capital which it will both desire and be able to use. Now, in the United States the productiveness of labor, or the result of the industry of the people, is greater than in any other country, and consequently capital here obtains its largest reward or rate of interest; while in other countries, like France, Germany, and Belgium, where the returns of labor are small, interest is always comparatively low. Thus, the agriculturist of Europe who borrows at five per cent. is well content if the products of his land and labor afford him a living, and sufficient beside to make good waste and pay the hire of his capital; but in the United States, on the contrary, the agriculturist who pays *ten* or, as sometimes the case, *twenty* per cent. for his capital, not unfrequently pays off all his indebtedness with the proceeds of a single crop, leaving the land and its improvements to represent the profit resulting from his labor and the use of capital borrowed at what may seem an excessive, but which in reality proves to be a comparatively cheap, rate of interest. The question of moment under this head, then, is, How long will the natural resources of the country continue to so abundantly supplement the industry of the people as to make it an object for them to offer large inducements for the loan and use of capital?

That many of these natural resources will ultimately become impaired or exhausted, cannot be doubted; but that any which now materially contribute to the wealth and prosperity of the country are likely to be so affected within the next quarter or half century, does not seem at all probable. Thus, of the land available for the profitable growth of cotton, not *three per cent.* has ever at any one time been put under actual cultivation; of coal, the most available source of motive power, the deposits of the United States greatly exceed the aggregate of those of all other countries, and, at the same time, are more convenient for working, and of greater average value in quality; our deposits of the metals can scarcely be said to have been as yet explored; our area of unoccupied fertile land, free to all actual settlers, is yet in excess of a thousand millions of acres; while the varieties of climate, soil, and crops are such as to ensure the United States from what in all other countries is ever a source of anxiety, viz., a deficiency of food. So long, moreover, as fertile land can be had for mere occupation, or can be purchased by the acre for less than a day's wages, pauper labor, although much talked of, can neither exist in the United States nor in any other country under similar conditions, except through the ignorance or inertness of the masses—two qualities not characteristic of Americans—and for the simple reason that the possession and cultivation of fertile land is always capable of giving to its owner a generous support; and when less than this is afforded by other employments, the tendency, through obvious self-interest, will be to abandon the latter and embrace the former.

It seems certain, then, that under the above and other conditions, the industry of the United States must, as a whole, continue for a long time to be more productive than that of the older civilized and more fully occupied countries of Europe; that wages cannot here fall below a comparatively high standard; and that labor can continue to afford to pay liberally for the use of capital. So far, therefore, as the resources of the country are concerned, the evidence is complete that there can be no limitation within the next quarter of a century upon the present demand for capital, or of the opportunity to use it under such conditions as will warrant the continued payment of at least the present average rates of interest.

2d. *Supply and Demand.* Let us next consider the application of the second principle to the material and social condition of the country.

With its immense natural resources and powers of production, the United States, from the first settlement of its territory by civilized man, has never been able to obtain from its own population a supply of capital adequate to its desires or necessities, but has drawn largely upon the accumulation of other and older countries—the amount thus drawn

within the last ten years alone from Europe having been at least twelve hundred millions of dollars ($1,200,000,000). But, notwithstanding this immense amount, superadded to whatever during the same period may have resulted from the excess of domestic production over domestic consumption, the supply of active capital in the United States has never been equal to the demand, and no loans have been effected since 1860 for any considerable amount on time, by any corporation or individual in the United States, for less than *six per cent.*; or by any State, or by the National Government, for a lower rate, unless accompanied by some advantage—such as exemption from taxation, payment of interest in gold, etc.—equivalent to from one to two per cent. additional; while, in fact, the majority of the loans made during the time indicated have averaged nearer seven and eight rather than six per cent. We have also shown that the opportunity to use capital advantageously in the United States is certain to be fully as great during the next twenty-five years, at least, as it has been at any time heretofore; and it is in the nature of a self-evident proposition, that when opportunity is presented for such uses, the desire to have with a view to use will not be wanting. The question, therefore, that next presents itself for consideration is, *From whence*, and *on what terms*, is our future desired supply of capital to be obtained?

Taking it for granted that the home supply, however much it may be increased through increased industry, frugality, and wise legislation, will not prove sufficient for our necessities in the immediate future, as it certainly has not in the past, the only other source to look to must be the accumulations of Europe. But the accumulations of Europe are not unlimited, and have been drawn upon to such an extent within the last ten years, that a permanent rise in the European rate of interest for time loans is universally conceded, if, indeed, it has not already taken place. As some indication of the demands recently made upon the loanable capital of Europe, it may be stated that the aggregate of the loans known to have been negotiated in Europe during the year 1870 was in excess of $1,100,000,000, of which considerably more than one-half was for reproductive and useful purposes, and the balance on account of war or military expenditures; while for the present year, the requirements of France for the payment of indemnity, and of France and Germany alike for the replacement of capital wasted or destroyed by war, will independently necessitate the raising of sums equal to the aggregate of the loans of all Europe for any former equal period. We have, therefore, in these facts a guarantee, as it were, that the supply of capital from Europe for new investments is not for the immediate future to be increased, or the rate of interest to be in any degree diminished; and if these inferences are correct, then the prevailing rate of interest in the United States for money loaned is certainly not likely to be any less for the next twenty-five years than it has been during the last quarter of a century.

But, apart from what may be termed inferences and speculations, we have a very sure test of what is to be the minimum rate of interest in the United States for the period named from observing the rate at which loans have been recently negotiated in Europe for a corresponding time on what may be considered the best of security. Previous to the Franco-German war, no nation, in Europe or elsewhere, could borrow in any foreign market at a less rate than five per cent. We use the term "foreign market," since the only nations in Europe (Great Britain, Belgium, and France) which within the last few years have borrowed at a lower rate, have borrowed within their own markets and of their own people. But, of these, Belgium has comparatively no debt; Great Britain is the monetary centre and reservoir of the whole world; while France, whatever she has been, is certain for a long period to come to be financially prostrate. Again, since 1861, the United States has not been able to sell any portion of its funded debt bearing six per cent. gold interest in European markets on terms as favorable as par in gold. In 1860, Prussia was able to dispose of a five per cent. loan at a premium. After the Austrian and Danish wars, which brought to her large accessions of territory, material resources, and population, she could no longer borrow at 5 per cent. at par, but sold her bonds at a discount of 4 per cent. To-day, the 5 per cent. scrip of the North German Confederation, after the most successful war (*i. e.*, with France) upon record, is quoted upon the London Stock Exchange [85 paid in] at 87 *a* 87¾. The "French National Defence" 6 per cent. loan commands in the same market but 86 *a* 87; and, before the war, it is known that the city of Paris paid indirectly for the money borrowed for municipal improvements as high a rate as 7 per cent. The European price of the Russian 5 per cent. loan of 1870 is 84½; of the Spanish 5 per cents., secured by a mortgage on the celebrated quicksilver mines of New Almaden, in addition to the faith of the Government, 76 *a* 77; of Portuguese 3 per cents. of 1869, 32 *a* 33; of Italian 6 per cents. secured by a pledge of the state revenues from tobacco, 87¾; Japanese 9 per cents., 89; Chilian 6s of 1867, 98; Massachusetts sterling 5s, interest and principal payable in London, 93 *a* 95; Louisiana 6s, 61 *a* 63. It will thus be seen that the average rates of interest in European markets on the best Government loans extending over a period of from twenty to thirty years, approximate six per cent. On the other hand, the rate for loans of the best character recently negotiated by corporations or private associations, in the same market, ranges somewhat higher. Thus, Russian railway 5 per cent. mortgage bonds, for which the faith of the Government and the earnings of the roads are pledged, and which are a favorite investment throughout the whole of Central Europe, sell for about 85 *a* 86; Egyptian 7 per cent. railway mortgages, 99 *a* 100; Panama 7 per cent. general mortgage, due in 1897, 93; Illinois and Missouri 1st mortgage Bridge bonds (sterling), 87; Michigan Central 1st mortgage sinking fund 8 per cents, 85; and Pennsylvania Railroad 6 per cent. general mortgage (sterling, due 1910), 91. Furthermore, the London *Economist*, the best European authority on this subject, estimates that the average rate of interest on a majority of the foreign and colonial stocks now owned in Great Britain, is equal to from *six* to *seven* per cent. as a minimum, and places the amount of them at a not less figure than two thousand eight hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

So much, then, for the *present* rate of interest in Europe; while, for the *future*, the indications are certainly not of a character to warrant the expectation of any lower rate, but rather lead to a contrary and opposite conclusion. Thus, the tendency and spirit of the age are more and more towards the undertaking of industrial enterprises of such magnitude and character as require the capital of the world for their support and execution; such for example as the Pacific Railroad, Suez Canal, Mont Cenis Tunnel, and the numberless projected railways in Eastern Europe, Western America, and even India and Western Asia; and contemporaneously with these unprecedented demands for the loan of capital, the extension and use of railroads, steamships, and the telegraph have broken down the barriers of nationalities, and, by bringing people geographically remote into close commercial correspondence and connection, have made, as it were, the whole world one, and caused capital, freed from restraint to tend to a common rate of interest, as water freed from confinement always tends to a common level. And, in addition to all this demand—the result of legitimate industry and progress—the requirement for money by the nations of Europe for military purposes promises to be as large if not larger in the immediate future as it has been in the recent past. The condition of Germany, flushed with victory and conscious of almost irresistible strength, and of France, sullen and panting for revenge, is a perpetual menace against peace, and, as already shown by the action of Great Britain, invites to larger military preparations and consequent greater expenditures.

So far, then, as the financial condition of Europe operates in determining the rate of interest on money loaned to or in the United States, there is not the first particle of evidence tending to show that any lower rates than those now prevailing can for the immediate future be reasonably anticipated.

Coming next to our own country, we find that the new national 5 per cent. loan has thus far been taken mainly by the banks, acting obviously under the motive of thereby averting future legislation hostile to themselves, and has not proved in any degree attractive to the general public, although the exemption of the loan from all local taxation is nominally or really equivalent to an additional one, two, or three per cent. interest; all of which unmistakably indicates that in the opinion of our own capitalists money is not to be commanded in the immediate future on time, and on the very best of security, for any less rate of interest than six or seven per cent., with higher rates for borrowers offering less favorable conditions in respect to security.

There is also another circumstance which has not heretofore been discussed publicly and specifically, which has for years past tended to raise the rate of interest in the leading financial centres of the United States, and which for years to come will continue to operate in the same manner; and that is, the insufficiency of original capital on which industrial enterprises are organized and started in this country. This is particularly the case with corporations engaged in manufacturing, many of which have often their whole paid-up capital, and not unfrequently something additional, invested in permanent fixtures, land, buildings, or machinery, leaving nothing for contingencies in business and as a basis for active operations. The consequence is, that

when times are dull and sales slack, or when a decline in the prices of goods or of raw material renders it expedient that stocks should be carried or purchased, these companies are forced into the market for money at almost any price, and, through the advantage thereby taken of their necessities by brokers and money-lenders, the rate of interest generally is forced up spasmodically, kept higher than it otherwise would be, and everywhere rendered unstable. And for all this there will be no efficient remedy until legislation ceases to encourage industrial growth on any other than a sure and natural foundation.

3d. *Safety and risk of capital when loaned.* No matter how great may be the resources of a country, or how thrifty and prosperous its people, any disregard of law, or of the obligations of contracts, or any taint upon the administration of justice, whether committed with the sanction of the whole or any portion of the community, is certain to be paid for by such people or country in an increased rate of interest upon the capital which they may desire to borrow. And, however disagreeable it may be, it is nevertheless true that the reputation of the United States, either in the past or present, has not been and is not now in all respects what it should be. How repudiation in the past has affected the supply of capital to the United States from abroad is too well known to require restatement, but it should be clearly understood that the present repudiation by the States of Iowa and Minnesota of certain liabilities; the irregularities in the payment of the interest by certain Southern States on their bonds, or the bonds of railways possessing State guarantees—all continue even yet to affect the credit of the whole country, and consequently to enhance the average rate of interest. And this is an influence also the removal of which is not to be effected right speedily.

4th. Mr. Amasa Walker's assertion that the uniformity and general average of the rate of interest in any country depends further upon the soundness of the currency made use of in such country in effecting exchanges, finds indubitable support in the following facts: 1st. That the fluctuations in the rates of interest in the United States since 1832 have been more frequent and excessive than in any European countries in respect to which data are accessible, the average rate of interest in the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago, as computed from the record of public transactions, from 1844 to 1858, having been approximately 10·5 per cent. 2d. That in none of the leading commercial states of Europe has the mixed currency used during the same period been so deficient in value as that of the United States. 3d. That the price of no other commodity in the United States during the same time offered for sale or to hire has in time of peace exhibited any such variations as the price of money. The reason of this last, according to Mr. Walker, is, that commodities are not wanted to pay notes; but in order to respond to pecuniary engagements, money is and must be had, cost what it may. "Under a currency, therefore," continues Mr. Walker, "in which credit is the principal element, the fluctuations in interest are in proportion to the extent of that element; because a mixed currency, whenever there is any panic or distress for money, withdraws from circulation proportioned to its weakness or want of value. Hence the frightful revulsions of the past, and we may doubtless expect that these will increase in force and frequency in the future, since the mixed currency system, once almost exclusively confined to England, France, and the United States, is being extended throughout the commercial world. The risks of credit will, therefore, be greater, and the average rate of interest will, so far as risk is concerned, be advanced."

I have thus briefly presented the evidence which seems to me available for the formation of an opinion respecting the average rate of interest that may be expected to prevail throughout the United States, under various conditions of security, for the next quarter of a century. My own conclusion, from a somewhat careful investigation of the subject, is, that although capital in the United States during that period may be expected to increase greatly, the opportunity and desire alike for the investment and use of such capital will be more than correspondingly augmented through the increase of population and the development of the natural resources of the country; and that in other respects, circumstances do not favor any immediate reduction of the rates of interest. The civilization of the United States, furthermore, in contradistinction to that which prevails in other parts of the world, is a civilization of rapid growth and forced development. That which in other and older countries has required centuries to accomplish—such as the improvement and ornamentation of towns, the construction of roads, harbors, elaborate public buildings and parks; the providing of water supplies and systems of drainage, the incurring and the paying of great debts—we expect to make the work of years. And while such a condition of things prevails, the demand for capital will always tend to be in excess of supply; and industries made highly productive by force of circumstance can afford and will pay for its use most liberally. I am well aware that in a country where the "societary circulation," to use a modern expression, is active, money as an instrument for effecting exchanges, or capital as an instrument of production, produces its results more rapidly than in countries where the social movement is more sluggish; and that this increase in rapidity of use is equivalent to an increase of supply. But taking all this into consideration, I think one would hazard little in predicting that during the next twenty-five years, without such a condition of general disturbance and revolution in Europe as would endanger the safety of investments in that country, the average rate of interest for the United States as *a whole* will not be less than *seven per cent.* If the National or State Governments are able to borrow for less in their own markets, it will be because of the offer of compensating advantages for the reduction, either in the way of security, exemption from taxation, or facility of conversion.

DAVID A. WELLS.

Notes.

MESSRS. J. R. OSGOOD & Co. have added to their regular business a subscription department, under the special charge of H. A. Brown & Co. Parton's "Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin," and Coffin's "New Way Round the World," are to be sold through this channel, while a vaguely-described theological work is in preparation. With the 1st of July Mr. Fields retires altogether from the *Atlantic Monthly*, leaving Mr. W. D. Howells at the head in name as well as in fact.——Messrs. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger have in press a number of tales—"The King's Godchild," translated with other stories from the German; "American Wonderland," by Richard Mead Bache; "Aureola, or the Black Sheep," by Mrs. Adelheid Mackenzie; "Callirhoë," from the French of Maurice Sand; "In a Crucible," by Mrs. E. L. Pugh; and one or two more. Also, A. G. de Cassagnac's "History of the Working and Burgher Classes," published in Paris in 1839, but not without a present interest; "The Transformations of Insects," by Prof. P. Martin Duncan, of King's College, London, profusely illustrated; and "The Engineer's Pocket-Book," by John C. Trautwine, C.E., designed as a useful compendium of necessary information.——A printer's error made us give Pilpay's "Tables" among Messrs. Hurd & Houghton's announcements last week. It should have read "Fables"; and we may add here that the illustrations are from the woodcuts of the famous engraver Alexander Anderson.——"A Life's Assize," by Mrs. Riddell; Dr. William Smith's "Scriptural History;" and Vol. II. of Brodhead's "History of the State of New York," are among the latest announcements of Messrs. Harper & Bros.

—The favorite standard topic of the American press is treated in a friendly spirit by a writer in the *British Quarterly Review* for January, using Maverick's Life of the late Henry J. Raymond for his text. It is such an article as would naturally be written in dependence principally on the information contained in any book, and not from personal experience of this country—erring sometimes as to facts, confounding former periods with the present, and a little mixed in its "perspective." *Harper's Magazine* is described as "an illustrated monthly for the fashionable world"—which, even if such a world exists in the United States, is very wide of the truth in regard to the most popular of our magazines. Bonner's *Ledger* is judged by the contributions of Parton, Beecher, Everett, Saxe, and Bryant, and not by the oceans of trash in which these literary peaks are submerged. The *National Era* and *National Intelligencer* are spoken of as still published in Washington. The former, like the latter, it is said, "has a high position as a literary and political journal." "The literary superiority of the religious press over the secular in America" is gravely accounted for as if a notorious fact. The *North American Review* "is certainly below the intellectual level of the four or five English reviews which are reprinted in New York every quarter, within a fortnight of their publication in England;" though it is "written with great spirit, learning, and ability," and "abounds in profound and original discussions on the most interesting subjects." Its style "is not free from the common sin of affectation." As for the *Atlantic*, it "holds a deservedly high place in American letters, . . . but its influence has always been thrown into the scale against Evangelical Christianity." In accounting

for our failure to produce a respectable comic paper, the *Review* utters a thought which we lately offered in explanation: "The Americans, however, have never had a Tenniel, a Doyle, a Leech, a Du Maurier, or a Keene, to throw off, week after week, the most amusing and instructive of pictorial satires." And strange as it may seem, we believe there is much truth in the remark which follows:

"After all, there is hardly anything the Americans need more than a good comic paper, to moderate the intensity of their politics, to laugh down the extravagant follies of American society, to measure the strength of public men, to register their blunders, and expose their hollowness, to watch over the caprices of fashion, to criticise the press itself, with its coarseness and scurrility, its disgraceful advertisements, and its downright fabrications; taking good care to keep free from those sins which so easily beset satirists—rancor, obscenity, and attacks on private character."

We are glad to say here that the political designs of the St. Louis journal, called *Puck*, whose first issue we lately praised, continue to be by far the best that this generation has seen, or, perhaps, is destined to see from an American draughtsman; and that the German element is likely to add not a little to the national capacity for pictorial humor.

—A much-needed course of instruction in philology has been developed at Yale in the Department of Philosophy and the Fine Arts, that promises to assume the consistency and method of a school, and, as such, may be attended by persons not connected with the college. It will embrace two years of study, for which the yearly fee will be one hundred dollars, and "the successful and duly attested completion of which will entitle the student to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy." Professor Whitney is to teach the general principles of linguistic science, the comparative philology of the Indo-European languages, and the Sanskrit language. Professor Hadley will explain the structure of the Greek language, and, in conjunction with Professor Packard, "will instruct in the more difficult Greek authors," as Professor Thacher will in Latin works not usually read in college; and he will also teach the Gothic (of Ulfilas), Mr. Lounsbury being the instructor in Anglo-Saxon. The modern Romanic languages will be in charge of Professor Coe; the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, in charge of Professor Day; the Chinese and Japanese languages will be taught by Mr. Van Name. Further particulars of this school, which will open at New Haven September 14, may be had of Professor Whitney. There should be no lack of scholars, and we apprehend there will be none. There are few Western colleges that would not gain by giving one or more of their instructors in language a two years' leave of absence, in order to place themselves under the eminent professors just mentioned.

—A noteworthy dedication of a Boston school-house took place last week. The building in question cost upwards of $300,000, and is doubtless the finest of its kind in the country. It is occupied by the Girls' High and Normal School, which originally was designed merely to train women to become teachers, but which has for many years ceased to make an intention to teach a condition of receiving instruction. The course now provides not only for the making of teachers, but for a general education little less than collegiate, with a tendency to anticipate the Simmons Institute in furnishing the necessary preparation for industrial or mercantile pursuits. By far the greater number of graduates do teach school for a shorter or longer period; 233 of them have become instructors in the primary schools of the city, and 310 in the grammar; while 16 have remained in the school itself as teachers. These facts alone would prove the worldly wisdom of the Bostonians in giving the school such ample and costly accommodations, the architectural completeness of which has been supplemented by the gift of certain antique casts from the American Social Science Association and from private citizens. We some time ago spoke of this proposed experiment, and can now refer those who would be interested in the details to the little pamphlet just issued by the Association, and containing a list and brief description of the casts selected for the hall of the Girls' High and Normal School, of other casts equally suitable for a like purpose, and particulars as to the mode and cost of procuring them. Once known, this Boston example can hardly fail to be copied widely.

—A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, who witnessed the recent German procession in this city, makes some observations on the physique of the participants, which will not be disputed, we think, by other spectators. He says that the number of "stalwart, big-boned, heavy-limbed, muscular men, handsome, free-faced, and very vital," was about one in nine or ten, which he calls "a fair proportion," and thinks it possibly larger "than could be found in a similar display of an equal number of any European people." Comparing equal numbers in the German and St. Patrick processions, the former seemed to him heavier and stouter men, and "to march more lightly and freely than the latter"—on which we may remark that slippery streets and black broadcloth *de rigueur* must have affected the step of the Irish unfavorably, on the particular occasion referred to. "But as a whole," says the correspondent, "the appearance of the German procession, in its feature of stalwart, vigorous, and aggressive manhood, was not particularly impressive." There was, certainly, in looking at the ranks of leather helmets, a feeling of disappointment, as if they hardly equalled one's exalted conception of the first soldiers in Europe, whom they were supposed to counterfeit; and one who had seen a Maine regiment on its way South imagined how it would have towered without a helmet beside any troop that celebrated the German peace. The writer in the *Commercial* saw what may still be called the greatest review of the century, when the hundred thousand, chiefly Western soldiers, forming Sherman's army, passed in procession in Washington, after their long march through the Southern States. "They were of greater average height and breadth of chest" than the followers of St. Patrick or of King Gambrinus in the recent turn-out. "They were incomparably the best-shaped mass of men I ever saw—muscular, but not fatty, large-boned, but not clumsy, with features determinate and strong. They were light-footed and easy-moving. They seemed pre-eminently natural and American—if these words may be here used as expressive of ideas which, to my mind at least, are distinct enough." Distinct enough, also, we will add, to those who remember the qualities of that remarkable army, and the elasticity of the discipline which made them for fighting, for road-building, for marching, for throwing up earth-works, the readiest and most supple organization the world has ever seen, and in which, perhaps, the soldier counted for relatively more, and the officer for relatively less, than in any other army of equal efficiency.

—Some of us who folded and put away our maps of France, after the withdrawal of the Germans from Paris, have been convicted of too great haste by the civil war which has raged ever since. And we overlooked, too, the extent and probable duration of the German occupation, which, at this moment, employs half a million of men in fifteen departments. A map designed to illustrate the peace boundaries of the war—if we may use the expression—has been published by Brockhaus: "Frankreich und die Grenzgebiete" (New York: L. W. Schmidt). It shows, by means of appropriate coloring and shading, the territory held by the Germans during the armistice, quite a third of France; that portion of it on the left bank of the Seine, evacuated after the ratification of peace by the Bordeaux Assembly; and the three districts to be evacuated successively, upon payment of the first half-milliard, the second milliard, and the remainder of the indemnity. The annexed territory is also distinctly marked, so that, except in minor particulars, the map serves for the whole history of the war. Editors will find it useful for future reference, and its cheapness brings it within the reach of every one.

—The meagre reports from Paris represent the theatres and stalls as open, Punch and Judy shows going on, carriages and omnibuses running up to the Arch, and crowds in holiday attire moving to and fro. "Groups are gathered round and curiously examining the lamp-posts which were struck." The mixture of horrors and frivolity is quite suggestive of the First Revolution. Perhaps the best description that could be given of the scenes inside Paris, is Tacitus's account of the aspect of Rome just before the death of Vitellius (Hist. iii. 83): "Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque in ludicro certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fovebat . . . . . Saeva ac deformis urbe tota facies. Alibi proelia et volnera, alibi balineae popinaeque; simul cruor et strues corporum, iuxta scorta et scortis similes; quantum in luxurioso otio libi dinum, quidquid in acerbissima captivitate scelerum, prorsus ut eandem civitatem et furere crederes et lascivire. Conflixerant ante armati exercitus in urbe, bis Lucio Sulla, semel Cinna victoribus; nec tunc minus crudelitatis; nunc inhumana securitas et ne minimo quidem temporis voluptates intermissae." To translate this literally would be difficult. The sense is about as follows: "The people flocked to witness the fighting, and, as if at the amphitheatre, applauded now this faction, now that. . . . The whole aspect of the city was foul and unnatural. While bloody fighting was going on in one quarter, in another the baths and restaurants were in full operation; almost at the very scene of slaughter, prostitutes and their like plied their trade; and the same city, you would have said, exhibited the sum of debauchery and of villany natural to a state either of luxurious idleness or of the bitterest subjection. Armed forces had fought before within the city, Sulla proving victorious, and

Cinna once, nor in those days was there less cruelty; but now there was a brutal indifference, and no intermi-sion of pleasure even for an instant."

—An interesting announcement which we find in the *Academy* is that Mr. W. R. S. Ralston is preparing a work designed to acquaint Western readers with the popular songs, epic poems, and prose stories of the Russians. The first part will give an account of the chief festivals of pagan origin still kept up in Russia, and of the relics of old songs consecrated to them; and will also include a sketch of the fairy mythology, and marriage and funeral songs, charms, and incantations of the people. Next, if not first, in point of attraction for the general reader is to be the third part, in which Mr. Ralston will translate a certain number of the most original tales, and append an analysis of others, "so as to show in what points the Slavonic renderings of the old stories with which we are all so familiar resemble or differ from those which are peculiar to the various other branches of the Aryan race."

—One of the unsettled vexed questions between the manufacturers of books and the readers of them is whether the leaves should be cut or not, before any work is offered for sale. The arguments on both sides are too well known to need rehearsing. We have lately met with a new one, however, which is worth reporting, although it may not have the same weight in this country as in England. The experience of the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, and the unpleasant exposure they felt called upon to make of a certain journal or periodical which immediately sold to the second-hand dealers the works received from them for review, may be still remembered. It appears that the practice from which they suffered both annoyance and injury is a quite general one. The London *Bookseller*, of April 3, says that stamping the title-page or writing in the book does little if anything to check it, while reviewers of the better class object to having a book which they wish to keep, thus disfigured. It suggests that "the end the publishers have in view would be gained by their having the leaves cut open with a reading-knife; this would prevent the book from being sold as new, and would also be attended with the advantage of enabling the reviewer to go through the volume"—more at his ease, one might suppose. No, simply "to go through the volume. At present, with some of the journals in question, *strict orders are given not to cut open the leaves;* consequently the glance given by the reviewer is very limited." It might be difficult to say which party to the controversy first mentioned is sustained by the *Bookseller*.

JOWETT'S TRANSLATION OF PLATO.*

(FIRST NOTICE.)

When we expressed a wish† that some attempt might be made to popularize Plato for the benefit of American readers, we did not anticipate that an important step towards its fulfilment was so near. This book is, as Plato himself might have said, a veritable *ἐρμαίον*, and we fondly trust that no important public library will long be without it. We wish we could add the time-honored expression about "no gentleman's library," but we much fear that some of our gentlemen will prefer a basket of champagne (the cost of the two commodities being about the same) to such a "possession for ever" as Professor Jowett's Plato.

The work is remarkable on two accounts. It is the only complete English version of Plato executed by a single translator. Of the two previous, one was commenced by Sydenham and finished by Taylor, while the other (in Bohn's "Classical Series") is the production of three different hands. This fact, which by itself would only prove the industry and perseverance of the writer, is complemented by his thirty years' experience and reputation, of which experience and reputation we cannot hesitate to pronounce the book worthy.

Of course, no English scholar at the present day would put forth a translation on this scale without accompanying it by *some* comment. Professor Jowett's preface is brief, containing little more than an enumeration of his principal authorities, and a few terse references to Grote. He gives no general introduction, but a special introduction to each particular dialogue, combined with an analysis or abridgment. This certainly increases the labor of reading the book understandingly, but a translation of all Plato must always be somewhat hard to read, a book requiring time and thought. When we spoke of *popularizing* him, we did not mean that he was to be or could be brought down to the illustrated-weekly level. The most that we can hope is to introduce him to the *dilettante* class of readers—a class not small and not diminishing in number. There is a great deal of matter and of stimulus to thought in these introductions, and their style is generally very clear, considering the difficult subjects of which they frequently treat and the narratives which they have to abridge. In this respect, Professor Jowett has a great advantage over Mr. Grote, who, though an excellent arguer, is a very clumsy narrator, and far from elegant in his abridged translations. Where so much is excellent, it is hard to select any particular passage for special commendation, but we have taken a great fancy to the discussion of the origin of language in the introduction to the "Cratylus." Here we think the Professor has taken the just middle view among the conflicting theories, namely, that onomatopœia accounts for the rudiments, but only the rudiments, of language; at an early stage of its development and of civilization a higher element comes in.

There are, however, some points on which we are obliged to differ from Professor Jowett. These we shall endeavor to explain, trusting that we may be able to steer clear of both Scylla and Charybdis, of impertinent dogmatism on the one hand and servile assent on the other.

1. He is even more solicitous than most modern commentators to break up the old groups in which the Platonic dialogues were formerly arranged. Even the writers and lecturers of the day generally adopt in practice some system (entire or partial) of grouping. Most Platonists, we suspect, would connect the "Protagoras" and "Gorgias" together, at least for some purposes. Such a connection the Regius Professor almost entirely ignores. The interdependence of the "Theatetus," "Sophista," and "Politicus" (the first three in the series of a projected but never-finished group of four) is so palpable that it cannot be denied. Yet Professor Jowett seems to admit it somewhat grudgingly, and to lay unnecessary stress on his hypothesis that the "Theatetus" was written piecemeal at intervals, and the other two added long after. This, if strictly true, would not interfere with the connection, as we know that even a series of connected fiction, like Cooper's "Hawkeye" novels, may be spread over a period of nearly twenty years. In some instances, he emphasizes the relation of two dialogues more strongly than all Platonists would, *e. g.*, in the case of the "Phædrus" and "Symposium." But, generally, he appears more eager to separate than to join. It is possible that we have misunderstood him, and only found a mare's-nest, but we are bound to give our impression; and we readily admit that the question is of no great practical importance. When we have once admitted that there is no one complete and consistent philosophical system to be extracted from Plato (and since Grote's thorough exposition we suppose every one—at least every Anglo-Saxon—admits this), the connection of two or three dialogues here and there is a matter of small consequence. It will not even help us to discover their dates. All we can do is to note the gradual change (not attempting to draw a sharp line anywhere between two dialogues) from the Socratic, sceptical, and liberal to the Oriental (?), positive, and inquisitorial. But Professor Jowett goes further. He shows a constant tendency to resolve, if we may so express it, the individual dialogue itself. He is continually warning us "not to expect to find one idea pervading a whole work." Now, Plato's *forte* was his dramatic power; and if we allow that he frequently violated the dramatic unity of subject, we deal a blow at his literary reputation. We prefer to explain the *apparent* double subject of several dialogues in this way: The first theme is merely a prelude or prologue, designed to attract the reader's attention, and to introduce the second or real theme, perhaps with somewhat of that element of surprise so common in Plato.

2. He has very justly and acutely separated from the "Sophists" some persons popularly classed among them, such as Callicles, the ambitious and unscrupulous man of the world, neither Sophist nor philosopher, but more opposed to Socrates than any Sophist. He is also careful (Introduction to "Theatetus," vol. iii., p. 327) to inform us "that the Sophists are sometimes in the right and Socrates sometimes in the wrong," notwithstanding which, he has not quite rid himself of the old German phantom of a Sophistic fiend, as Grote not unhappily dubbed that particular evolution of the Teutonic moral consciousness. On this head we join issue with him. Our reasons for doing so are derived partly from recollection of Grote's work (which we have not read for several years), partly from independent sources of information, some of them supplied by the Regius Professor himself.

First, a Sophist was merely a teacher of and lecturer on moral philosophy—giving the term a pretty wide range, as in the *moral papers* of a university examination. Some of these persons were doubtless impostors

* "The Dialogues of Plato. Translated into English. With Analysis and Introductions. By B Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford." In four volumes. London, Oxford, and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.

† *Nation*, February 2. Article on "Plutarch's Morals."

and bad men, but to make them all into a class about which we are to predicate everything bad, as we might about a Tammany ring, is no more just than it would be to throw a similar drag-net over all the lecturers or all the clergymen in the United States, or to comprehend all our lawyers in the category of "shysters."

Secondly, the question which ("Introduction to Sophist," vol. iii., p. 450) Professor Jowett so boldly answers in the negative, we as boldly answer with Mr. Grote in the affirmative. Socrates and Plato *were* Sophists to the Athenians, not to the mass alone—the *demos*—but to men who stood high among the *charientes*—the "upper ten." That very intelligent and well-educated gentleman, Aristophanes, took Socrates as the representative Sophist. And yet there does not appear to have been any personal or political enmity between the two men. On the contrary, Plato himself represents them jollifying together at Agathon's house. Aristophanes did, indeed, attribute to Socrates doctrines which he never professed, such as that of Prodicus about the better and worse reason. But this does not show ignorance or malice on the part of the dramatist. It naturally arises from the representative character with which he had invested Socrates.

Thirdly, Mr. Cope and others have maintained that the Sophists were bad men from a Conservative Athenian point of view (*Conservative* here meaning *Democratic*, as in some other times and places), because they were iconoclasts and disorganizers. We suspect the answer to this may be found anticipated in Grote; at any rate, it is easy enough. To the average Athenian, there were no greater iconoclasts and perturbators than the philosophers, Socrates, of course, included. The facts of the case, the condemnation of the master and dispersion of his disciples, show this conclusively.

Fourthly, the Sophists, it is said, took pay for their instruction, which was disgraceful, according to the Greek idea. The philosophers proper, though they sometimes received presents from their pupils and admirers (Plato himself accepted gifts), never made a fixed charge. The difference may have been something like that between the regular faculty and the advertising empiric. We can understand its creating a prejudice against the foreign lecturers; but, according to our modern ideas, they were "worthy of their hire"—*unless* they were bad men and corruptors of youth, which it is hardly fair to infer from their having been in advance of their age on a point of economical ethics.

Fifthly, most of the persons called Sophists were foreigners—that is, not Athenians. When we remember the "Know-nothing" character of the very best ancient communities, we see here another natural ground of popular prejudice. Yet we must not, after all, assign too much weight to this fact. There are several circumstances to set off against it. These "foreigners" were, at any rate, Greeks, and the Greeks, though never lucky enough to attain a real national union, had many national common qualities. Then the Athenians, though falling far short of our *theory* of liberality to strangers, were far superior, both in that quality and in good-breeding, to some other Greeks. The wealthier class certainly lionized and patronized the distinguished strangers, and there are plausible reasons for supposing that motives of delicacy and politeness caused Socrates, rather than one of those strangers, to be introduced in the "Clouds" as the representative Sophist. Aristophanes was in advance of Mr. Bancroft.

Sixthly, Professor Jowett himself bears witness that, in some things which *we* place among the very first elements of morality, the leading Sophists were more virtuous than the leading philosophers. There was nothing in their *practice* that entitled them to be called "corrupters of youth."

Finally, we think he virtually throws up the whole argument when he admits (vol. iii., p. 448) that the Sophist whom Plato is always attacking was no particular Sophist or Sophists, but "an imaginary being"—a "creation of Plato's in which the falsehood of all mankind is reflected."

3. It is about Professor Jowett's remarks on the "Republic" that the reader will probably be most curious to hear. These remarks are not exactly in character with the traditional reputation of an Oxford professor, nor yet are they altogether what we might expect from a leader of that rationalistic demonstration predicted, more than twenty-five years ago, as the inevitable reaction from the Puseyite movement. They are exculpatory, for the most part. Plato abolished private property with as little ceremony as Proudhon; but "are we quite sure that the received notions of property are the best?" He abolished marriage and legalized infanticide, from which recommendations "we start back horrified;" yet, "on the other hand, we cannot deny" that no form of religion or society has yet been able to solve "this greatest and most difficult of social problems." Here our criticism charges him with omissions rather than with positive errors.

First, the scheme of Plato's "Republic" is as much condemned by ancient and pagan as by modern and Christian ethics. This is conclusively shown by Aristotle's acute and complete dissection of it. The commentator who contrasts Plato only with the moderns virtually ignores and conceals this important truth.

Secondly, Plato has anticipated the equality of the sexes. True, but in so doing he lays great stress on the only difference which he allows to exist between them—the physical. He begins by expressing this difference in terms which a Le Motteux or a Walt Whitman would not venture to translate literally—indeed, would not be able to translate literally for want of dictionary words—and much of his legislation is based on this difference, and devoted to the regulation and modification of its natural results. Ought not a commentator to emphasize these facts in some way, when it is remembered that our modern equalizers are, most of them, always trying to elude the consequences of these results?

Thirdly, Professor Jowett allows something for the obstacles interposed by individual attachments and youthful passion, yet admits, negatively, so to speak, and by absence of further investigation, that if these motives *could* be restrained by moral or social considerations, the problem would be solved, in a sense entirely favorable to Plato. In this error he is not solitary, and, looking at the frequency of it, we have often thought that no man was qualified to give an authoritative opinion on the principles of matrimonial legislation (and *à fortiori* to legislate) without some knowledge and experience of stock-raising and turf history. The difficulty of making crosses "nick," the fact that an inferior cross will often nick and a superior fail, the number of technically unsound animals, the apparent paradox, but oft-proved truth, that some unsound animals are better than some sound ones for several purposes, and those not the least valuable—all these phenomena show that if we could make men as subservient to legislation in this respect as the lower animals are to the will of their masters, we should still be a long way off from the promised perfection of propagation.

Fourthly, We think the Professor wrong (though his error is almost universal) in applying the term *community* of goods and women to Plato's "Republic." The proper phrase is *abolition of private property and marriage*. *Community* implies a general license altogether foreign to Plato's scheme.

Fifthly, We differ *toto cœlo* from him when he says that the limitation of this (commonly so-called) community to the guardian class is "not of any real significance." We think it has much significance, that it is in accordance with the usual course of Greek political thought, and with the ideas and opinions advanced in some other writings of Plato, and that it suggests several curious and important speculations.

And lastly, in the interest of Plato himself we object to defending him where he is indefensible. To our mind, a serious vindication of the "Republic" is about as reasonable, and nearly as wrong, as a serious vindication of the classical *παιδεραστία*. In this we may be mistaken; but in one thing we certainly are not mistaken: such misplaced support is sure to provoke reaction. It is like praising Cromwell's wart or John Wilkes's squint. It is certain to raise up men like Potter, who fall upon Plato tooth and nail, decrying him as a mystic and a sensualist, full of all Oriental abominations, deriving what good he originally had from Socrates, and altogether bad when he set up for himself.

While thus speaking our mind freely on some passages of Professor Jowett's great work, we again express our hearty admiration of its general character. Further, we admit the possibility of our having sometimes misunderstood him. His method of treatment, at once broad and terse, is exposed to the danger as old as Horace, *dum brevis esse laboro*, etc., the obscurity in this case arising, not from the style (which, as we have already remarked, is singularly clear), but from the very pregnancy of the writing, which leaves much to be filled up by the reader, the trouble being that different readers, of equal care and honesty, will sometimes differ about the filling up.

Of the manner in which the translation itself is executed, we have as yet said nothing. One great difficulty in translating Plato and Aristotle we remarked upon in a former article;* and we may be pardoned for quoting, in illustration and confirmation of what we then said, the very first words of Professor Jowett's very first introduction:

"The subject of the 'Charmides' is Temperance, or *σωφροσύνη*, a peculiarly Greek notion, which may also be rendered Moderation, Modesty, Dis-

* On "Plutarch's Morals."

cretion, Wisdom, without completely exhausting by all these terms the various associations of the word. . . . In the accompanying translation it has been rendered in different places either Temperance or Wisdom, as the connection seemed to require."

Such difficulties are insurmountable. Making due allowance for them, and for the puns, derivations, etc., which are untranslatable, the version is, in general, all that could be desired. Professor Jowett has followed, with a few exceptions, Stallbaum's text; he appears also to have followed Stallbaum's interpretations, and occasionally gives a meaning to a disputed word or phrase different from that assigned by other English scholars. But these are chiefly differences of taste, about which dogmatism would be unseemly.

JOHN ADAMS.*

It is nearly twenty years since the "Life and Works of John Adams," written and edited by his grandson, were published in ten substantial octavo volumes. They furnished a fitting memorial of one of the most prominent men, and, as we think, on the whole, the most able and serviceable one of our heroic age. We say this in view of the continuousness and the variety of his patriotic labors, which, by a combination of scholarly, intelligent, and personal qualities with true statesmanship, high moral purity, and extended intercourse with many European courts, gave him opportunities of influence and of action exceeding those shared by any of his compeers. The demands on the ability and fidelity of great and good men, in field and council, in our Revolutionary era, exacting as they were, could be met only by a draft on the diversified partitions of gifts and special faculties, for which, according to the law of human endowment, we must look in many directions. Washington, John Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, is, we apprehend, the order on the scale by which our age, after fair and deliberate review, disposes its great men. "The Life of John Adams," when accessible only as one of a series of costly volumes, was out of the reach and even of the knowledge of thousands of readers, by whom, through the agency of town libraries, book clubs, stores, and wayside stalls, it will now be sure of perusal. We should be glad to believe that it will be one of the manuals for the ambitious youth all over our country who have in view politics, or even only law, as the profession of their lives. For, in the compact and attractive form in which the biography now appears apart from the works, it will be likely to have, as it deserves, a wide circulation.

In the interval, during the appearance of the Life in these two forms, there have been published several works of national interest—the biographies of the leading men of the Revolutionary era—the authors of which have had to recognize and to treat, as their wisdom or partisanship might dispose them to do, the more prominent matters of personal and political dissonance and controversy between their respective subjects. Mr. Randall has given us "The Life of Jefferson" in three solid volumes. Mr. John C. Hamilton, in seven more volumes—one of which contains nearly a thousand pages—has swept the field in the assumption conveyed in the title of his work—"History of the Republic of the United States of America, as traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton and of his Contemporaries." A feature most characteristic of this work, and exceedingly objectionable and censurable, is the way in which the letters and speeches of many of those "contemporaries" are quoted, in fragments, half-sentences, and passages forced out of their connection. The late Mr. Wm. C. Rives has furnished us with only three volumes of his proposed work on "The Life and Times of James Madison." In the meanwhile, Mr. Bancroft, continuing the publication of his history into the Revolutionary period, has freely, not always judicially, expressed his opinions of the character and course of the leading spirits of the time, and he has had to run the gauntlet of a whole phalanx of grandsons—saving only Mr. C. F. Adams—who have undertaken to vindicate their ancestors against his judgments. It is to be supposed that the grandson of John Adams is acquainted with the contents of the works we have named. And if he has read them, as also the first volume—all that has yet appeared—of "The Life of Timothy Pickering," we admire the calmly-assured, and, as we believe, the reasonable and well-grounded judgment, under the guidance of which he has thought it wholly unnecessary, for anything that they contain, to alter a single word in the biography of his grandfather.

There is something quite unique and suggestive in the title-page before us. We know of nothing parallel with it in literature or in political history. An entail of honors and talents, of the highest classes, through three generations, marks in this New World, in which hereditary titles and privileges are forbidden, a result reached by fortune and merit such as has not been realized in any family history in the Old World, even with all the aid of law and conventionalism. Taking in connection with this fact another, that Mr. C. F. Adams is the father of three sons, each of whom has already given evidence of an inheritance in the family abilities, temperament, and aptitudes for public life, and it seems as if our citizens ought to furnish what help they can through their political canvasses and elections to lengthen out the entail of honors. The services of Mr. C. F. Adams at the British Court, under embarrassments very similar to those which his grandfather encountered, especially from the disdain and superciliousness visited through both of them alike upon the humiliated country which they represented, were of the most signal character, and secured to him the homage and gratitude of this whole people. If he is not chosen in his succession the next President of the United States, the only explanatory reason for the failure will be that humbling confession which seems to rest upon an admitted axiom among us, that eminent personal fitness of character and qualification for that exalted office is proportionally a popular and political disability in the way even of a nomination for it.

During the interval between the publication of the earlier and the present editions of "The Life of John Adams," the grandson, in performing the exacting duties of the diplomatic office just referred to, had many opportunities to reconsider the language quoted from his ancestor, and not softened in additional expressions of his own, about the sentiments and the conduct of England towards this country. In a very admirable and most modest preface to the work before us, the writer says: "The strictures founded upon the course of British statesmen, as well as of the nation collectively towards this country, are left to stand very much as they were." He adds: "This is mentioned in order to preclude any inference that might be hastily drawn, of the intervention of some later cause of irritation to sharpen the language. Whilst my subsequent opportunities of close personal observation have but confirmed me in the conviction of their substantial justice, I should not be willing to give rise to an impression that they had been prompted by any sensibility of my own." This manly statement is followed by a courteous acknowledgment on the part of Mr. Adams for himself, that, considering the nature of his position during a very critical period, the spontaneous and generous testimony of good-will which he personally received, publicly and privately, as a representative of his country, from various quarters and opposite classes, will always claim his grateful recognition. We believe this is the only public reference which Mr. Adams has yet made to his own private experiences and feelings during the period of extreme anxiety and protracted discipline for himself and for our country, when under the forms of official courtesy he knew very well was disguised a desire for our discomfiture and ruin.

Though it may be taken for granted that John Adams was born after the manner of human infants, on a particular day of a month of a year, the biographer having failed to make any statement of the date, the reader may find the deficiency supplied by the inscription on the President's monument copied on the last page of Volume II. "Begun by John Quincy Adams," says the title-page of the book. The second President Adams's share in the work is very small, and we think most readers will be glad that the grandson's pen comes in as soon as it does to relieve the old-fashioned and not brilliant moralizing and references to antiquated lore which burden the first two chapters. Yet, perhaps, it was well that the son should start his father on his career, and leave to the grandson, with his lively and pointed style, and his modernized culture and his acquaintance with the developments which time and experience have so richly furnished, to draw out that long-extended and laborious career.

And what a noble and honorable and conspicuous career it was, how crowded with exciting and exacting surprises, with difficult and emergent occasions, with varied and ever faithfully fulfilled tasks, which required knowledge, virtue, disinterestedness, the loftiest patriotism, and the greatest skill. He seems to have been in training from his youth for the services of his life. Had he known when a college student what occupations and experiences were to engage his manhood, and what sort of mental and moral furniture they would require, he could not have been placed under better circumstances for discipline, nor chosen a wiser method of study and culture. His early reading in law, in ethics, and in the science of government enabled him to make the most desirable contribution to the opening cause of his country just at the crisis when it was most needed, and when he alone was at hand to impart it.

* "The Life of John Adams. Begun by John Quincy Adams. Completed by Charles Francis Adams." Revised and corrected. In 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

We do not wish here to reopen any of the old feuds, nor to rake the ashes of the fierce animosities which were most embittered at the time of Mr. Adams's retirement from public life. Our own conviction is that the development of events proved that, from first to last, he was right in the views which he held and in the course which he wished to be pursued by his country as to its relations respectively with France and England. The great reward and glory of his laborious and honored life came in his protracted old age. The calumnies of his bitterest enemies had been silenced or disproved. The integrity and fidelity of his various public services had been illustrated. His special policy in the matters in which it had been most opposed had been proved wise and right. And when, on the verge of ninety years, he saw his son holding the highest place in the nation, he might well sing his *nunc dimittis*.

Walks in Rome. By Augustus J. C. Hare. (London: Strahan & Co. New York: Geo. Routledge & Sons.)—The change in the political state of Rome makes the book of Mr. Hare likely to be the last, as it certainly is the best, of the many compendiums of the guide-book knowledge of the Eternal City. It is well written, thoroughly studied, and put together with an intelligence of the needs of the flying tourist, without in the least neglecting the wants of those who need historical and topical references. To old residents in Rome this book will be valuable as a repository of the facts, historical references, names, dates, etc., which they may wish to recall; to those who wish to visit Rome, it will illustrate what the author says of such, ("Those will enjoy Rome most who have studied it thoroughly before leaving their own homes,") by showing the force of what seems to us the great secret of the fascination of the city of illusions. There is a fascination in the place that no one escapes, and to which most people yield willingly, as to opium or ether—even those who abhor it and leave it, find themselves, as Hawthorne says, "astonished by the discovery by-and-by that their heart-strings have mysteriously attached themselves to the Eternal City, and are drawing them thitherward again, as if it were more familiar, more intimately their home than even the spot where they were born." It is like the palace of Circe. To many people Rome is repulsive from the beginning, but even to these the fascination comes with time.

"Walks in Rome" has all the places of interest arranged in an itinerary, which ensures the greatest possible economy of time, and to each in its proper place are appended all the references necessary to an understanding of the subject, with quotations from a long list of authors, not so senseless or useless, not to say misleading, as the everlasting quotations from Byron and Rogers with which the guide-books are freighted. They are chosen from authors of all beliefs and all religions, and all to the point, though not all of equal value.

The introductory chapter gives promise of another book on the excursions about Rome, which will not only be a more interesting theme, but one which will task the compiler's (for "Walks in Rome" is not much else than compilation) ability far more than this. The pleasant journeys there are, in the Sabine and the Volsian hills—as unknown to the guide-books as South America, and likely to remain such while the Papal authority kept the police of the country—are more than an average resident of Rome would believe. There are within a few miles of Rome some of the finest examples of Pelasgic wall building in Italy, and some quite unique; and the Campagna itself, the one thing of Rome proper which, in its desolation and lonely impressiveness, is unparalleled in the world's landscape, except, in another way, by the Adirondack woods, and in still another by the open ocean. A guide-book to the Campagna, as far as Filletino, Civita Castellana, Corneto, Porta d'Anzio, and Norba, would include half the world of history, and treat of scores of places of the most romantic interest, after Rome and Athens, in the Old World.

Wild Nature: a series of Charcoal Sketches, by Virgil Williams. Photographed by H. G. Smith. (Boston: Virgil Williams.)—Lovers of outdoor life will find this portfolio a pleasant reminder of vacations spent with rod, or gun, or line; and an incentive to future recreation of the same sort. The twelve views (of which the photographic print measures about 17½ in. x 9½ in.) represent the favorite haunts of trout and pickerel and blue-fish, of woodcock, quail, grouse, snipe, and duck, of hare, deer, and moose, with some action of man or beast suitable to the place. The figure-drawing is rather less successful than the landscape, which, including one sea-view, seems true to nature as we have known her, especially in New England. The scene, for example, in which the interesting group of moose is depicted we recognize as characteristic of the lakes of Maine; and we may mention as equally agreeable in recalling familiar situations the quiet cove of the pickerel fishers, the distant and near view in the quail shooting picture, and the sea swell in the trolling for blue-fish. Nearly all the designs are graceful in composition, and would bear framing. The set is sold at twenty dollars, and will more than repay the purchaser who gets from it, if nothing else, an inspiration to follow its pointings towards health and a rational diversion from hurry and care.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbot (J.), Science for the Young; Heat	(Harper & Bros.)	
Abstract of Colenso on the Pentateuch, swd	(American News Co.)	$0 25
American Law Times Reports, Vol. III	(Washington)	
Among My Books	(E. J. Hale & Son)	
Baring-Gould (S.), Gabrielle André: A Tale, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Barnes (Rev. A.), Notes on Romans, 10th ed	(Harper & Bros.)	
Bayne (P.), Life and Letters of Hugh Miller, 2 vols	(Gould & Lincoln)	
Beaman (C. C., jr.), The *Alabama* Claims and their Settlement	(Washington)	
Bill (L.), Minnesota; Its Character and Climate	(Wood & Holbrook)	
Black (W.), The Monarch of Mincing-Lane, swd	(Harper & Bros.)	50
Butler (W. A.), Lawyer and Client	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Carlyle (T.), Sartor Resartus	(Scribner, Welford & Co.)	90
Cockton (H.), Valentine Vox, the Ventriloquist, swd	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.)	75
Corson (Prof. H.), Hand-Book of Anglo-Saxon and Early English	(Holt & Williams)	
Dingley (T.), History from Marble, 2 vols	(Camden Society)	
Dumas (A.), Bragelonne, the Son of Athos, swd	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.)	75
Fight at Dame Europa's School	(F. B. Felt & Co.)	50
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1871.

The Week.

POLITICAL affairs are just now getting a great deal of the earnest attention of the politicians, who are beginning to be busier with schemes and combinations than it is probable they have been since 1860. In 1864, it was too plain for serious doubt that, if the Republicans were to do anything, they must renominate Lincoln; and in 1868, it was as little doubtful that they must nominate Grant; but that there are any such certainties now would not be said by any one, or rather, it is said by some few with an uneasy frequency, which tells as well as the silence of the rest how dubious and confused the political prospect at present is. Senator Morton, whom one would think not the safest of friends for a Western man with aspirations for the presidency, has spoken out the plainest, and he says that General Grant is to be renominated and re-elected, and that in the next presidential campaign the Republicans must make the fight on the old issues. Happening to meet the President at Indianapolis, he found there assembled a large number of his fellow-citizens, "as unexpectedly to himself as to the President of the United States." He then proceeded at some length to give his views of the political situation. The Republican party, he said, could not afford to run off upon any one issue to the abandonment of others; it was national, and its policy must embrace the good of the whole country; it could not afford to make a distinct issue on the tariff, civil service reform, or any other individual measure; it must take its stand on these assertions: the Democrats, if they return to power, will either take away the pensions of loyal soldiers, or else will pension Confederate soldiers also; will, when they have a majority in Congress, quietly allow the Southern States to secede in peace; will tax national bonds and unsettle everything generally. The next Republican candidate must, then, declare that Mr. Boutwell's policy, as Secretary of the Treasury, has been for the best interests of the country, inasmuch as it has already paid one-twelfth of the national debt; that the Ku-klux act, so-called, is constitutional and necessary; and that the United States Government must enforce the observance of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which everywhere in the South the Democrats disregard. This platform the newspapers represent the audience as receiving with applause, and President Grant was received, they say, with enthusiasm. Later, the President went to Lafayette, Indiana, and was welcomed by a convention of Odd Fellows, as they are called, and on this occasion the speech was made by Mr. Colfax. So Grant, not, it must be confessed, in the most dignified of ways, offers himself for a renomination.

But whether he is to get it, and what will be the platform on which he will be placed, seem to be questions that trouble the people at large as little as possible. Indeed, a pessimist, or an American newly arrived from Paris—in May, 1870—or the butler and upper-servants generally of the English Joint Commissioners, or, indeed, a better and wiser person than any of these, might almost be excused for falling into despondency in view of the apparent carelessness or apathy with which the political situation is regarded by the average American. Considering what are the condition and prospects of the Republican party in the Southern States, and what the likelihood of its carrying any two of them; considering the result of the New Hampshire and Connecticut elections, and that by way of replying to them and preventing a like result in Pennsylvania, we have the appointment of Colonel J. W. Forney as Collector at Philadelphia; considering the party's condition in this State; considering the latest action of the Supreme Court, which once was called the most dignified tribunal in the world; considering, also, the fact that we the other day changed our form of government, giving the President dictatorial powers because of Southern disorders of which General Sherman says: "I have probably as good means of information as most persons in regard to what is called the Ku-klux, and am perfectly satisfied that the thing is greatly overestimated;" considering that, as time wears away, and the cotton crop of the South each year exceeds that of the year before and that of old times, "the Negro" gradually fades into dimmer distance, while our taxes we have with us always, and like them none the better for being imposed by philanthropic men who are not great in finance; considering the size and persistency of the Free Trade and Protectionist quarrel, and the possibility that the Democrats may contrive to learn an open lesson of easy wisdom; considering all this, it seems a thing to be desired that the cooler Republican voter should bethink himself of some way to make his party leaders respect the forms of law and the sense of the country, or, failing that, should fall into despair. On the contrary, he troubles himself with neither, but goes on with his business and his money-making, thinking to himself—and not taking pains to tell Mr. Morton either—that when things get a little too bad, he will take hold and set them straight somehow.

That this point is in the immediate future, we ought, one would say, if he lives in this city, to be about this time beginning to think. Especially ought he, if he happens to be a seemly and virtuous member of the New York city press. The late Legislature passed—without reading it (though, to be sure, that would have made no difference)—a bill which now awaits Governor Hoffman's signature, and which, if he signs it, will sensibly abate that vigor of denunciation with which some of us have been treating Judge Barnard, Judge Cardozo, "The Boss," Mr. Sweeny, and others of our protectors. If not, it will probably cause us to spend our July and August vacation kicking our heels in the Ludlow Street jail, while the objects of our vituperation are lying-to off the Isles of Shoals, telling each other little stories, and drinking mixed drinks with ice in them. This law that is to be repeals the existing statutes providing punishments for contempt of court, and restores the common-law rules, which leave the judge much latitude—in fact, leave the offender very much at the judge's mercy. The punishment is to be "in the discretion of the court," and the proceedings are to be conducted "in such manner as the court may direct." So you print your vigorous editorial article relative to Judge Barnard's ruling in yesterday's injunction suit, and by the next morning you have been sent before a referee connected with that magistrate by blood or by affinity, and find yourself condemned to three months in jail, or mulcted in a fine that takes half your year's income. Furthermore, the Supreme Court—Barnard and Cardozo's—is granted the power to remove from the Superior Court and the Common Pleas any suit pending in either. This latter provision is in the interest of Fisk and the Erie gang, and the former is intended for the refractory journalists who may pluck up a spirit to characterize truthfully the performances of these men and their judicial and legal associates. Perhaps respect for public opinion may be at the origin of this new law, for of the men concerned in the recent degradation of our bench and bar some have a respect for public opinion, or at least feel some shame in public disgrace. But we need not gratulate each other too much on this tribute to decency. Jonathan Wild was not more easily superior to soft considerations of that kind than most of these gentlemen. As well accuse a one-armed man of clapping his hands. Indeed, the second part of the enactment, a triumph of insolence, which ostentatiously gives Barnard the right to do all Fisk and Gould's trying for them, is confutation enough of the notion that it is with hard words they are to be stopped.

A brief announcement was made in the *Tribune* of Monday of the purpose of the New York Republican State Committee to reorganize the party in this city and county, and that Messrs. Jackson S. Schultz and William Orton had undertaken to conduct the work. This was followed on Tuesday by a long communication in the same paper from Mr. Sinclair Tousey and three other officers of the Union Republican General Committee, protesting against such a reorganization on the ground that the petition for it came from professional bolters and disorganizers, and was composed "in the main, of counterfeit, spurious, and manufactured names," only 4,286 out of 10,000

turning out to be genuine, and of these, but 1,870 to stand for Republicans. The General Committee also deny the authority of the State Committee to interfere with them in the manner proposed, or that the party here is in any degree the tool of Tammany; and they seem to charge upon the State Committee the odium of the removal of Messrs. Grinnell and Palmer, which was not effected without the aid of Democratic votes in the Senate. We do not intend entering into the merits of this quarrel, on each side of which are men whom we respect; but we are firmly of the opinion that the present condition of the Republican party here is such as to call for some sort of reorganization and resurrection, if it is to be of use to anybody but those who from time to time are its managers. And it is certain that before any overtures can in decency be made to the German voters to come into the Republican fold, it should be thoroughly purged of even the suspicion of complicity or understanding with Tammany. On this field, at least, distinctions of friend and foe based on party names are simply delusive. The men who don't steal and won't steal, who aren't sold and who can't be sold, may pass in New York for Republicans. None others should be admitted or tolerated.

The Milwaukee *Herold*, a German paper, makes a forcible appeal to the Germans of this city to join in putting an end to the rule of Tweed and Sweeny, not only for local reasons, but as an act of patriotism. It says, what is the sober truth, that the gang which, having its seat here, now controls the entire State, is disposing of its plunder with a view to carrying the next Presidential election, sure of the support of all similar rings to which its example has given rise, or, as is very likely in the case of Pennsylvania, of which it is the immediate accomplice. The Germans of New York, therefore, in doing their duty by their own State, will be aiming a blow at corruption in all parts of the country. Their conduct, moreover, will inspire, as nothing else can, the German voters everywhere to throw off the apathy they have heretofore shown, and take their rightful share of political influence. The regeneration of Germany, says the *Herold*, has made the present time auspicious for such a movement. It has rendered the German-Americans conscious of their strength, and it clearly imposes on those in this city the duty of leadership. The visible achievement at Sedan was, in fact, as we have often pointed out, but a small part of that great victory; and the Germans who marched in procession the other day can prove it, if they choose, in the political field to which they are summoned to meet a subtler form of Cæsarism than that just overthrown in France.

There may have been a leakage at the White House, as some have said, and the final result of the labors of the Joint Commissioners may have got out in spite of the thoroughness with which the Commissioners themselves have kept their secrets, and baffled the Washington correspondent—a gentleman who appears dazed at the way in which, for once in his life, he has been treated, and whose lack of "enterprise," under the eyes of foreigners too, is little calculated to impress De Grey with the superiority of our journalism to that practised in his own land. He says, in the *Herald*, that "there is something remarkable" in the anxiety manifested by De Grey lest some morning he should wake up and find in the *Herald* the treaty published in full, and tells us that that nobleman has sent to his Government a telegram in which "the noble Earl advises that no faith should be placed in these newspaper accounts of what the Commission has done, for the reason that they are unofficial, and hence, according to the British view, irresponsible." Schenck is not as bad as that, but still, very little can be got out of him, and in fact all the American Commissioners display singular "reticence towards all outsiders, especially newspaper men." What to make of it is evidently too much for him. Nevertheless, a good deal has leaked out, and he is able to give us a synopsis of the treaty, for which he seems inclined to predict the fate that befell the instrument drawn up by Reverdy Johnson and Lord Clarendon. Two boards of audit and arbitration are to be appointed, one of which shall settle on the amount of the claims of Americans upon England for losses caused by the *Alabama* and other cruisers, and the other of which shall settle on the amount of the claims of Englishmen for all losses, except in slave property, sustained by them at the hands of the United States Government. It is calculated, he says, that the claims of the English will come up to something like 75,000,000 or 100,000,000 dollars, and that as the *Alabama* claims are computed at about 15,000,000 dollars, it is regarded as singularly unfortunate that the Commission had put the two things together and had settled upon the rules of law and evidence which should govern the arbitrators. Next the treaty stipulates that neither we nor the English shall build or fit out ships for privateering, or permit them to be built. As for the Canada inland waters, we are to use them freely, except as regards the regular tolls. The Canadian fisheries our informant is rather hazy about. American fishermen are to be "allowed to fish from headland to headland," and may cure their fish on Canadian soil on payment of a certain fee to Canadian authorities. The San Juan boundary question goes to arbitrators, and in all the boards two members are to be British, two American, and the fifth an umpire appointed by a neutral monarch, of name as yet unknown.

Judge Hoar was jubilant, on the eve of his departure, over the result of the Commission's labors; Schenck said to a senator, "You will like what we have done." Judge Nelson and all his brother Democrats in the Senate would give it a hearty support; Secretary Fish thinks it will go through the Senate easily, and that it is advantageous to this country. But the era of good feeling "is not yet;" much comment is excited in Administrative circles because of the rumor on the avenues that Ben Butler has announced his intention to oppose the treaty on the ground of its not being satisfactory to his constituents, who are Gloucester fishermen, and that Mr. Banks also had declared that he should oppose it with all the vigor at his command, because he thought it not conducive to the best interests of the United States. As Mr. Banks's qualifications for forming an opinion as to what is most conducive to the best interests of the country are of an extremely slender character, and, indeed, are by some held to be non-existent, it is to be hoped that no senator who sees reason to believe that, after long labor by some of our ablest and most patriotic men, a fair conclusion of this matter may be had, will allow his dread of the effect on the people of Mr. Banks's "beautiful baritone organ," lifted up in a speech of great discursiveness, to have any influence upon his vote. The fact is that Mr. Banks's eloquence is of more consequence to him personally and in his own district than anywhere else; and another fact is, that Mr. Banks's Chairmanship of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs has not been improved by him as such a means of enlightening his dense ignorance of everything relating to the right performance of his duties should have been improved. As for Mr. Butler, he may, perhaps, have something to say on behalf of his constituents that will be worth hearing, but everybody knows, too, and it will do no harm to recollect it, when he comes to say his say, that Essex County Yankees, original or adopted, can be sharper than is for the honor of their country, and that Butler is by nature a mischief-maker and an unsuccessful marplot, seldom or never successful except when unresisted.

Next Tuesday, in accordance with a suggestion of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade, which has been very favorably received, a convention of taxpayers, consisting of two delegates from every county in South Carolina, will meet at Columbia to ascertain the exact amount and nature of the State debt and other liabilities, and what frauds, if any, have been perpetrated, and to protest against any addition to the public debt in the meantime. Politics will be excluded from the deliberations of this convention, which is perhaps unique in the history of our State governments. In Charleston, where the Republicans have a slight but working majority, the newspapers of both parties are recommending an equitable division, without a contest, of the places in the city council, giving the Republicans the Mayor in token of their preponderance. Such an arrangement would do credit to human nature, and the mere proposal of it in South Carolina shows a remarkable progress towards a healthy political condition.

Business in trade circles has been rather more active during the past week, partly owing to a brightening up of country trade, and partly owing to a more general spread of the speculative spirit which, emanating from Wall Street, affects to a limited extent all classes of business. Under its influence, prices of many staples have advanced slightly, cotton has been firm, meats have improved somewhat, but breadstuffs are lower. The general imports continue exceedingly large, swelling the Treasury receipts to very liberal figures, and the exports are well maintained, although, at the prevailing low prices, the returns from our cotton shipments fall materially behind anticipations. Real estate has been uncommonly dull and weak, with a more decided expectation of a further decline than has been witnessed for some time. Many buildings are reported to be left unoccupied, and rents in many localities have had a sharp fall. The general want of prosperity is reflected in a striking manner in the income-tax returns, which are reported as exceedingly meagre.

In the financial world, the feature of the week has been the continued excitement and wide fluctuations in prices on the Stock Exchange. There is an evident increase in the participation of outsiders in the speculation, though not to anything like the extent which the leaders of the movement anticipated. Money is naturally easy, and is aided by Mr. Boutwell to some extent, and Government bonds are firm. But, although the 1862 bonds touched par in gold during the week, the highest price ever reached, the funding process appears to have nearly exhausted itself. Foreign exchange has continued high, and the specie shipment for the week is large, nearly three and a-half millions, the total export for the year, so far as elapsed, being the largest recorded. This fact is the more remarkable, that several railroad and other industrial loans are reported to have been recently taken up on the other side, where confidence in our material growth is practically unlimited. Gold has only slightly advanced under the heavy shipment, mainly in consequence of Mr. Boutwell's supposed determination to prevent it.

The Debt Statement for the month accounts in part for the ease in money, the Secretary having reduced his cash balance nearly six millions, which have, of course, gone to swell the loanable resources of the banks. His currency balance is now reduced to about twelve millions, which is ample for all practical purposes. The six millions of currency have been employed in the cancellation of six per cent. bonds, the same as the surplus revenue of the month, which likewise exceeds six millions. The debt is nominally decreased twelve millions, but half of it by cash already in hand last month. The amount of interest paid or accrued on account of the Pacific Railroad bonds now exceeds nine millions and a quarter, which might better be included at once in the total of the debt, as under the recent decisions it is not likely that the Treasury will ever recover any portion of the amount.

Little fighting has taken place, during the week, in the suburban region west of Paris which was lately the scene of the principal conflicts of the French civil war. Asnières, Courbevoie, the surroundings of the Maillot Gate, and Neuilly—which is more than half-destroyed—have enjoyed comparative quiet, while the attacks of the Versailles troops have been directed, with increased vigor, against the southern forts, Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge, the same which suffered most heavily from the Prussian fire. A furious bombardment was opened against them on Wednesday, April 26, and continued throughout the night, with particular damage to Fort Issy. The barracks of this fort were destroyed, its fire silenced, and a breach made in the walls. On the morning of the 27th, Les Moulineaux, a village in its close vicinity, which offered an important new position, was carried by the assailants. In the night of the 29th, they carried a park and several buildings situated but a few hundred paces from the intrenchments, whereupon the defenders of the fort, half of whose guns were dismounted, were seized with a sudden panic, mutinied, and most of them fled. Cluseret, in the morning, hastened to the front, and succeeded in having the fort reoccupied by fresh troops, under command of "General" La Cecilia. Exposed to a raking fire, and almost surrounded, the new garrison seems to be inclined to capitulate, but the negotiations which were opened with it on Monday have as yet led to no result. The Versailles Government is sanguine of speedy success in that quarter, in which it has now concentrated considerable forces. And speedy success is the more needed, as Germany begins to threaten interference in case the struggle should assume the appearance of an "interminable civil war," endangering the moral and material interests of all Europe. The latest accounts from this theatre of war are more than usually contradictory and confused, but still sufficiently indicate that the Government troops, acting with unwonted energy, are steadily gaining ground, and that the moment of a more decisive conflict is rapidly approaching.

Scarcely had the critical condition of affairs on the southern line of defence become known at the sanctum in which the collective wisdom of the Paris Commune deliberates behind closed doors, when it was resolved to dismiss General Cluseret from the high position he had in vain labored to make use of for organizing victory; thus adding another name to the long list of immortal victims of the ingratitude of republics. Another victim is the international Assy, who has been re-arrested; and another, Rigault, late "delegate for public safety" at the Prefecture of Police, who has also been imprisoned. Dombrowski, however, is left in command, together with many another Polish "General" whose past, like his, is historically rather dim. The Paris Commune is magnanimous enough to overlook, or pardon, all kinds of "records," and it is only "the Prussians of Versailles," the violators of all rules of civilized warfare, against whom the "delegate for foreign affairs," Grousset, directs his shafts—who rake up the dubious past of the Dombrowskis, the Cluserets, and the like, to the disgust of all friends of the Universal Republic. The Commune looks only to the future, which cannot, however, be said to be advanced for them by the municipal elections throughout France. The Reds have carried only some minor towns, such as Narbonne and Le Mans, and their attempts to raise insurrectionary commotions, wherever made, have failed.

The Italian Senate is engaged in discussing the bill passed by the lower House, fixing the Papal guaranties and the future relations of church and state, and will probably make some unimportant amendments to it. Nothing, however, will compensate the Pope for the mortification of owing his protection to the Italian Government; and neither his being left a sovereign in the same capital with another sovereign, his life as sacred, and his court of ambassadors as real, nor his being free to appoint bishops without the royal confirmation, persuades him to accept the handsome terms of settlement. Meantime the religious dissenters are beginning to show signs of activity throughout the peninsula, and a great scandal was caused the Catholics by a party of freethinkers at Pisa, who ostentatiously gave a public dinner on Good-Friday. Protests, signed by numerous respectable citizens, were printed in the newspapers, and the Bishop of Mondovì sent to the Minister of Justice a most urgent entreaty that he would interpose to prevent the desecration, referring him to a statute which had long been a dead letter, and which no government nowadays would presume to revive. So the freethinkers ate in peace, while their countrymen generally, heeding neither them nor their clerical persecutors, went on with those commercial and industrial enterprises which are changing the face of Italian society. Judging from the use of the Suez Canal, however, which Italian muscle had so large a share in excavating, Italian commerce is not so enterprising as the position of the country should prompt it to be. Last year, but one in forty of the vessels that passed through was Italian, though the figures for the first months of the present year seem to show an absolute if not a relative increase. In the east, in China and in India, the kingdom is extending its consulships, and trade will doubtless follow in due season.

POLITICAL PRECEDENTS.

An article which recently appeared in the Buffalo *Express* draws an elaborate comparison between the Fugitive Slave Law and the so-called Ku-klux bill, and justifies the latter statute by the precedent set in the former. The Fugitive Slave Law, it says, was an extreme measure in the direction of centralization; it recognized no limit to the power of the United States Government; it overrode the sovereignty of the States; it authorized the use of the military arm; it extinguished the writ of habeas corpus—and all to protect the slave-holder in his rights of property. The Ku-klux bill, it urges, adopts the same measures, and calls into action the same forces, but with a far different object. It also acknowledges no limit to the power of the United States Government, and overrides the sovereignty of the States, but only to protect citizens in their lives, in their freedom of action and opinion, and in all their privileges and immunities. We shall not discuss the position thus briefly sketched, but simply use it as the text for a few observations which it plainly suggests upon the danger of political precedents.

The writer in the *Express* is so carried away by the comparison he has made between the atrocious design of the earlier statute and the beneficial object of the present law, that he fails to perceive the double nature and retroactive force of his own argument, which is, indeed, a two-edged weapon, wounding friend and foe alike. This argument, in a nutshell, is as follows: Twenty-one years ago the party in power violated the spirit of the Constitution in order to protect property in slaves; therefore we, who are the special champions of liberty and equal rights, may in like manner and by like means violate the spirit of the Constitution in order to protect life and personal security. Two precedents have thus been established in favor of the same measures of violation, although with very different designs. Do not the *Express*, and all other advocates of this legislation, perceive that, when the party which was in power twenty-one years ago, or its legitimate political descendants, shall again control the Government, it will find in this identical example and in this reasoning ample authority for some future fugitive slave law—ample authority by which to defend any usurpations of power for purposes as unlawful and wicked as those sought to be accomplished by the Force Bill are proper and just? The doctrine that evil can be done that good may come has always found subtle apologists. It has often been invoked by statesmen in the administration of public affairs, but invariably with disastrous consequences. Bad political precedents are dangerous in any form of government, but are emphatically so in a government which is restrained by an organic law, whose observance must be to a great extent voluntary, or compelled more by the moral force of public opinion than by material sanctions. A bad political precedent, set up for a worthy, desirable, and beneficial end, is, in the long run, more dangerous than a similar precedent established for an improper, unjust, and immoral end.

Thus the Force Bill which Congress has just passed carries with it the possibilities of more and greater evil consequences than were involved in the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law. A legislation which not only violates the organic law and the elementary principles of political science, but also aims at a final result which is in itself iniquitous, finds few supporters beyond the ranks of those whose immediate interests are subserved. The common sense of justice is outraged, and an opposition at once springs up which continually gathers strength until it finally becomes successful. On the other hand, a legislation which violates the organic law and the elementary principles of political science, but for a worthy, desirable, and beneficial end, at once finds supporters among large classes of good citizens, who, in their anxiety to reach the final result, shut their eyes to the improper nature of the way and the means. The people gradually grow accustomed to the principle embodied in the unlawful exercise of authority; their opinions are reflected by the legislature and by the courts, until in time the measure becomes a part of the settled administrative policy of the country, and may be used as the base of a new departure.

This process is illustrated by the history of the legal-tender enactment. Prior to the war, no lawyer, nor even an intelligent citizen, would have hesitated a moment in pronouncing against the validity of such a statute. It was adopted as an experiment, under the supposition that it was absolutely necessary. The people have acquiesced and the courts have sustained it, and for aught that appears it may remain a permanent feature of our financial system. But it contains the assertion of a power in Congress to break up and destroy all private contracts and personal obligations, and leaves no safeguard against the exercise of such a power. In this very process lies the great danger which must always accompany the kind of legislation we are describing. When, in the course of time, other measures identical in principle, but seeking to effect some unworthy and immoral objects, are proposed and passed by those who confessedly base their action upon the precedent already set, the better citizens will find themselves estopped from making any opposition; their mouths will be shut, or at least all the force will be taken from their arguments, and their remonstrances will be unheeded. In public as well as in private life, with political communities as well as with individuals, bad practices to accomplish good results must inevitably end in total demoralization, in an entire destruction of the practical distinctions between right and wrong.

It ought not to be necessary to remind any one that the good and wise and virtuous will not always control the administration of public affairs; there must be changes and vast oscillations. We may be sure that when the evil-disposed, the dishonest, and the wicked obtain power, they will successfully push to a terrible extremity the precedents which their predecessors have established for them. The very central idea of a constitutional form of government, and the final reason for the adoption of a written organic law, certain and fixed in all its features, is that restraints may be placed upon the acts of good and bad rulers alike, so that the unwise measures done by the former for a worthy end may not be adopted by the latter and perverted to an evil purpose. Were the wise and good always to be in power, there might be little danger that the rights and liberties of individual citizens would ever be infringed. The government might be paternal and protecting. It is enough to say that our institutions were founded upon no such absurd and impossible assumption. They recognize the certainty of constant changes in society and in those who for the time being control society, and have established safeguards intended to protect the people from any possible evil consequences of these social and political revolutions.

The danger from bad political precedents which we are pointing out is not imaginary. It already lifts itself in imposing proportions, and we stand face to face with it. The events of the past two years show beyond a doubt that as fast as the Democratic party has obtained power in the States, it has been quick to apprehend the nature and force of the precedents which a Republican Congress has repeatedly set for its study and imitation. When the same party reaches the position of ascendancy throughout the nation and grasps the reins of the General Government, we may expect a series of legislative measures, terrible perhaps in their results, but each finding an example and a counterpart in some existing statute. The House of Representatives first used the process of impeachment as a means of punishing a political opponent, and with the avowed purpose of achieving a party success. State legislatures have been eager to copy both the act and the motive; and impeachment, which the Constitution designed as the last sanction by which the discretion of executive and judicial officers might be restrained within just limits, may be considered in future as an ordinary and ready instrument in the hands of a party majority to accomplish partisan ends; nay, the acts of the Arkansas Legislature during the past winter have covered this most solemn proceeding with an odium from which it can hardly be rescued. How meek and tame were the Republican protests against the removal of Governor Holden compared with the thunders which would have been uttered had it not been for the attempt to get rid of Mr. Johnson. Again, the "previous question," which was invented to cut off a factious opposition and to put an end to a discussion which had already been exhaustive, has for several years been used as a whip to gather in and control a party majority and as a gag to stifle all debate. The retribution has already

begun in several of the States, and will sometime doubtless be consummated upon the floor of the House. The appeal to the public made during the past winter by Republican members of the Indiana Legislature who had resigned was throughout a curious document, but no portion of it was more curious or more refreshing than that which bitterly complained of the tyranny of the Democratic majority in the use of the previous question, and in the prohibition of debate upon matters of the highest importance to the States. A vision of Thaddeus Stevens ought to have appeared to the writer of this address and to have stayed his hand as he penned the inconsistent complaint. The readiness with which the New York Assembly rejected the claims of Mr. Twombly and seated a Democratic member in his place, finds many a parallel in the acts of recent Congresses, and the process will probably be repeated upon a larger field.

We have already said that the Ku-klux bill itself may perhaps be made the precedent for some future fugitive slave law, or for some other statute which shall equally violate the Constitution, political science, and good morals. The suggestion was reasonable, and its accomplishment is not at all improbable. If the Democratic party should come into power, it is certainly within the range of possibilities that it should endeavor to uphold and sustain the liquor interest by Congressional legislation directed against State prohibitory and license laws. Such a measure could be easily patterned after the present Force Bill; the State laws could be declared void; the States enacting and sustaining them could be described as "abridging the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States," and as "denying to persons the equal protection of the laws;" interference with the free manufacture and sale of liquors could be pronounced a crime punishable by the national courts, and resistance could be overawed and put down by the military. In favor of the legality of all this an argument might easily be made, plausible enough at least for all those who should desire to be convinced. The United States is bound and has full authority to protect its citizens in all their rights and privileges; the right to acquire, use, and dispose of property is as sacred as the right to life or liberty, and, equally with the latter, demands protection from the General Government; intoxicating liquors are the subjects of property, which draws after it all the incidents of complete ownership; the Fourteenth Amendment has made the way clear for Congress to interfere; and the State laws which wholly prohibit or partially restrain the free use and traffic in this species of property, are directly opposed to the wholesome provisions of that amendment. This principle has already received the judicial sanction and support of one of the advanced members of the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Justice Bradley has declared a statute of Louisiana null and void which incorporated a company for receiving and slaughtering animals, and gave it certain privileges and immunities which were denied to all others engaged in the same business. According to that learned judge, the Fourteenth Amendment was aimed at all State laws which abridge the rights and privileges of citizens as such, and under its benign protection are included not only the rights to life, liberty, and property, but also what he magnificently called "the sacred right of labor."

If we should object, as we certainly should, that the whole matter of the manufacture, use, and sale of intoxicating liquors was within the purview of police regulation, and that the subject of internal police was committed exclusively to the State authorities, we should be met by the ready answer that all this might once have been true, but that the Fourteenth Amendment, as construed by a preceding Congress, had swept within the domain of national legislation the function of personal protection, and that such protection could not stop at life, liberty, and opinion, but must be extended to property. Such would be the logical result—not to say the *reductio ad absurdum*—of a "centralism of liberty," an "imperialism of equal rights." The Democratic party has long been the champion of the liquor interests; it derives a large portion of its support from those engaged in the traffic; it has uniformly opposed all prohibitory laws; and if it should ever come into power, what is more natural than to expect that the influence which has been so prominent in its councils should be equally controlling in its legislation?

WHY THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY IS SO CONSERVATIVE.

Everybody who paid any attention to affairs in France during the late war must have been perplexed by the meagreness of the intelligence received from every quarter but Paris. Indeed, although Paris was for four months closely blockaded, we knew far more of what was passing within its walls, and of the condition, feelings, and opinions of the population, than we knew of what was going on in the provinces, or of the condition, feelings, and opinions of *their* population. We knew that troops were pouring into Gambetta's armies in great numbers, and that Gambetta himself was carrying things with a high hand, but what the great bulk of the French people, the men who were doing the fighting, paying the taxes, bearing the heavy weight of the invader's hand, thought about war or peace, empire or republic, Louis Napoleon or Léon Gambetta, nobody knew; and, owing to the defects of the French provincial press, and the interruption to communications, and the non-existence of any representative body, there was no means of finding out. The consequence was that numbers of writers and orators, calling themselves "radicals" and "liberals" and friends of popular government, both here and in England, to their shame be it said, availed themselves of this thick darkness to spread abroad the notion that the French people approved of Gambetta's tricks, did not want a representative government, were willing to have a mighty war carried on, and the blood and treasure of France poured out like water, as long as it pleased a young lawyer, elected by a Paris mob, to play the part of a dictator. What is worse than this, however, is, that now that the provinces, comprising the great body of the French people, acting under the influence of events and tendencies of which foreign observers have until now known little or nothing, have elected an Assembly which does not give satisfaction to the Paris mob, plenty of these same "radicals" and "liberals" are found ready to justify or excuse the Parisians in an attempt to wrest from France the city which she has created with her money, and made illustrious by her genius, and set it up in the midst of her territory as a separate republic, ruled by a low order of adventurers and charlatans, and certain to be deserted almost immediately by all men of intelligence and property.

The veil is at last being lifted which has covered the provinces during the past year. Their voice begins to be heard through the press once more, and we are getting a flood of light on the events of Gambetta's administration outside Paris, and on the agencies which led the French people to elect one of the most conservative Assemblies which has met in France since 1830. Perhaps the most complete and instructive of these revelations is an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of March 15, from the pen of M. Leroy-Beaulieu, in which he gives an account of the political and social situation in the provinces during the siege. We shall endeavor to give the substance of what he says, and commend the article to the perusal of all those who wish to understand for what it is the French people are now contending against the Cluserets, and Duvals, and Assys.

The first effect of Sedan on the provincial mind was utter disgust with the Empire. When he surrendered, Louis Napoleon fell unmistakably not in Paris only, but in all France. M. Leroy-Beaulieu compares the feeling of the country people to the rage one feels with a steward or trustee to whom one has long committed the entire charge of one's affairs, and who has suddenly bolted with one's whole fortune. But disgust with the Empire did not prepare them for the *manner* in which the dynasty was overthrown on the 4th of September. If there was one thing in which the provincial mind was more fully made up than another, it was that the *coup d'état* of 1848 should not be repeated; for if, said the "rurals," governments are to be overthrown and set up by an "escalade" performed by a street mob at the Chambers or the Hôtel de Ville, what security can we ever have that any government will last over a week without confiding it, as we have done of late, to the care of a dictator with a large standing army? But they were, considering the state of the country, ready to accept accomplished facts, and, above all, to accept the republic loyally and even enthusiastically. The implied acknowledgment of the illegality of its origin, and of its strictly *de facto* character, made by the new government in calling itself "The Government of National Defence,"

satisfied public opinion, and the provinces waited eagerly for the summoning of a National Assembly. Had that Assembly been elected in October, it would have been wholly republican, M. Leroy-Beaulieu declares. The country was still united, still hopeful, and disgusted with monarchy, and the administrative machinery was still working well, and the popular respect for law still unshaken.

Instead of summoning an Assembly, however, the Government sent two of its members—old and feeble men—down to Tours, and then despatched after them Gambetta in a balloon, and these three began a series of follies which have had perhaps no parallel in history, except in the first Revolution, and have, more than Prussian arms, ruined France.

In the first place, they dismissed *all* the prefects. This, considering what a delicate machine the administration is in France, was a bold step to take in the presence of the enemy. But Gambetta then proceeded to fill up their places, and his appointees were all either briefless lawyers and small newspaper men of the order known to us here as "Bohemians" and "blatherskites," or else "advanced" radicals from the departments, who had passed long years fighting with the local authorities, and who only thought of power as a means of wreaking vengeance on their old enemies. The appearance of these nondescripts on the scene perfectly astounded the inhabitants. Their astonishment was increased, however, when another decree, still from Gambetta, broke up all the old municipal councils which, good or bad, did furnish an organized expression of public opinion, and he left the task of reforming them to the discretion of the new prefects; and as each prefect had his own views, each of the eighty-nine departments had, in a few days, a municipal council got up on a separate and distinct plan. About the end of September, the Government thought of having an Assembly elected, and its very first step towards this was the issue of a circular from M. Laurier, a young and light-headed lawyer, who was acting as Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, instructing the new prefects, in the old Imperial fashion, to "enlighten" the electors as to how they ought to vote.

Soon after, however, the idea of holding an election was given up, and Gambetta proceeded to govern alone. Thereupon most of the great cities refused to obey him, and set up governments of their own, Lyons setting the example. In this city the new prefect began a course of illegality in which a great number of others were not slow to follow. By mere decree he dismissed, without giving any reasons, fifteen justices of the peace. The new municipal council then hoisted the red flag, and confiscated all church property. It was ousted and succeeded by a "Central Committee of Revolutionary Initiative," which locked up the district attorney, and declared that as all military officers were Bonapartists and untrustworthy, "it was the right and duty of military citizens (the private soldiers) to depose such officers from their places." The effect of this on the troops, who were going to march against the "Prussian hordes" and rout Moltke, may be imagined. "The International Association of Laborers" seems to have shared the government with the Central Committee, and decreed "the abolition of the governmental and administrative machinery," and declared that "all civil and criminal tribunals were also abolished," and their "places supplied by the justice of the people;" that the payment of taxes was abolished, except as regarded the rich, and all legal enforcement of contracts prohibited; and for municipal councils were substituted "committees of safety," which were to act "under the immediate control of the people." To crown all, the brave Cluseret, who was roving about, was made general-in-chief. The prefect and various other dignitaries were arrested, including the commander of the garrison, the ecclesiastical schools closed, and the priests forced into the army.

At Marseilles much the same scenes occurred. There the new prefect was the well-known writer, M. Esquiroz, who proved to be as crazy as the craziest of the "Reds." He dismissed all the judges of the civil courts by decree, and all the old police, and substituted special constables of the Red faction, who soon became the terror of the city, arrested any one they pleased, and occupied themselves largely in getting up "manifestations." Moreover, he got up a "Southern League," composed of his own and the neighboring departments, all of which sent delegates to a convention at Marseilles, disowned the Paris government, declared the regular army abolished, and fixed on Lyons as "the centre of organization," Marseilles as "the centre of action," and Toulon as "the grand arsenal," and issued a manifesto calling on all France to rally round the "League," all civil and military authorities "to abdicate their prerogatives," and the other regions of France to follow the example of the South.

At Toulouse there was another crazy prefect, M. Duportal, who also dismissed all the judges by decree, and confiscated all church property, and closed all ecclesiastical schools. At Nice the prefect regulated the rent of houses by decree, and fixed the periods of payment. The prefect of the Haute-Loire, refusing to "smash things" in this way, was summarily dismissed as a "traitor," and an editor of the *Rappel*, a Red sheet of the lowest order, put in his place. In the meantime, the revenues of all these departments, raised by all sorts of irregularities, were passing by the million into the hands of these madcaps and Bohemians—many of whom three short months before were not sure of their dinner on any day of the week—and were spent nobody knows how. The whole system of accounts was everywhere thrown into hopeless confusion.

The grand object of all these organizations, risings, and so forth was, to use their own language, to "prevent the military hierarchy from hindering the action of the people." Accordingly, the unfortunate officers of the regular army, laboring might and main to make head against the awful disasters of the campaign and prepare fresh means of resistance, were in all the great cities mobbed, driven out, imprisoned, and threatened with death. Society was rapidly going to pieces; Moltke was marching on, and Gambetta was decreeing and perorating all over the country, as if the doom of the Germans was at hand. His first step, after leaving the balloon, was to postpone the general elections; and his prefects went to work to suppress newspapers also by decree. They suppressed the order of the Jesuits, and banished the members from France, and were performing other extravagances, which, to do Gambetta justice, he in one or two cases tried to prevent, but they refused to obey him. He dismissed the prefect at Marseilles; but he held on, and set the new appointee at defiance. Another prefect levied a forced loan on the Government officers; another dismissed all the mayors of his department and drafted them summarily into the army; and all, as we have said, seized on the taxes and administered them as they pleased.

In the meantime, the Tours Government sent Laurier, the young lawyer, to London to negotiate loans. Without any regular government at his back, he had to accept any terms he could get. Besides foreign loans, the plan of raising money which was most seriously discussed at Tours by the Government, was a forced loan levied on the twelve richest inhabitants of each commune, the list to be prepared by the prefect or other persons in authority. No explanation or account of the terms or manner in which the loan was negotiated in London was ever offered. An official note informed the public that it had been approved by the "Conseil des finances;" but this was the first time the world ever heard of this body, and it was the last, and who composed it was never known.

After the fall of Metz, Gambetta, without waiting for explanation, or knowing anything about the causes of the catastrophe, issued a frantic manifesto declaring it was due to "treason." This led to ten Red risings in different cities, with attacks by mobs on generals and other officers, ending, in two or three cases, in atrocious murders. At Marseilles, the new prefect tried once more to take possession of his office, and was shot for his pains, General Cluseret having been appointed "Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the League" in that city. In the midst of all this horrible disorder Gambetta found time to establish a little official paper called the *Bulletin de la République*, published three times a week, and issued a circular commanding all mayors to circulate it diligently in their communes, and, what was more efficacious, *ordering* the school-teacher in each commune to read it aloud to the inhabitants every Sunday. This precious little sheet, which was intended to "enlighten the people," was filled principally with scandalous stories of the Imperial Court. Several numbers in

succession contained long accounts of the "Liaisons of Napoleon III. with Marguerite Bellanger" and with "Miss Howard." The writing was generally in the style of the *New York Blatherskite*.

M. Gent, the new prefect at Marseilles, having recovered from his wound, went to work on the old plan. The first ban of the Garde Mobile elected their own officers under a decree of the Tours Government; M. Gent set this aside by a decree of his own, and appointed such officers as he pleased in his department. Some citizens claimed exemption under the law; so he fined them himself from $200 to $600 a day for every day they delayed joining their regiment, and made the penalty retroactive—that is, made it cover all the time preceding their claim as well as the time following it. The municipal council about the same time tried to make a loan of $2,000,000; it was not all taken, so a commission was appointed to visit rich citizens at their houses to make them subscribe.

When the Government removed to Bordeaux, it became, under the influence of the local populace, more frantic than ever, Gambetta's impressionable nature ill fitting him to resist the contagion of outdoor excitement. Violent denunciatory resolutions were passed by the city municipal council. The National Guard gave in their adhesion, and, under their influence, Gambetta issued his famous decree disqualifying whole categories of persons for seats in the National Assembly, and dissolving the councils-general of the departments, the only representative bodies surviving in France. The crusade against the press still continued in a style worthy of the best days of the Empire. Foreign journals were denied admission to France by decree, pamphlets were seized, papers suppressed or suspended, editors locked up for criticising M. Gambetta's measures—in fact, there was no act of arbitrary violence and illegality which has ever been committed in France in the worst days of the monarchy which these apostles of the republic did not commit. They outdid the ministers of Louis XV. in the disorder which they introduced into the finances; they outdid the ministers of Louis Napoleon in the contempt with which they treated representative government and the processes of law, and in their hostility to the liberty of the press; the Empire, too, was often, and justly, reproached with its want of respect for the office of the public school-teacher; but no Imperial minister ever dared to subject the teachers to the degradation which Gambetta imposed on them of reading aloud, in public, on Sunday, a dirty little chronicle of court amours. More than this, they handed over the administration of that portion of France which was not ravaged by the enemy to a swarm of *badauds* from the newspaper offices and cafés of Paris, who helped to destroy military discipline, disorganize the administration of justice, put life and property in peril, and shake every man's confidence in the existence of a government and in the stability of society itself. Can we wonder, after this, and after a humiliating peace to which all these follies and disorders undoubtedly led, that the constituencies should have elected an assembly which, whatever else it may do or leave undone, is determined to take such measures as it can to prevent any return of the sad and sorrowful reign of the Blatherskites?

ENGLAND.

LONDON, April 14, 1871.

THERE is one matter in which, by the general consent of such Americans as I have had the pleasure of knowing, we of the old country may claim some superiority over you. We have a greater capacity for taking a holiday, or, if you prefer the phrase, for doing nothing. It is not surprising that we should have developed such a talent, considering how many persons there are in England whose whole life is one long apprenticeship to the art. With a large class which merely regards business as an occasional sauce to pleasure, we have naturally made ample provision for interspersing our labors with a due amount of relaxation. An English university, for example, enjoys six months of absolute recreation, and any effort to diminish this apparently extravagant allowance is generally met by the assertion that the human brain would not bear a longer and more continuous strain. At the present period, we are enjoying the brief interval which gives to weary Londoners a foretaste of the pleasures of the long vacation. Members of Parliament are dispersing—some to take lessons in practical politics at the new siege of Paris, others to repose in the bosom of their families, and others (for that cruel fate overtakes some zealous persons) to favor their constituencies with brief expositions of their political views. Humbler mortals, each in their own department, are doing what they can to make the best of their brief absence from harness by snatching a few mouthfuls of country air. The university boat-race gives the first signal for play. All London turns out at a premature hour in the morning to watch for hours on the banks of the Thames for a brief glimpse of the racing crews. Then comes Good Friday, which, in more superstitious times, was supposed to have certain solemn associations, and to be properly celebrated by fasting and humiliation. The ordinary Briton now reads his *Daily Telegraph* in the morning, and feels himself considerably edified by its burst of sentimental eloquence, and then proceeds to enjoy himself after his fashion, which, I fear, too often includes the consumption of a considerable quantity of spirituous liquors.

Easter Monday, however, is the most generally recognized festivity, and it is now annually celebrated by a grand review of volunteers. Some 25,000 men had this year the pleasure of spending a day on the Brighton downs. Considered in the light of a grand picnic, these performances may be considered as a decided success. For some reason or other, men like to dress themselves in fancy uniforms, and march about for many hours in a bitter east wind, and other people like to look on. The day is something of the longest, and to persons of defective patriotism not a little tiresome; but, on the whole, it seems to come under the general description of "good fun," as understood by the general public. Regarded as a military spectacle, we used also to be proud of the display; but in such matters we are naturally growing to be rather more exacting. In fact, the business is hardly taken seriously enough to be a real trial of strategic skill. A volunteer writes to complain that his regiment was first ordered to fire away its ammunition at a distance from the enemy equal to about twice the maximum range of the rifles; that it was then moved up to a position where it partook of luncheon under the raking fire of a strong battery of artillery, at the distance of 100 yards; and that some of its supports afterwards extended in skirmishing order in its rear and commenced a lively fire into its ranks. I know not whether this picturesque anecdote be strictly true, though, from my own experience on similar occasions, I can believe it to be not altogether fanciful. The main object of these performances seems to be the exhibition of a number of picturesque tableaux to the inhabitants of Brighton and their visitors, and the reference to any practical application of the lessons supposed to be taught is exceedingly faint. We are promised better things in future; and people are beginning generally to admit that our volunteer army should either be disbanded or made really efficient. The last course will, I presume, be attempted; but there is great difficulty in persuading gentlemen, who think that they have made sufficient sacrifice when they have gone through a certain number of drills and fired a few rounds at a target in the course of a year, to submit to any sufficiently stringent tests. However, there is so much good raw material that it seems a pity not to turn it to account. At present, our volunteer army is not only deficient in training, in discipline, and in really capable officers, but it has absolutely no organization which would enable it to take the field at any moderately brief notice. To supply these wants, and to impose adequate tests upon volunteers, without damping their ardor, are amongst the problems which the War Office is endeavoring to solve. It is a long and exceedingly complicated task; but we dismiss the matter from our minds at present, to be discussed again, doubtless, in the endless debates which still await the Government measure of army reform. The very thought of that dismal flow of words is painful at the present moment, when our holiday is just beginning. In another fortnight we shall be buckling to our task once more, and therefore we would fain forget it now.

I know not why it is, but when other subjects retire for a space into the background, theological questions always seem to come uppermost in the English mind. For example, the *Times*, which represents the current, easy-going orthodoxy, with a holy horror for all extremes, all enthusiasm, fills most of the space left us by French difficulties with discussions of various religious topics. It has been reviewing Mr. Darwin's new book quite in the good old spirit, which, as I had begun to hope, was rather growing out of fashion. Besides raising the ordinary scientific and metaphysical objections, which are fair enough, whatever their force, it cries out that if Mr. Darwin's views were well-founded, we should lose all sound basis for religion and morality; there would be no particular reason for believing in God or the soul, or for anything except the most grovelling views of expediency in place of morality. According to the epigram, the *Times* is

in that stage when the regular argument is that a new theory is contradicted by the Bible, and perhaps is approaching the stage at which the argument will be that everybody knew it before. Meanwhile, the popularity of Mr. Darwin's speculations is certainly remarkable. His book is, beyond all comparison, the most successful book of the season; and though, perhaps, few people read to the end of it, almost everybody feels bound to talk about it. The most remarkable thing, however, in spite of the ebullition of the *Times*, is that most people are so very little startled by an argument which, not many years ago, would have been supposed to be subversive of all our religious ideas. Perhaps they have reflected that, even if monkeys were our ancestors, the great point is that we are men, and that no explanation of our origin makes much difference to the conditions under which we are actually placed.

Meanwhile, a more bitter discussion, to which I have already more than once alluded, is raging in theological circles. The Purchas case has produced an amount of excitement to which nothing has afforded a parallel since the development of the Tractarian movement thirty years ago. The discussion overflows the bounds of the so-called religious papers, and it is impossible to take up any newspaper without coming upon furious invectives from one side or the other. The last contribution to the controversy comes from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it is sufficiently characteristic of the spirit in which the rulers of the church are meeting the storm that rages around them to deserve short notice. The primate lays down, in the first place, the principle that the law must be respected, and that, if the judgment of the highest courts is to be impugned as dishonest and ignorant because it tells against any particular party, there is no result except absolute anarchy; but when he tries to draw some practical conclusions, he becomes terribly puzzled. He says, on the one hand, that the law should not be enforced in a rigid and inquisitorial spirit; and on the other, that the supremacy of the law must be recognized. He begs the clergy not to trouble themselves about such trifles, but to unite against the progress of infidelity. This is all very well, but it does not throw much light upon the subject. The courts have decided that the clergy are not to array themselves in particular garments. The question is whether the bishops are to endeavor—moderately, of course, and with due regard to particular circumstances—to suppress the use of the garments in question, or whether they are to fold their hands and allow the decisions of the court to be neglected and its members openly insulted. The good archbishop—for he is really a most exemplary and amiable prelate—obviously shirks this question. He talks about his "dear brethren" and the paternal interest of his colleagues in their subordinates, and is generally most anxious that everything should be made as pleasant as possible. Unfortunately, people have become far too angry to listen to such well-meant advice. If, as is highly probable, the bishops act in the spirit thus recommended, and endeavor to evade any responsibilities whatever, the result is easily foreseen. Indignant Protestant Associations will bring actions against the recalcitrant Ritualists, and an amount of bitter feeling will arise which will speedily threaten very seriously the vitality of the Establishment. There seems, indeed, to be another possible mode of escape. There is, namely, a prospect that the case may be reheard, and, of course, the judgment may be reversed. And yet a reversal of the judgment, under such circumstances, would be such an apparent confession of weakness as must damage most seriously the theory of a state church. It would be said, and with every appearance of justice, that the court had been bullied into giving up their interpretation of the law simply because it was unpleasant to a good many influential people. The immediate danger would no doubt be averted, but it would be at the expense of the character of the supreme court of appeal, and therefore at the expense of the only tribunal upon which the laity can count to restrain the vagaries of the clergy. The prospect is not encouraging to the advocates of an establishment, in whatever direction we look; and the want of backbone, if I may use such a word, exhibited by the highest authorities, is of rather bad augury for the successful management of the institution in the stormy times which await it.

Notes.

FORTY years after the first publication of Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus," a cheap edition of it and of all his works is begun by Messrs. Scribner, Welford & Co., in connection with the English house of Chapman & Hall. The series will comprise upwards of thirty volumes, issued monthly, in shape a square 12mo, quite convenient to hold; and in respect of binding, paper, and print so unexceptionably good that the price at which they are furnished seems very low indeed. Any single volume may be had for ninety cents, or the whole set may be subscribed for at seventy-five cents. The "Sartor Resartus" has an admirable steel portrait of the author. The demand for it has been such as to promise a very gratifying success for the edition, which, by the way, will have all the merits of the carefully revised library edition of the same works.——Mivart's "Genesis of Species" has been reprinted by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co.——Messrs. Dodd & Mead announce "The American Cardinal," a novel by an Episcopalian clergyman whose name is not divulged; and "Papers for Home Reading," by Rev. John Hall, D.D.——On the important subject of trade-marks there are said to be but two law-books in the language, one English and one American, and both incomplete. Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co. are to publish a work which will repair this deficiency: "A Collection of all the American Cases, adjudicated prior to the year 1871, affecting the law of Trade-Marks; with references, and an appendix containing abstracts of the leading English cases, the U. S. statute, etc.," by Rowland Cox, of Washington, D.C. There will be a copious and minute index.——Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s agency in this city has been removed from No. 63 Bleecker Street to No. 38.

—We share fully in the regret of Mr. Robert Clarke that the Ohio Valley Historical Series, of which he has been the disinterested editor and publisher, is to be discontinued for want of support. It has been, he states, less favorably received by the citizens of the Ohio Valley than at the East, and they are therefore immediately responsible for its termination. We trust, however, that the enterprise may be revived at no distant day. In any event it has doubtless answered one of the aims of its projector, viz., "to do something towards the preservation of the fast disappearing records and reminiscences of the early days of the now great and prosperous Central West." The last volume, in which this announcement is made, is one of the most interesting of the series, though the greater part of it has already appeared in print. It contains: "Memorandum of a Tour made by Josiah Espy in the States of Ohio and Kentucky and Indiana Territory in 1805;" "Two Western Campaigns in the War of 1812–13" by Samuel Williams; and "The Leatherwood God: An Account of the Appearance and Pretensions of Joseph C. Dylks, in Eastern Ohio, in 1828," by R. H. Taneyhill—one of the most extraordinary narratives of religious fanaticism we have ever met with.

—Mr. Espy's narrative is that of a man with a "curiosity for observation," as he himself says, and with an acute judgment which led him frequently to conclusions greatly in advance of his time. For example, at the Yellow Spring, in Ohio, he remarks:

"From the small quantity [of sediment] which this spring deposits in one year, compared with the immense size of the mound, the man of science will find it difficult to reconcile the Scriptural account of the *time* of creation (according to common computation) with the number of ages it must have taken to produce this little mountain of mineral earth. To me it is another evidence of the great age of the world, and that Biblical chronology has not rightly been computed heretofore."

Other passages confirm this aptness for the study of nature, while the following attests the writer's political insight:

"The emigrants [to Ohio] from Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Southern States are chiefly composed of those who are either opposed to slavery, or are unable to purchase slaves. Consequently, this class of people are daily increasing in Ohio. The expectations of the few who wish the introduction of slavery there can never be realized." In Indiana, on the other hand, "this circumstance [the legalizing of slavery, 1805–1810] will check the emigration of farmers who do their own labor, while the slave-owners of the Southern States and Kentucky will be encouraged to remove thither; consequently the state of society there will be altogether different from that of Ohio. Its manners and laws will assimilate more and more to those of Virginia and Kentucky, while Ohio will, in these respects, more closely imitate Pennsylvania and the Middle States."

—We have been furnished with the official abstracts of the census returns of the Territory of Utah for 1870. They should enable us to see whether the anomalous state of society there existing has produced any marked effects on population. As some standard of comparison is required for this purpose, we have taken the population of Massachusetts, where, during the past two hundred and fifty years, men have been content with one wife apiece. The Massachusetts returns are taken from the published report of the State census of 1865, being the latest available. The total population of Utah is 86,786, and of Salt Lake City alone 17,346. There are 1,456 more males than females in the Territory; but, excluding the young children and the Chinese, the numbers of the sexes are nearly equal. Above the age of twenty, the foreign-born exceed the native-

born, and, among the foreign-born, the women exceed the men. 4,790 men and 5,379 women, between the ages of 20 and 35, were born in foreign countries. In Salt Lake City, which, we suppose, may be regarded as the headquarters of Mormonism, the proportion of foreigners is greater. Nearly three-fourths of the whole number between the ages of 25 and 50 were born abroad, and of this class we find 1,577 to be men, and 1,791 women. The following table shows the comparative ages of the population in Utah and in Massachusetts, expressed in each case in percentages of the whole number:

	Utah. 1870.	Massachusetts. 1865.
Under 5	19·24	10·57
5 to 10	15·64	11·32
10 to 15	13·39	10·00
15 to 20	9·42	9·25
20 to 30	14·02	17·80
30 to 40	11·15	14·64
40 to 50	8·00	11·27
50 to 60	5·21	7·61
60 to 70	2·80	4·67
70 to 80	0·95	2·10
80 to 90	0·17	0·60
90 to 100	0·01	0·06
Unknown	—	0·11
	100·00	100·00

—It will be seen from the above that children under fifteen years of age make up (in round numbers) half the population of Utah, and one-third of the population of Massachusetts, while 15 per cent. of the population of Massachusetts, and 9 per cent. of that of Utah, are above 50 years of age. This proportion of children in a new country, where additional hands are of value and additional mouths of little account, where there are also but few persons of advanced age, and a nearly equal number of the sexes at maturity, would not strike us as remarkable even if polygamy did not exist. In Massachusetts it is to be observed that, besides the very considerable number of aged persons, there were, in 1865, 49,185 more women than men between the ages of 20 and 40. There was that number of women at marriageable ages for whom no partners existed. Under a system of polygamy, it is reasonable to suppose that most of them would have had husbands and children. In Utah the population shows a proportion of 156·4 children under five years to each 100 women between the ages of 20 and 40; in Massachusetts, a proportion of 58·2 children under five years to each 100 women between 20 and 40. The proportion of the sexes among children under one year of age in Utah corresponds very nearly with what has been observed wherever accurate records are made. The laws of nature in this respect are not disturbed by the accident of one man having six wives and five men having none. 105 or 106 males to 100 females is the birth-rule the world over, and Utah conforms to it.

—Temporary expedients like the Shellabarger Bill are least to be feared by the Ku-klux. Their greatest enemy, to speak comprehensively, is "the long run." Give time enough, and there are plenty of slow-working forces that will surely undermine this or any similar organization opposed to public quiet and prosperity. One of these, and which is perhaps nearest to the enemy's works, is the Peabody Education Fund; and we recommend, as a capital anti-Ku-klux tract, the fifth report of its general agent, Dr. Sears (Cambridge, press of John Wilson & Son). His account of the progress of education in Virginia, West Virginia, Georgia, Florida, and especially Arkansas, is very encouraging. In North Carolina, on the other hand, the public school system "has met with some opposition and more coldness; the taxes have been imperfectly collected and paid into the treasury; and the counties and townships have been negligent in making the returns required by law." The funds available for the education of 342,168 children of school age are, in this State, but $200,000. In South Carolina "the new school law has not been in operation long enough, nor have the school funds been ample enough, to produce very marked results." Texas, also, which has meant well, and legislated not badly, has not yet put its system into operation. In Alabama, the system established more than two years ago has met with opposition, and comparatively little has been done. The work of the Fund has been, as usual, to encourage the founding of schools where none exist, to aid independent efforts already begun, to sustain schools of special value or in peculiar straits, but to do nothing except as auxiliary. This course, as wise in itself as necessary from the smallness of the Fund's resources, has been remarkably successful in developing a public interest in education and a determination to have free schools at any cost. During the past year it disbursed, in assisting 213 towns, districts, and institutions, the sum of $108,900. The people thus benefited have expended of their own means $550,000. The Board of Trustees, at the annual meeting in Philadelphia in February, expressed its "deep sense that the time has come for calling the attention of the State of Mississippi to the bonds issued by the State to the Planters' Bank," which were included in Mr. Peabody's gift, and which, as is well known, the State repudiated when less scrupulous, it is to be hoped, than now. The Trustees voted to present a memorial to the Mississippi Legislature on this subject.

—The following extract from Dr. Ellis's "Life of Count Rumford" (p. 102) is not the least instructive portion of that valuable work. With the necessary changes, it might answer as a picture of the French conduct of the late war:

"When, soon after the peace, the members of the successive administrations and parliaments of Great Britain looked back over the long series of mortifying blunders, mishaps, and discomfitures connected with the management of the war, there was one conviction which, as an explanation or palliation, offered them chief relief, though in itself hardly a consolation, namely, that they had all along been working in the dark. They were made aware of the entire ignorance, and of the wholly misleading knowledge so-called, of this country, its geography, its people, their feelings, purposes, and resources, under which the war had been conducted. This ignorance was felt in itself to have been culpable, though the reason of it had been mainly indifference, if not arrogant contempt. Means of information had been within the reach of the Government. Franklin and other provincial agents had offered to enlighten the ministry. Whole drawers of despatches and other important papers relating to the American colonies had lain unopened in Government offices. Indeed, the first knowledge which some of the custodians of those papers and many more recent historical and political essayists obtained about important documents hid away in those offices, came to them through the requests sent in for the privilege of examining them by investigators like Mr. Sparks, who crossed the ocean for that purpose."

The France of that day, indeed, committed no such blunders. What pains Choiseul and De Broglie were at to learn the true condition of the colonies, is well described in Kapp's "Life of De Kalb."

—In Plato's version of the story of Gyges, he relates how, after that shepherd had found the magic ring, "he chanced to turn towards the inner side of his hand" the *stone* of the ring, as we should naturally say in telling it; but the Greek word used by Plato is *σφενδόνη*, literally "a sling;" *i.e.*, "that which contains the stone," the part of the ring holding the stone. For ordinary purposes of translation *stone* answers; if the translator wishes to be more exact, and to show that the original term means *what holds the stone*, we really do not see any valid objection to *setting*. If, however, this be rejected as ambiguous, we must find the exact English for *σφενδόνη* in this sense, if such word exists. There *is* such a word, though antiquated; it is *bezel* or *bezil* in its later, *beazil* or *beasel* in its more archaic forms. We presumed this to be the received Cambridge rendering, till, on referring to Messrs. Davies and Vaughan's translation of the "Republic," we found to our surprise *hoop*—a translation positively erroneous, as we shall show. Professor Jowett gives *collet*, which we suppose must be the recognized Oxford term. We do not prefer it; first, because there is a doubt, to say the least, whether *collet* (probably from Latin *collum* and cognate to *collar*) does not mean the *whole circle* of the ring. Crabb's "Technical Dictionary" says "bezel or bezil is the upper part of the collet of a ring which encompasses and fastens the stone." This sentence, to be sure, is equivocal; the relative "which" *may* refer to "collet," but the sense certainly points to "bezel" as the antecedent, so that here we have an objection like that to the Davies-Vaughan rendering, only less strong. For *hoop* certainly means the *whole circle* of the ring; or, if there is any limitation, it is precisely the *σφενδόνη* that is excepted; the hoop is either the whole ring, or the whole ring *minus* the bezil. Secondly, *collet* has other technical meanings in various arts; *e.g.*, in gunnery it signifies the part of a cannon next the muzzle, whereas bezil in its various forms always means the same thing.

—Dr. Döllinger has a companion in persecution in Dr. Tangermann, of Unkel, whose opposition to the infallibility dogma has caused the Archbishop of Cologne to suspend him from his cure. He has accordingly published a pamphlet with the title: "The Romish-Jesuitical Innovation" (*Die römisch-jesuitische Neuerung*), in which he asks the Government whether it ought not, in the case of a priest who has remained true to the ancient faith, and whose congregation adheres to him, to sustain him against the discipline of the bishops. Such an appeal reminds us that church and state are still united in Prussia, while the Latin race south of the Alps is on the eve of formally pronouncing them divorced. An Italian critic, indeed, has taken Döllinger to task for saying that the system which declares the tribunal of God and of the Pope to be one and the same, "bears its Latin origin stamped on its forehead, and can never penetrate into German countries." In the Roman Empire, replies the

Perseveranza, after the rise of Christianity, the civil power and legislation constantly maintained their full rights with regard to the ecclesiastical authority; and it was not till the barbarians had descended into Italy ("for there was a time when the Germans were barbarians") that the church usurped those rights, and the Papacy began to form itself into a sovereign and universal power. The Latins were the most obstinate in opposing its supremacy over the civil authority, and the Holy Roman Empire was the product neither of the Latin mind nor of Latin history, but of the Papacy on the one hand and the German spirit on the other. "We Latins resisted it and fought it down, but did not create it." Latterly, since the birth of ultramontanism, whatever the share of the Italian clergy in spreading and defending it, the Italian laity has either paid no heed to it or has combated it; "and to-day we Latins have a better right than foreigners to call these doctrines *ultramontane*." The notion of an empire armed, as Dante says, with two swords, spiritual and temporal, is so peculiarly German that German society is not yet freed from it. As it was a German and not a Latin movement that maintained from 800 till 1500 A.D. the Holy Roman Empire, so was that later movement, begun by Luther, "which in Protestant states subjected the church to the prince, and was formulated in one of the most horrible sentences with which history has ever been stained—*cujus regio, illius religio*."

—Neither must what religious freedom owes to France of the eighteenth century be forgotten by the detractors of the Latin race; nor ought they to flatter French vanity at the expense of truth in order to impute a Latin origin to Charlemagne's union of church and state. "No claim can be more groundless," says Mr. Bryce in his "Holy Roman Empire," "than that which the modern French, the sons of the Latinized Kelt, set up to the Teutonic Charles. . . . He was a Roman, much less a Gaul, in nothing but his culture and his width of view; otherwise a Teuton." The French, in fact, have not been over-cautious in appropriating great men and great events to themselves. They have even gone so far as to call the art of printing a French invention, because Guttenberg lived in Strassburg, which, says a German scholar, writing in 1866, "it is well known has belonged to France since the creation of the world." As it is a poor rule that will not work both ways, the Germans in recovering Elsass have doubtless regained also their title to the great discovery of modern times.

—Apropos of Döllinger, the *Westliche Post* recalls his "excommunication" more than thirty years ago by Heinrich Heine, he being then one of the firmest pillars of the Roman hierarchy. Heine asks, in his "Wintermärchen," while speaking of Munich:

> "Lebt denn noch der erzinfame
> Pfaffe Döllingerius—
> Dieses ist doch wohl sein Name—
> Lebt er noch am Isarfluss?"

The "world-infamous" has in the meantime become the "world-famous;" and Heine's lines might now be adopted into the Catholic hymnology.

JOWETT'S TRANSLATION OF PLATO.*

(SECOND NOTICE.)

PERHAPS by this time the reader may ask, Is Plato worth all the praise and trouble that have been bestowed on him? And, if so, why? If we give him up as a systematic philosopher and a practical statesman, what do we leave him? Much, as we shall endeavor to show.

A very great merit of Plato's is his merit as a dramatic writer. Let us take a single dialogue, the "Gorgias" (which we select not because intrinsically better fitted for our purpose than many others, but because, having been for many years a text-book at Yale, it is known to more American readers). What a wealth of dramatic power it displays! Callicles, the finished gentleman and unscrupulous man of the world, ambitious withal, something much superior to a M. de Camors, having in him the stuff of a Bonaparte or a Bismarck, intended, some think, for the real Critias. Gorgias, the professed rhetorician, fertile in commonplace, weak in first principles, yet not without a certain dignity. Polus, related to Gorgias as the colt to the horse, the tyro to the master, the college senior to the experienced politician. And Socrates himself—sceptical, ironical, satirical, but with a deep background of seriousness, overhung by the shadow of his approaching doom. Nor must we overlook that wonderfully flexible style, which imitates without servility, and parodies without vulgar ridicule, as in that charming speech of Agathon's in the "Symposium"—charming to us who can but make haphazard guesses, for the most part, at the pronunciation and rhythm of the original, a discourse filled with antitheses like a Thucydidean* speech, artificial to the last degree, yet so beautiful in its art and artifice that we could not wish it to be more natural.

So much, briefly, for Plato as a literary man. Now for him as a philosopher. We admit that he was not a consistent political speculator. He began life as a liberal; he ended it as a bigot. And, though his works contain many able strictures on the practical working of Athenian democracy and the general tendency of democratic institutions, it cannot be maintained that he ever suggested a practical remedy. Nor was he a consistent metaphysical speculator. Not only has his great theory of ideas been utterly dropped by modern thinkers, but he himself seems to have dropped it in his later, post-Socratic period. Such, at least, is the inference which most readers draw from the "Parmenides," and which Professor Jowett certainly does not discourage.

But we are far from having covered the whole ground. In the negative conclusions, the resultless results of many of the earlier dialogues, we see not indeed philosophic truth itself, but one most important preliminary step to the discovery of truth. Whatever may have been the merits of Parmenides as the pioneer of logic and metaphysics, it is not too much to say that the sceptical spirit took its first definite form and crystallized, so to speak, with the Platonic Socrates.

How much of this truly remarkable character was a real man and how much mythical, how much of him was Socrates and how much Plato? is a question, the discussion of which has filled shelves of English and libraries of Continental literature, and into the depths of which the reader will hardly expect us to plunge. We shall only notice two points connected with it which, to the best of our knowledge and recollection, have not attracted much (if, indeed, any) comment.

Persons who take an unfavorable view of Plato on account of what they consider his mysticism and sensualism, hold that he foisted upon Socrates a great deal that was not Socrates at all, and that for a true and correct representation of the sage we must turn to his other great disciple, Xenophon. *Per contra*, those who worship Plato with the admiration of a German for Goethe, and regard Xenophon as a good, honest country gentleman, very liberal-minded and sometimes verging on twaddle, maintain that Socrates imparted to him more of his esoteric mysteries, but only revealed to the pupil what the pupil had capacity to appreciate. Both parties, so opposed in other respects, seem to agree in this, that Xenophon's representation of Socrates makes no *addition* to the real character.

Now, is this an adequate view of Xenophon's position? Was he, in regard to his master, only a better sort of Boswell? We think not. Any man who can write a historical novel like the "Cyropædia," must have some idealizing power and propensity; and there is, therefore, no absurdity or improbability in the supposition that Xenophon idealized *his* Socrates after his fashion.

Again, we suspect that the negative and sceptical character which pervades most of the earlier Platonic dialectics was one of the main causes that stimulated the wish to build up a complete and consistent system of morals, politics, and general philosophy out of the long series of Plato's works. Men supposed (not so unnaturally) that all this levelling of the ground must be intended as a preparation for some great and harmonious edifice, and the certain amount of connection between certain dialogues would favor the idea that all these bilogies and trilogies (so to speak) might be ultimately reduced to a single orderly group.

Of the two great qualities which we have remarked in Plato, Mr. Grote lays most stress on the latter. Professor Jowett, while recognizing both, and giving fair prominence to the former, rests his claim to a great reputation mainly on a third, namely, that he was "the father of idealism." And this leads us to look back on what we have said about Plato's scheme of government. One of our paragraphs in that place may require a fuller development. We noted that the abolition of marriage and private property was confined to the guardian class in the "Republic." That this important limitation should be neglected by persons who speak of Plato at second, or third, or tenth hand is not remarkable, but we had never met with a *scholar* who even in the most cursory manner ignored it,† and we

* "The Dialogues of Plato. Translated into English. With Analysis and Introductions. By B Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford." In four volumes. London, Oxford, and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.

* Yet no more Thucydidean than Elizabethan. "Let not us that are squires of the night's body be called thieves of the day's beauty." Is not this the very counterpart of "Οι δ'εὐπρεπῶς ἄδικοι ἑλόντες εὐλόγως ἀπρακτοι ἀπίασιν?

† Except George Cornewall Lewis, in whom we attributed the omission to inadvertence.

were certainly surprised to find Professor Jowett speaking of it as "an omission of no real significance, probably arising from the plan of the work, which prevents the author from entering into details."

In order to weigh the probabilities in this matter, it is necessary to correct the wrong impressions which we may have acquired of ancient democracy from our experience of modern, and especially to rectify the wrong inferences which we are apt to draw from isolated facts in Greek political history. Thus, when we read of seisactthies and liturgies (to speak after the Anglo-Greek manner of Mr. Grote), that is to say, of almost periodical repudiations of debts and impositions on rich men of expensive public duties, we are tempted to regard the fierce democracy as something far more radical than any coherent government of later times; and, if the existence of slavery threatens to interfere with this conception, the mental answer is that, at any rate, slavery promoted a sort of equality among all free men. Now, however a practical statesman or popular demagogue may have favored the notion of general equality, nay, whatever approaches may have been made to the thing itself in actual life, it certainly was not recognized as the true theory by either the Athenian philosopher or the Athenian gentleman. Neither Alcibiades nor Xenophon, neither the Platonic nor the Xenophontic Socrates, neither the dramatic Callicles nor the real Critias, acknowledged it. Plato himself, while anticipating in his way all the "strong-mindedness" of woman and her equality with man, never said or thought one man was as good as another. The "common people," the *βάναυσοι*, were as much below the "gentlemen and scholars," the *καλοκἀγαθοί*, as in aristocratic England or Austria. Different legislation for different classes was exactly in accordance with the speculative views of the educated, though the hard logic of facts generally hindered them from carrying out these views in practice. And the principle that certain privileges carry with them certain restraints and self-denials (which is good Christian doctrine to boot) occurs frequently in the writings of Plato and of other philosophers.

The abolition of private property and marriage (especially the latter) for the guardians were measures chiefly aimed at the improvement of the breed, a result less important for the lower classes. Laborers and traders could "get on" well enough on the old plan. In the same way, a theoretical legislature might prescribe for a certain class of youth (say, gentlemen's sons or prospective officers or travellers) athletic sports and exercises requiring much expenditure of time and money, or both, which would not be desirable or feasible for the rest of the community.

But now comes up another important question. Granted that the *quasi*-communism of the "Republic" was confined to the guardian class, is this in Plato's favor as compared with later communists? Our first impulse is to answer in the negative, and to admit that, after all, the Regius professor may be right, and the distinction between the classes in this respectis of no practical consequence. For what was forbidden to the highest class, or the highest but one, would naturally have an unfavorable stamp throughout the whole state. Suppose—and a would-be Plato in Congress actually did make such a proposition not long ago—that all Government functionaries were prohibited from using fermented liquors or tobacco, then (supposing, also, that such legislation was practically effective and not merely nominal) a general disrepute would after a time be attached to these indulgences everywhere.

But when we pass from the region of theory to that of fact, the example of priestly celibacy in the Romish Church at once arises to confront us; and bearing in mind the prevalent Greek idea that the individual is always to be sacrificed to the state, we can understand how the *quasi*-communism of the guardians, though in some sense an honor, might have been the reverse of a privilege. There is much plausibility in this aspect of the case, yet we must not accept it too hastily without regard to some qualifying circumstances. The Roman Church has found it necessary to strengthen marriage against the consequences of clerical celibacy by various precautions, such as calling it a sacrament,* making it indissoluble, etc., etc.; yet, in spite of them, it may be doubted if as much honor is practically paid to the institution in Romish as in Protestant countries—even after all allowance has been made for some of our own recent eccentricities in the way of divorce—and certainly the notion of marriage is less compatible with that of exalted piety or holiness in the former than in the latter.

Still, on the whole, we may admit the limitation as a point in Plato's favor, but another plea often urged in his behalf and strongly pressed by Professor Jowett appears to us only an aggravation of the offence. We are told that Plato was an idealist, that he did not suppose his ideal state to be possible unless and until man could reach the philosopher's millennium, and much more to the same effect. So much the worse for his ideal, if it is bad. A bad ideal is worse than a bad reality. The former has material obstacles to excuse or palliate it. We say of an ideal, "It is very fine, but too good to be realized; the most we can hope is to be constantly approaching it, but the co-ordinate will never reach the abscissa." But if the ideal be not good, what then? Let us reverse Plato's method, and proceed from the individual to the state. We draw a hero of romance; we invest him with all the desirable attributes of humanity that can possibly be collected in a single person consistently. If such a man existed, we should like him for a friend or a connection; we should like to be like him ourselves. But take a hero of a certain French school; we may say that we admire him, but that means that we admire the skill with which he is drawn, as we might say that we admired a tiger, meaning that we admired his adaptation to destroy. We admire the character of Callicles in the "Gorgias," not the man Callicles, but the power with which he is depicted; in fact, not Callicles but Plato. We have no wish to be like Callicles; we do not propose him to our sons as a model.

On the whole, we are forced to conclude that the change in Plato from the Socratic to the positive, from the "Phædo" to the "Laws," was a moral decadence, and that only from a psychological point of view can it be called an intellectual progress, however deplorable.

* The accidental origin of this tenet (a misunderstanding of the later Latin *sacramentum mysterium*) does not interfere with its practical effect at an after period. Compare Macaulay's remarks on the exclusion of clergymen from the House of Commons, of the king from his own cabinet, etc.

FURNESS'S SHAKESPEARE.*

THAT a new Variorum Shakespeare is wanted, no one will be inclined to dispute. The last work of the kind—by Boswell, son of Johnson's biographer—appeared in 1821. In the half-century since then, Shakespearian studies have been carried on with constantly increasing activity. Much has been done for the criticism of the text, much for its interpretation. The number of critical editions has more than doubled. Illustrative works of every kind and of all degrees of merit have swarmed from the press. Along with the countrymen of the poet, English or Anglo-American, scholars of other lands have entered the field. The Germans, laboring with an unbounded enthusiasm, with a kind of Shakespeare-olatry, have done much for the higher criticism of the dramas as works of poetic art: what they have contributed to the construction and explication of the text, though marked by learning and ability, cannot be said to have very high value. We have thus a Shakespeare literature wonderful for extent and variety. It is clearly time that some one should go through it, and present its substance in a condensed and accessible form, furnishing a compend in which the Shakespeare student may find the main results on all points of interest, and may see where to go for fuller information.

This is the task—*opus vere operosum*—which Mr. Furness has undertaken. For his trial-piece he has selected "Romeo and Juliet," one of the earliest and one of the most attractive of the dramas. Text and commentary form the body of the volume. Below the text on each page stand the various readings; and below these, at the foot of the page, yet often nearly filling it, the explanatory notes. Here the aim has been to insert all remarks, wherever found, that throw a needed light on the meaning of the author. In deciding what to admit, the editor has exercised a liberal judgment. He has preferred, with reason, to err on the side of fulness rather than of defect. Perhaps he feared that by a stricter method he should exclude much that to some readers would seem interesting and useful. One aim of his work was to present a history of Shakespearian interpretation; and for this it was necessary that imperfect or erroneous views should appear in it as well as the correct. Often, indeed, the correct view is seen in a clearer light, and with greater force of evidence, when placed in contrast with the imperfect or erroneous.

The editor has taken pains to make his work complete to the very date of its publication. He has taken valuable observations from the third edition of Abbott's "Shakespearian Grammar," which has been out only a few months. The references to this excellent book might well have been more numerous than they are. Thus Abbott, § 461, would throw light on "thou'se hear" (I. iii. 9) for "thou shalt hear;" A. § 391, on "saints do not move, though [they] grant for prayers' sake" (I. v. 103); A. § 419a, on "the appertaining rage to such a greeting" (III. i. 58); A. § 292, on

* "A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. Edited by Horace Howard Furness." Vol. I. Romeo and Juliet. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871. 8vo, pp. xxiii., 480.

"thank me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds" (III. v. 151). Where Romeo says to Friar Laurence, "both our remedies within thy help and holy physic lies" (II. iii. 51), a reference to A. § 333, on the third person plural in *s*, would have been worth more than the half-page of commentary, in which Mason declares that Shakespeare "has sacrificed grammar to rhyme," Singer rejoins that "Shakespeare must not be tried by rules [of syntax] which were invented after his time" (as though Shakespeare could have said *he are* or *we am*), Delius explains that "*both our remedies* (meaning the *remedy of both of us*) is in reality a singular," while Charles Knight exults loudly in what he is pleased to term "this exquisite bit of false concord."

In the collection of various readings which stands on each page between the text and the commentary, the student is shown the readings of all the five quartos, all the four folios, and all professedly critical editions down to the present time. Only for the first quarto (that of 1597), which differs widely from all the other authorities, and is more than a fourth shorter, a different course had to be taken: it is printed by itself, in full, and with fac-simile spelling, at the end of the volume. The critical editions are named on page xvii. in the order of their dates, and are thirty-five in number, including the second editions of Pope, Theobald, Singer, Knight, Collier, and Dyce. Many conjectural readings which were originally proposed in essays or articles of various kinds, have afterwards been adopted in one or more of the editions. In all such cases Mr. Furness is careful to name the first proposer. Indeed, he mentions, and credits to those who first suggested them, a large number of conjectures which have not been taken up in a single edition. In a collection of this kind, the main point, of course, is that it should be complete and exact. We cannot profess to have tested the author's work by comparisons of our own; we have not even the necessary apparatus for doing so. But from a variety of indications, we are satisfied that his self-imposed task has been executed with conscientious and unwearied fidelity.

A remarkable case of various readings, a case in which criticism and interpretation are equally involved, is reserved for the Appendix, where it occupies nearly thirty closely-printed pages. It relates to a single word in the monologue of Juliet, Act III., Scene II.:

> "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds,
> Towards Phœbus' lodging: such a waggoner
> As Phaethon would whip you to the west,
> And bring in cloudy night immediately.
> Spread thy close curtain, love performing night,
> That *runaway's* eyes may wink, and Romeo
> Leap to these arms, untalk'd of and unseen."

The trouble here comes from the word *runaway's* (line 6), which appears, with only some difference of spelling, in all the early authorities. Of the critics, a large part retain it; but with a surprising diversity of opinion as to what it means. According to Warburton (whom Theobald and Johnson follow, the last with some hesitation), it is the *sun*, named *runaway* here from the swiftness of his course. According to Steevens (followed by Rann and Cornwall), it is the *night*, whose flight Juliet would wish to retard, and whose *eyes* are the stars. According to Lunt, it is *Phaethon*, as *run away* with by the steeds of the sun. According to Seymour, it is *Romeo*, as about to *run away* with Juliet. According to Douce (and Massey), it is *Juliet*, thought of as a *runaway* from her filial duty. According to Halpin (followed by Ulrici, Mitford, and Halliwell), it is *Cupid*, the *δραπέτης*, *fugitivus*, "runaway" *par éminence*. (Is not Mr. Furness partial to this view? He allows its advocates to present it at a disproportionate and unnecessary length.) Hunter writes *runaways'*, as genitive plural, making it refer to rovers who wander about in the night; and in this he is followed by Muirson, Delius, and Staunton. The last seems, indeed, to be only sure of the word *run-away*, uncertain "whether it applied to Romeo, or to Juliet, or to Day, or to Night, or to the Sun, . . or to the Moon, who has some claim to the distinction, . . or to the Stars, for whom much might be said; or whether," etc. But to many critics the difficulty of making out what is meant by *runaway* has seemed an objection to the word; and various attempts have been made to get rid of it by conjectural emendation. The first proposal, and perhaps the best, was that of Heath (in 1765), for *runaway's* to read *Rumour's*. Between *Rumour's eyes* in line 6, and *untalk'd of and unseen* in the next line, there would be a natural and perfect correspondence. Mason (in 1785) suggested *Renomy's* (from French *renommée*), which gives the same meaning as Heath's conjecture. Little different is *rumourers'* proposed by Singer. Hudson adopts *Rumour's*, partly under the influence of Grant White, who (in 1854) had argued ingeniously and forcibly in support of this reading; but in his edition of the drama (1861), Mr. White has preferred *runaway's*, to which he would give Warburton's explanation. Zachary Jackson, a practical printer, conjectured *unawares*, and was followed by Knight, Collier, and Verplanck. But Knight in his second edition has gone back to *runaways*; and Collier in his second edition adopts the reading *enemies'* from his famous manuscript corrector. To this last reading the German critic Mommsen gives his adhesion. Other suggestions are the *rude day's* or *soon day's*, or *roving* of Dyce, the *sun away* of Knight, with nearly a dozen more, which need not be mentioned here. All these opinions are presented in the language of their supporters. The discussion, as a whole, is spirited and entertaining; and, what is more, it furnishes a highly instructive specimen of the principles and processes of textual criticism. As to the result of all, it seems to be a negative one, that it is hardly possible to find an explanation for the word *runaway's* which will give general satisfaction, and hardly possible to find a conjectural emendation which will commend itself as probable to the majority of critics.

The Appendix contains also an extensive collection of discussions and remarks on the source of the plot, the date of the play, the text (with reference chiefly to the relation between the form it had in the first quarto and that which it afterwards received), the costume of the persons represented, and, finally, on the æsthetic character and value of the drama. Under the last head, the writers of France and Germany are represented with especial fulness. French criticism speaks here through Châteaubriand, Saint-Marc Girardin, Philarète Chasles, Guizot, Albert Lacroix, Alfred Mézières, Lamartine, and Taine: German criticism, through Lessing, Goethe, Franz Horn, Tieck, Ulrici, Rötscher, Gervinus, Vehse, Kreyszig, Sträter, Rümelin, Bodenstedt, and Cohn. This series of foreign critiques is exceedingly interesting, though it shows, of necessity, a great deal of repetition. What is most striking in it is the universal recognition of Shakespeare's poetic supremacy; the more striking, as in the French critics it is generally a somewhat unwilling recognition. They cannot thoroughly *enjoy* Shakespeare; his disregard of logical correctness and propriety, his frequent grotesqueness of fancy and coarseness of expression, the quibbles and conceits in which he often indulges—these things, and many more, are offences to their sensitive and exacting taste. Yet they cannot escape from his transcendent power. They are compelled to recognize his marvellous insight into human feeling and character, and the prodigious force and truth with which he portrays them, and to render him their unequivocal, though half-reluctant, homage.

The volume is dedicated to the Shakespeare Society of Philadelphia, from which association the editor seems to have derived inspiration and encouragement for his task. That this society has done thorough work in the study of the poet is shown by a note of Professor Allen's, inserted in the Appendix. It relates to certain phonetic contractions in the text of Shakespeare, such as *or'* for *or are*, *near'* for *nearer*, *in'* for *in an*, *but'* for *but the*, etc., and shows much ingenuity as well as careful observation.

As to paper and printing, the book is got up in admirable style. The only complaint one could think of making would be that it is, perhaps, *too* handsome; the completed work must bear a price which many students of Shakespeare will find it hard to pay. But the completed work will be a library in itself; the owner will be relieved from the purchase of many costly books which he might otherwise find it necessary to procure. We believe, however, that the demand for the work will be such as to make it worth while for the publishers to reproduce it in a cheaper form.

OUR GIRLS.*

"Voulez-vous rendre chacun à ses premiers devoirs? Commencez par les mères; vous serez étonné des changements que vous produirez. . . . Mais que les mères daignent nourrir leurs enfants, les mœurs vont se reformer d'elles-mêmes, les sentiments de la nature se reveiller dans tous les cœurs; l'État va se repeupler: ce premier point, ce point seul va tout réunir. Qu'une fois les femmes redeviennent mères, bientôt les hommes redeviendront pères et maris. Discours superflus! l'ennui même des plaisirs du monde ne ramène jamais à ceux-là. Les femmes ont cessé d'être mères; elles ne le seront plus; elles ne veulent plus l'être." A hundred years ago, Jean Jacques, in his sentimental wisdom, struck the note whereon ever since the changes have been rung, and it is curious to notice how steadily we have been repeating ourselves since the day when the philosopher desperately cried that all his novel theories, his eloquent attacks and warnings, were but "superfluous discourse." It is a little discouraging to find that the natural duties of mother and wife are nearly as distasteful in the America of 1870 as they were in the France of the previous century; that feminine tastes run as persistently in the direction

* "Our Girls. By Dio Lewis, M.D." Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

of high-heeled shoes and small waists now as then; in short, that while individual women have held their own, and made quiet advance, the bulk of the sex are pretty much what they were in the Garden of Eden. It looks as if we had a problem on our hands whose solution nobody but Mr. Darwin can offer, and he, alas! does not condescend to tell us how long we have to wait before the female brain shall become capable of evolving correct thought on the subject of self-culture. We fancy we could settle comfortably to our work, if somebody would demonstrate to us that, as it took a certain appreciable term of time for the pointed ears of the Lemuridæ to fold themselves into the pretty waxen shells wherein young ladies hang painful ornaments, so there is some definite period within which the brain-cells of the same young ladies will lose their extreme susceptibility to the flash of diamonds and the excitement of artificial distractions. But to wait for changes which can only come as a result of structural growth, demands a passive faith which would procrastinate all attempts at reform, and it is only fair to acknowledge that such books as this of Dr. Lewis do, in some dim way, suggest the cure for the evils which they attack.

In reading "Our Girls" and similar publications, one is throughout impressed with the fact that, while the education of girls is deplorably bad, and the education of boys not much better, there is a specific difference between the systems adopted for the two sexes—a difference based on an imperfectly appreciated truth. The sins of male youth are principally those of nature, arising, in nine cases out of ten, from a superfluity of unregulated life, while it is worth noticing that the feminine vices, against which Dr. Lewis and his forerunners and followers wage war, are every one of them of artificial origin. Not to go into the vexed question of the relative morality of the sexes, it is evident, if one takes the word of tutors and governors, that while Tom and John have most to fear from their own passions and weakness, their sisters find their worst enemy in a false social system. A boy is irrepressible; he grows in spite of you; the mere fact of his superior physical strength saves him from half the dangers that beset a girl's path. He may use bad language and bad liquor, but he will never fall a victim to tight lacing and décolleté dress, and his follies are, on the whole, more of his own seeking, and not so much the result of the misapplied force of other people's opinions. There is a strong and general impression that the mistakes in the education of women are capable of speedy cure, if only the right course of treatment can be hit upon, and it is this which ensures eager reception to the theories and systems that have crowded upon each other's heels for the last half-century. We all know in our hearts that human nature must undergo a radical change before the temperance reform will amount to more than a superficial agitation; we know that no act of Parliament or Congress can do away with the animalism of humanity; we confess with weary impatience that certain sins we shall rid ourselves of only by the slow process of growth; but with follies which belong only to a class and a time is another matter. Women may have to answer for all that Rousseau puts upon them—upon their action may hang the good of society at large—but they can justly recriminate, and declare with privileged directness of retort, that society has done quite as much harm to them as they have done to society. And here it is that the signs are hopeful, for the class of literature of which Dr. Lewis's book is a representative exhibits the intention of society to take up the matter in earnest, and to train its young girls with that intelligent attention to established law which has proved to be essential to the production of satisfactory race-horses and thoroughbred pigs.

Now, if we have concluded that this thing can be done, that young women are, physically and mentally, susceptible of immediate improvement, is it not worth while to give our clearest thought, our best strength, to consideration of the matter, and action therein? Dr. Lewis has undoubtedly done good service, and his heart is in his work; but the book which he offers to the public as the result of his experience is commonplace in style, faulty in arrangement, and contains more than a suspicion of quackery. While there is plenty of sound truth in it, there are also misstatements and exaggerations not to be excused even by the proverbial disagreement of doctors; and the physiological facts introduced would attain added power from a setting of correct and eloquent English, which they unfortunately lack. As a moral stimulant, it is not likely to be of much value; as a hand-book of general physiological information, or a manual of education, we have already better ones; the principal thing to be said in its favor is that it may strengthen hands for which Huxley and Herbert Spencer are as yet too heavy. The evils struck at are so familiar to most of us that they must be presented in a new light before we shall appreciate their magnitude and limitation; and while the thinking that is to be done must be hard and logical, it must be popularized and simplified to the level of the minds on which it is to act before it can become visibly remedial. On the highest plane of thought, we have in this generation produced much that bears directly and practically upon the education question, but the books in which this is embodied do not come within the range of the people who need them most. The sallow *élégante* on Fifth Avenue and the dyspeptic New England girl are not likely to be greatly benefited by the reports of German gymnasia or the closely written argument of an Oxford professor, and "Our Girls" and analogous works seem only to show the width of the gap which is waiting to be spanned. "The method of nature is the archetype of all methods," says M. Marcel, and on that point at least we have reached the unanimity of the wise; who now will make clear to us the workings of that nature upon which all our progress depends?

If the best of our American scientific men, who know the needs and the power of our American girls, could be brought to feel that this is too important a subject to be left to second-rate theorists or even to honest, unpractised enthusiasts, we might then hope for the production of a literature which should give vital assistance and wake up the whole nation to a sense of the value of a woman's life. There are few women in any station of life who are not conscious of their own warped natures and failure of development, and who are not willing to try a new path; but the leading and the teaching must come from the heights. "Our Girls" must look beyond behavior books and moral tales and empirical treatises for the help they need; learned professors must study the aching spines of their living daughters instead of the backbones of extinct fishes, and clergymen, wise in spiritual things, must condescend to teach lessons of practical duty to the little women of their flocks, before we shall get the change that we look for. Our educational machinery is confessedly at fault; we get a fair article of raw material, and return it to the market in the shape of Flora McFlimseys—a process of manufacture which we are gradually finding to be unremunerative.

"How to live?—that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only; but in the widest sense. The general problem which comprehends every special problem is—the right ruling of conduct in all directions, under all circumstances. In what way to treat the body; in what way to treat the mind; in what way to manage our affairs; in what way to bring up a family; in what way to behave as a citizen; in what way to utilize all these sources of happiness which nature supplies—how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others; how to live completely? And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course, is to judge in what degree it discharges such function."

The application of this test to our existing systems tells the whole story: our young women are *not* prepared for complete living; and if our only way out of our difficulty lies in following nature, it must be the men who know her best who must set the fashion for us. Until they are willing to write and speak for the enlightenment of the masses, bringing the leaven of scientific truth into our daily lives, the improvements in practical training will be uncertain and spasmodic, and we can only hope that the discussion will be immediately taken up in this country by men and women who can speak with authority and command general attention.

Diary of the Besieged Resident in Paris. Reprinted from the London *Daily News*, with several New Letters and Preface. (New York: Harper Brothers. 1871.)—A likeness, with a name under it on the cover, divulges the secret that the besieged English correspondent—by the bye, one of the *Tribune's* apocryphal "own"—was no less a personage than H. Labouchère, M.P.; and the perusal of a few letters makes it clear, which is far more important, that the writer is a man of excellent good sense and exquisite humor, a sympathetic yet unbiassed observer, and a racy delineator of things observed. His facilities as an observer were ample, and he bravely availed himself of them, little disturbed by the smell of battle snuffed from afar, the whiz of shells in the air, or the more threatening swagger of spy-hunting restaurant patriots. His day in Paris—at the height of the siege, yet before the bombardment—he thus describes, under date of December 18:

"In the morning the boots comes to call me. He announces the number of deaths which have taken place in the hotel [an ambulance hotel] during the night. If there are many, he is pleased, as he considers it creditable to the establishment. He then relieves his feelings by shaking his fist in the direction of Versailles, and exit growling, 'Canaille de Bismarck.' I get up. I have breakfast—horse, *café au lait*—the *lait* chalk

and water; the portion of horse about two square inches of the noble quadruped. Then I buy a dozen newspapers, and, after having read them, discover that they contain nothing new. This brings me to about eleven o'clock. Friends drop in, or I drop in on friends. We discuss how long it is to last. If friends are French, we agree that we are sublime. At one o'clock get into the circular railroad, and go to one or other of the city-gates. After a discussion with the National Guards on duty, pass through. Potter about for a couple of hours at the outposts; try with glass to make out Prussians; look at bombs bursting; creep along the trenches; and wade knee-deep in mud through the field. The Prussians, who have grown of late malevolent even towards civilians, occasionally send a ball far over one's head. They always fire too high. French soldiers are generally cooking food. They are anxious for news, and know nothing of what is going on. As a rule, they relate the episode of some *combat d'avantposte* which took place the day before. The episodes never vary. Five P.M., get back home; talk to doctors about interesting surgical operations; then drop in upon some official to interview him about what is doing. Official usually first mysterious, then communicative, not to say loquacious, and abuses most people except himself. Seven P.M., dinner at a restaurant; conversation general; almost every one in uniform. Still the old subjects—How long will it last? Why does not Gambetta write more clearly? How sublime we are; what a fool every one else is. Food scanty but peculiar. At Voisin's to-day the bill of fare was ass, horse, and English wolf, from the Zoölogical Garden. A Scotchman informed me that this latter was a fox of his native land, and patriotically gorged himself with it. I tried it, and, not being a Scotchman, found it horrible, and fell back upon the patient ass. After dinner, potter on the Boulevards, under the dispiriting gloom of petroleum; go home and read a book. Twelve P.M., bed. They nail up the coffins in the room just over mine every night, and the tap, tap, tap as they drive in the nails is the pleasing music which lulls me to sleep. Now, I ask, after having endured this sort of thing day after day for three months, can I be expected to admire Geist, Germany, or Mr. Matthew Arnold? I sigh for a revolution, for a bombardment, for an assault, for anything which would give us a day's excitement."

At that date the "besieged resident" had grown rather impatient of the long confinement, and of all the mock heroism played around him, and his letters became more and more tinged with that impatience which, he tells us, infected everybody, though but few felt annoyed by the hum bug.

"I have ceased to wind up my watch for many a week," he says in a vein rather too frequently indulged in, and which at once puts us on our guard concerning the acceptation of many an expression, whether of sentiment or of fact. "I got tired of looking at it; and whether it is ten in the morning or two in the afternoon is much the same to me. Almost every one has ceased to shave; they say that a razor so near their throats would be too great a temptation. Some have married to avoid active service; others to pass the time. 'When I knew that there was an army between myself and my wife,' observed a cynic to me yesterday, 'I rejoiced; but even the society of my wife would be better than this.'"

At such moments it was quite refreshing to him, after grumbling at or caricaturing the common variations of the ridiculous in the attitude of the besieged—which they called the sublime, however—to meet with a humbug of a quite unusual kind, such as he depicts in the following about the ex-confessor of the Empress, who "began life as a German Jew," and "is now a Frenchman and a Christian bishop:"

"'What is this?' cried the crowd, as Monseigneur Bauer, the bishop *in partibus infidelium* of some place or other, now came riding along with his staff. He held up his two fingers, and turned his hand right and left. His pastoral blessing was, however, but a half-success. The women crossed themselves, and the men muttered 'farceurs.' The war which is now raging has produced many oddities, but none to my mind equal to this bishop. His great object is to see and be seen, and most thoroughly does he succeed in his object. He is a short, stout man, dressed in a cassock, a pair of jack-boots with large spurs, and a hat such as you would only see at the opera. On his breast he wears a huge star. Round his neck is a chain, with a great golden cross attached to it; and on his fingers, over his gloves, he wears gorgeous rings. The trappings of his horse are thickly sprinkled with Geneva crosses. By his side rides a standard-bearer, bearing aloft a flag with a red cross. Eight aids-de-camp, arrayed in a sort of purple and gold fancy uniform, follow him, and the *cortège* is closed by two grooms in unimpeachable tops. In this guise, and followed by this *état-major*, he is a conspicuous figure upon the field of battle, and produces much the same effect as the head of a circus riding into a town on a piebald horse, surrounded by clowns and pets of the ballet. He was the confessor of the Empress, and is now the *aumônier* of the press; but why he wears jack-boots, why he capers about on a fiery horse, why he has a staff of aids-de-camp, and why he has two grooms, are things which no one seems to know. He patronizes generals and admirals, doctors and commissariat officers, and they submit to be patronized by him. Half-priest, half-buffoon, something of a Friar Tuck and something of a Louis XV. abbé, he is a sort of privileged person who, by mere force of impudence, has made his way in the world."

The acting of great personages of a different kind, such as the "venerable" Blanqui, the heroic Flourens, and other leaders of the clubs, is not forgotten either; and it is one of the merits of this diary that its disconnected but continued remarks on the feelings and attitude of the revolutionary classes—both high and low—afford us a tolerably clear insight into the gradual development, from its incipiency, of the agitation for the Commune, which, during the siege, culminated in the insurrection of October 31, and, after it, plunged France into the most senseless of civil wars. The "besieged resident's" remarks on Trochu, Ducrot, and other defenders of Paris, as well as on the conduct of the defence in general, also deserve attention; they are, however, fragmentary in their character, reflecting the fleeting impressions of the moment, and we should wrong the author—and mostly also the men he speaks of, for the remarks are rarely flattering—were we to reproduce them here, detached and in a broken form, as expressions of a more or less definite historical opinion. For these, as well as a multitude of other interesting or amusing observations, we must refer the reader to the book itself. We cannot refrain, however, from stating here the principal conclusions the writer was led to by the constant contemplation of Parisian political folly and conceit during that momentous period. It is this:

"If the thirty-eight million Frenchmen outside Paris are such fools as to allow themselves to be ruled by the two million amiable, ignorant, bragging humbugs who are within it, France will most deservedly cease to be a power of Europe. If this country is to recover from the ruin in which it is overwhelmed, it is absolutely essential that Paris should cease to be its political capital, and that the Parisians should not have a greater share in moulding its future policy than they are numerically entitled to."

Rome and the Campagna. An Historical and Topographical Description of Ancient Rome. With 85 illustrations and 25 maps and plans. By Robert Burn, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: Bell & Daldy. 1871.)—This is a quarto of about 500 pages, and a valuable book. It is a careful and conscientious account of the remains of ancient Rome, giving the latest results of historical and topographical criticism and research. The maps and plans, twenty-five in number, are particularly valuable, giving the old buildings and the modern streets on the same plate, one over the other, in different colors; and of the Forum and parts adjacent. Separate plans are given for the time of the Republic and of the Empire. The woodcut illustrations from photographs are extremely accurate and well executed. The list of books quoted, Index of Quotations, Chronological Table of the Principal Buildings in Rome and the Campagna, and the Complete General Index, add greatly to its value. A complete collection of the one hundred and thirty-eight "Books on Roman Topography and Archæology," quoted by Mr. Burn, would be an invaluable contribution to the proposed library of our Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. By M. A. De Wolfe Howe, D.D. (Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1871.)—Bishop Potter was a student of good classical and scholastic attainments, a preacher of sound and edifying manners, a philanthropic and public-spirited citizen, a churchman whose zeal was tempered with discretion, a bishop of practical wisdom, sincere piety, and a catholic spirit, and a high-toned Christian gentleman. These qualities appear in the memoirs and correspondence embodied in this volume, and were worthy of such preservation, though his life was marked by no special achievements in literature, theology, or reform, and by no extraordinary incidents or events. For the general public, and as a contribution to the history of the church, the volume would bear compression; but to the clergy of his diocese, and the wide circle of his personal friends, it will be the more acceptable because of the minuteness of its details and the unvarying eulogy of its tone.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1871.

The Week.

THE treaty that is to be known as the Treaty of Washington has been signed by the Joint Commissioners, but we have not, as we go to press, anything which can be called absolutely certain knowledge of what it contains. This, however, is the account of it which is semi-authoritatively given: A board of arbitrators is to be appointed who shall settle upon the amount to be paid us by the English because of the depredations of the rebel cruisers of English build or equipment. This board is to be composed of five members, one of them being American, one English, and of the other three one being named by each of three designated sovereign powers. Apparently, then, the hope we the other day expressed that the Commissioners might do something to hasten the day when arbitration shall take the place of war between civilized nations of the first rank, is about to be happily realized. Certainly a very weighty tribunal is provided for, and, to make it still more probable that the arbitrators shall reach a solution of the *Alabama* question, the English Commissioners have consented, it is said, to lay down certain principles as to the duty and rights of neutrals, which are to govern the arbitration as so many supplementary principles of public law; and these supplementary principles are said to be in effect those which this Government, during the rebellion, thought should be acknowledged as binding rules of conduct, while the English Government replied that, as a matter of fact, they were not binding at that time. However, as it is agreed that they shall retroact on the negotiations that are to come, this difference of view is without practical importance. On the whole, we should say that the prospect of an adjustment is good; and that we may very likely see, as the upshot of one of the most obstinate disputes ever existing between the two nations, the establishment of some two or three new principles of international law honorable to both as a joint contribution to the civilization of the world. It will not be the first time in the history of this country that a like honorable distinction could be claimed for it.

Of less moment are the other matters touched upon, and perhaps the one most likely to make a hitch in the negotiations is the fisheries question. Briefly, the case of the United States was this: By the Treaty of 1783 we were to "continue unmolested" in fishing everywhere in seas, bays, inlets, and rivers throughout British North America. In 1814, nothing was said in the Treaty of Ghent about abridging our rights or privileges in this particular, but we were told that the British held that the war had abolished them. Our Commissioners held not, and that we had an inalienable right in the fisheries, one only to be destroyed by conquest—a right like a right to our own territory. But in 1818 we compromised, and took certain limited rights. In 1854 we made our Reciprocity Treaty, and got increased privileges; and in 1865 we declared the Treaty of 1854 at an end, and the fisheries question has been in a muddle for the last six years. The new Treaty gives us, not the rights we had under the Convention of 1818, which are what a strictly British construction would give us, nor does it give us quite all we had prior to 1812, which is what we should get under a construction strictly American, and, perhaps, only doubtfully a better construction than the British, though we think it more correct. Our apprehension, which is not very strong, that it is on the fisheries part of the Treaty that a hitch may be looked for, is based on the fact that this part of it is to be ratified not only by Congress and Parliament, but by the Dominion Parliament, and, we suppose, by some others of the Colonial Legislatures. Still, Sir John Macdonald probably knows what his fellow-countrymen are ready to do.

Senator Schurz was serenaded on Tuesday week in St. Louis by a very large and enthusiastic body of citizens, of all shades of political opinion. The speech elicited by this spontaneous expression of the popular favor was distinguished, like all the senator's efforts, by good sense and tact. There are few American orators who might not envy the latter quality, as displayed in the following passage:

> "This demonstration is in point of character and composition so peculiar, so unusual, as to be apt to become embarrassing to a public man under ordinary circumstances—embarrassing for the simple reason that, in the presence of two parties, the approval of one side might make him appear undeserving of the confidence and approval of the other. It is by no means embarrassing to me, and never will be embarrassing to me, to see the whole people of Missouri before me. Indeed, I see in it one of the most hopeful signs of the times."

These felicitous words paved the way for some excellent remarks on the national duty of wiping out for ever the animosities of the war, and engaging all parties in the study of the "great political, social, and economical problems which this generation has to solve." Recommending general amnesty as the best means of bringing this about, Mr. Schurz pointed to the admirable fruits of this policy as tried in Missouri. Passing on, in a strain of manly independence, to a statement of his political programme, he declared his fixed adhesion to the equal rights amendments of the Constitution—"not only because they are there in point of fact, but because, if they were not, they ought to be;" vindicated his attitude and vote on the San Domingo question and the Ku-klux Bill by his solicitude for "strict fidelity to the essential principles of constitutional government;" and closed his enumeration of principles and measures with the civil service reform, together with revenue reform and a reduction of taxes.

The bill for amending our State Code of Procedure has not yet been signed by the Governor, and the probabilities would seem to be against his signing it, though, since it has been printed in full, one ground of expecting it to remain unsigned has partly disappeared. At first, the section of it that attracted most attention was that restoring the common-law rules as to contempts, and while it seemed probable enough that the Ring would be not unwilling to let such a bill be signed, there seemed no particular reason why they should care enough about it to insist, and therefore some reason to expect that the Governor might, on this occasion as on others, throw a sop to Cerberus and be virtuous. It certainly is not for the interest of any man who thinks he has a political future outside of the State of New York to insult the press as it would be insulted by restoring the rules for contempt which were made for a world when newspapers had no existence, and when, one might almost say, revised statutes had not been invented.

But other sections of the bill proposed have "money in them" to an enormous extent. One "prohibits that any stockholder who may have been wronged or defrauded by any corporation, should bring suit anywhere except where such corporation has its principal place of business;" so that no one of our great corporations, which has or may hereafter have its principal office in this city, can be sued anywhere except in one of our courts. Then come various provisions, of which the general effect is this: the Court of Appeals, where all the judges are held to be honest, is greatly weakened; the power of the Superior Court, where are some honest judges, is greatly diminished; and, of all men in the city or the State or the country, the power thus taken from the tribunals which the bar and the public respect, is given to Barnard and Cardozo, the majority of the Supreme Court. Among their new powers, for instance, is that of the appointment of referees, the present practice being the equitable one of letting the parties agree upon referees in whom both have confidence. Now, the amount of business done before referees is about as much as that done in the courts—hundreds of millions of dollars; and favorite referees are young Mr. Tweed and other relatives, friends, and dependents of the Ring. So, although the Bar Association sends up committees to Albany; and although the lawyers everywhere protest; and although Mr. Hoffman himself is a lawyer, and would sign the bill with his eyes open to its full meaning, he may nevertheless sign.

How ever a bill of this kind could be got through a legislature containing many members who are lawyers is at first sight an astonishing thing, but the explanation is not difficult. From Congress down there is hardly a legislative body in the country where most of the real work is not done in committee-rooms; and, secondly, there is none in which there is not interminable talk at the beginning of the session and on towards the very end, while at the very end there is headlong haste and confusion. The result of these two things is that members necessarily must place a good deal of confidence in the different committees, or at any rate pay them deference, and that talk fills the time which bills should get, and most bills are hurried through in the last few days. At first, a bill introduced is referred, gets consideration from the committee, is printed, and may be read, sentence by-sentence, by each member, discussed point by point, and intelligently accepted or rejected. But when the thing to do is to pass a bill like this one amendatory of the code, everything is kept quiet till the session draws towards its last day, when scores of bills are to be worked off, and when, according to a bad custom, committees have leave to report by title. Then, if the committee is "fixed" and the Speaker "sound," even should there be some member sharp enough to know that the proposed measure probably contains something dangerous, he is apt not to catch the Speaker's eye when he rises to object amid the din, and the bill goes through by "a strict party vote;" the Republicans being just as good at the game as any other set of people. So though at first we were moved to make some harsh and upbraiding remarks to our famous "Trojan band" of Republicans who were to perish before surrendering, and were going to say to them something more about the "traitor Winans" and his clear inferiority in point of righteousness to the other members of the party, we, on second thought, decided to leave them unattacked. The evil is common, and a general cure must be sought—perhaps in general legislation in place of special, and the adoption of stricter rules as to the passage of bills not before the legislature in print for a certain length of time.

The *Tribune*, admitting itself to be for the moment "Tammany Republican," proceeds in a way that is really pathetic, whether we look on it as used in earnest or as being uncandid and dishonest, to ask of our Comptroller, Richard B. Connolly, some dozen or two of questions relative to the management of the city finances. Connolly is one of the four men, two Irishmen and two Americans, who govern the city, and have, we all know how, for years. A law of the State peremptorily orders the Comptroller to make annually, and before the legislature votes the taxes of the year, an exhibit of the financial condition of the city. The Tammany Comptroller does it or not as he chooses, and he chooses not, for reasons which need not be mentioned. No exhibit is forthcoming this year, none was last year, none the year before. Now, knowing what the *Tribune* knows, would anybody believe it credible that out of "softness," or for any other reason, any adult person should say to this sort of man, "Will he let us know how many and what persons are drawing salaries from the city, who only work for her by proxy or do no real work for her at all?" "Will he tell us the cost of our new City Hall?" "Will he enable us to ascertain from his exhibit what sums are paid out to the sheriff, county clerk, mayor, corporation counsel, and other officials—not what salaries each receives under any particular head, but what amount per annum each receives altogether?" Of course he will; particularly when he hears, further, that "if he will deal frankly with us, we proffer him in advance a hearty acknowledgment, and we feel sure that many will unite with us." We confess that we for our part do not understand this. One thing, however, we may feel sure of; and that is, that it is to Tammany Democrats and not Tammany Republicans of the *Tribune's* degree of innocence that this sort of information is vouchsafed. Tammany Republicans of the commoner kind know it all; or know as much as they wish.

General John Cochrane, for instance, that model Republican who "would vote for the devil, if the devil was the regular party candidate," and who, we need not say, was at one time a tremendous Democrat, and who now serves with Mr. Greeley on the regular Tammany-Republican, pro-Fenton, anti-Administration, anti-Custom-house Committee, could tell the *Tribune* a good deal that it wants to know; though no one suspects him of being in the pay of Tammany, because he is as "sound" as this that follows. The Tammany Republican Committee, being anti-Conkling, is of course out of Custom-house places, and its heart burns within it when it reflects on the baseness with which the Administration, which is pro-Conkling, has used Senator Sumner. General Cochrane expresses its indignation in these words:

"*Resolved*, That the recent deposition of the United States Senate of Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, from senatorial dignities, defines to the American eye with startling distinctness the outlines of this tragic tableau. It is the 13th day of May, 1856. The curtain rises upon a Senate Chamber, a seated senator, and a stricken blow. The 10th day of March, 1871, has come. Again the Senate Chamber. The seated senator and a blow. Fifteen years have passed. The Senate house and the man the same. Say you who saw the deed, all else unchanged, how falls the blow of slavery then, beneath the blow sped by vicarious vengeance now?"

It would be curious to know how long, by devices of this kind and by factional animosities on the part of their leaders and wire-pullers, the Republican party of the State of New York is going to let itself be fooled and sold. We wonder how many men think that the party cannot dispense with Cochrane and his like better than they with it?

Affairs in South Carolina continue to have more interest than those of any other section of the South. This is partly owing, it must be admitted, to fresh outrages on the part of the Ku-klux, in spite of the President's warnings and the legislation of Congress. What is curious, however, and at the same time very encouraging, is the fact that the leading men of the State, with the possible exception of Gov. Scott, have no faith in the remedies prepared at Washington, and, better still, are earnestly endeavoring to restore peace in other and more rational ways. Judge Orr looks upon the Ku-klux bill as a grave political blunder, in a national point of view, and says it will catch no Ku-klux, and correct none of the evils it was aimed at. Senator Robertson, a native of South Carolina, though a Republican, voted against the bill in his seat in Congress, believing in the policy of conciliation. Ex-Representative Whittemore calls the bill "a sham and a farce," but on the ground that it is milk-and-water, and "we want strong measures." When the Ku-klux "learn how weak and silly it is, they will pay no attention to it, and go on as ever." Mr. Whittemore, however, is no exception to our remark that the leaders are working for the return of order and good government as if they laid no dependence upon Congress. He is one of a committee appointed by the late General Assembly to investigate the finances of the State, and in a private letter, which has been published, he declares that "no attempt at 'whitewashing' will be suffered, but a complete exposé made, let 'the shoe pinch' where it will." He also says—what is not surprising, considering that our old friend Treasurer Parker's accounts are to be overhauled among the rest—that the committee is "not cheered on in the investigation by some of the high functionaries" as it might be. "They have become exceedingly cautious, reticent, and fearful of 'the judgment to come.' We are aware of the cause of their trepidation, and we propose to follow it up." What his game may be is not clear, but that this is not mere talk is perhaps proved by his proposing that the Charleston Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce appoint a suitable clerk and a competent expert to sit with the committee, and keep watch of its doings and discoveries. "True Republicanism," he says, "is to invite all energies, influences, and interests in the cause of an honest administration of public trusts."

One of the most atrocious murders took place in Chesterfield, where an old man by the name of Melton was called out in the early morning and shot by a band of men, who also fatally wounded his wife and daughter. Nevertheless, the intelligent and fair-minded correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* in South Carolina found it almost impossible to ascertain whether this outrage ought properly to be imputed to the Ku-klux. As in numerous other instances, there was the most conflicting testimony, even among Republicans, as to the character of the deceased and the probable motive for killing him. The Hon. B. F. Whittemore asserted that Melton's only offence was that he was tax-collector for Chesterfield County and a Republican; but another informant, himself a Republican, and who knew Melton, told the corre-

spondent that he "was a man of bad character, and his so-called Republicanism had nothing to do with the murder. He was ignorant and dishonest, and no more fit for tax-collector than a horse." Melton came, he added, from North Carolina, where he broke jail while confined for sheep-stealing, and, when he became collector, "abused his official powers awfully," especially exciting the enmity of the negroes. If they did not combine to kill him, it must have been another dishonest officer named Donaldson, against whom Melton and his wife were witnesses, who procured his death. Doubtless, if we knew the truth, a great deal of the Southern violence now too hastily styled Ku-klux, would resolve itself into the work of vigilance committees or of hired assassins.

The coal troubles are resolving themselves back into their original elements. The combination of the railroads is broken, by the opening of an independent road between New York and the Lower Luzerne and Lehigh region, where virtually no disagreement existed between operators and miners, and where resumption was solely prevented by the railroads. In Schuylkill, where the operators are entirely under the control of the Reading Railroad, partial resumption is announced, but the position is less clear and definite. At Scranton, the laborers willing to resume have been mobbed by the miners, and further violence is apprehended. If the railroad to Wilkesbarre is really as independent as it is represented to be, all fear of a coal-famine is removed; but it is premature, at least, to announce the end of the troubles.

Advancing spring has brought no improvement to country trade. Complaints are general from all sections concerning the difficulty of making collections, and the evil is not attributed to its usual cause: accumulation of stocks in the hands of retailers. On the contrary, the feature of the whole merchandise trade, for months past, has been the judicious buying of retailers in every class of business. The evil is due to the inability of the retailers to collect from their customers. The undeniable want of prosperity throughout the country is most strikingly shown in this one particular, which puts to rout and confusion all the claims upon which railroad securities, choice city property, and a variety of similar expensive luxuries, have recently been speculatively advanced. The cold and wet weather has been construed as injurious to the cotton prospect, and has helped, with the falling off in the receipts (for the first time below the figures of the same week last year) to strengthen the price. The exports of cotton continue liberal, but in all other articles have fallen off greatly, so that, in spite of daily announcements of fresh negotiations in Europe of large amounts of American securities of every description, the condition of the foreign exchanges continues unfavorable, and the specie export in payment of foreign balances proceeds steadily, the shipments to date exceeding those for the same period of every previous year. A species of infatuation seems to have taken possession of the community, which blinds it to the gravity of the situation. The gold premium remains almost unchanged, though with a rather firmer tone. Real estate has been more active, and building operations are reported in progress to an unexpected extent. Breadstuffs have kept firm, but meats are lower than ever.

Money, in the general absence of business movement, continues abundant and easy. The 'greenbacks not required' for circulation in the pockets of the people, flow into the banks, where they tempt to increased liberality in loans. The speculation at the Stock Exchange has come to a halt, though signs are not wanting of preparations for further movements. The funding process appears to have totally exhausted itself, and several Government officials have left for Europe to try to stimulate further conversions there. Under the influence of the steady Treasury purchases, and the growing belief that United States bonds are, after all, the best obtainable security for investors, the prices of bonds remain firm, and comparatively few are offered for sale. The city of New York is reported as negotiating a seven per cent. loan at Frankfort, where Bismarck and Von Arnim, with Favre and Pouyer-Quertier, are also said to be negotiating a French loan, to enable the Versailles Government to pay the first instalment of the German war indemnity.

Fort Issy has finally fallen, after a prolonged struggle. The fighting in its vicinity was very severe on Tuesday, May 2, when the park of the village of the same name and Les Moulineaux were alternately taken and retaken, the Versailles troops eventually remaining masters of the ground. On Wednesday, their batteries, erected at Châtillon, Clamart, and Bas-Meudon, resumed the work of breaching the walls of the fort, and, under cover of the fire, the approaches to it were, on the following days, steadily pushed forward, amidst frequent fighting in the trenches. Fort Issy responded slowly. Between it and Billancourt the assailants occupied the island of St. Germain, in the Seine, and established a battery there, directed against the insurgent gunboats in the river. On the opposite side, all communications between Fort Issy and Forts Vanves and Montrouge were destroyed. These, too, were subjected to heavy showers of projectiles from the Châtillon batteries, to which they feebly responded. Beyond them, to the east, the Versailles forces carried by assault the insurgent position at Moulin-Saquet, south of Forts Bicêtre and Ivry, with heavy loss to the Parisians in killed, prisoners, and artillery. The position, however, could not be kept, exposed as it was to a destructive fire from the forts in front of it, and it was subsequently reoccupied by the insurgents, who made strenuous efforts to hold the field outside of the *enceinte*, in the vicinity of Villejuif and Vitry, and thus to prevent the completion of the investing line on the south. A small redan, taken by storm in front of Fort Vanves, on Saturday the 6th, had also to be evacuated. This engagement was followed, on the 7th, by severe cannonading, which was continued till Tuesday, when Fort Issy fell, and Vanves was on fire.

West of Paris, the Government troops, early in the week, unmasked a formidable battery at Montretout, near St. Cloud, which menaces the southwestern districts of Paris, Point-du-Jour, Auteuil, and Passy. To this the Parisians are reported to have opposed fresh batteries within the *enceinte*. At and around Neuilly much cannonading, chiefly from Government guns, and occasional fighting, continued to take place, apparently without any material change in the positions of the contending parties. The batteries at the gates of Maillot and Des Ternes were for a time silent, the insurgents being engaged in making repairs. Portions of Neuilly and Levallois, between that place and Clichy, were set on fire by shells from Mont Valérien. General Ladmirault's troops were, about the same time, pushing from the bridge of Neuilly in a northeasterly direction, towards the *enceinte*, with the object, it was believed, of pressing the insurgents towards Clichy. On Monday, the 7th, the Montretout battery opened a moderate fire on "the city," which was subsequently kept up with greater energy, although M. Thiers, in a proclamation to the people of Paris, assured them that the Government would "not bombard the city, but make an assault upon the ramparts." In this decisive assault he hoped to be aided by the loyal or repentant citizens within the ramparts, whom he implored to "reunite and open the gates," in return for which he promised the granting of an amnesty, and the continuance of the subsidy for the poor, until reviving order should have restored industry and abundance.

This proclamation, if we may be allowed to judge by the brief extracts transmitted by the Cable, was far from being couched in very reassuring or hopeful words. Nor could the old statesman then be in a very cheerful mood, while Jules Favre was humbly and vainly negotiating with Bismarck at Frankfort-on-the-Main for a change in the stipulations of the preliminaries of peace; while the Orleans princes—as reported—had to be expelled, Napoleon's agents watched, the Paris deputies in the Assembly checkmated, and plotters for a treasonable Congress at Bordeaux—with Gambetta at their head—arrested, in the rear of the scanty troops at his command; while all the forts, ramparts, and barricades of the immense seat of the insurrection were still unconquered before him—defended by madmen determined to rule or ruin; and while the Germans "declared they would mercilessly resume the war unless the insurrection was at once suppressed." This latter threat, however, may have been directed by the Chancellor of the German Empire not so much against the Versailles Government as against the cosmopolitan revolutionists of the Paris Commune.

"FOREIGN LOANS."

THE *Evening Post* of the 4th inst., commenting on our recent article on "The National Wealth," takes some exceptions to it, on points on which we may have something to say hereafter; and, in doing so, makes one statement which, of all places in the world, we were surprised to find in its columns, and which is not only a fallacy, but a fallacy which has done a great deal of mischief during the last ten years. The statement is this: "If the public debt were ten times as great as it is, but all held by our own citizens, the nation, as a whole, would not be directly made a cent poorer for it—its wealth would simply be differently distributed; all the property in the country would still belong to the people of the country." The *Post* then makes the assumption that it is only when the bonds are held by foreigners that the public debt is a loss.

Now, the origin of this delusion, for delusion it is, is to be found in the fact that many people have fallen into the habit of looking on Government bonds, as many people look on greenbacks and on gold and silver coin, not as evidences of a claim to a certain amount of wealth, but as wealth itself; in other words, in the fallacy which lies at the bottom of the mercantile system of which the *Post* is one of the oldest and ablest opponents in the United States.

The real truth of this matter, which seems plain enough when stated, but which nevertheless proves in practice hard to comprehend, is, that whether the nation is or is not poorer by the amount of the national debt, depends wholly on what has been done with the money for which the debt was contracted. If that money was used in making railroads or canals, or draining swamps, or erecting public buildings for the transaction of business, or for any other productive purpose, the bonds issued to those who lend the money undoubtedly are not evidences that the nation is any the poorer by having contracted the debt. But this is not a true account of the origin of our national debt, or of any of the great national debts of the world. They have all, or nearly all, been contracted for military purposes, and the money has been spent in the destruction of life and property, or, in other words, in an economical sense, has been utterly wasted. From the standpoint of the economist, the $3,000,000,000 which we owed when the late war closed, showed that the nation had been impoverished to the same extent and in the same manner as if goods of that value had been collected and burnt up. The individuals from whom they were taken have not been made any poorer by it, because the nation at large has promised to reimburse them, and they are able to negotiate its promises in the market; but the nation itself, as a whole, has been made poorer by just that amount at least. In other words, it is the converse of the *Post's* proposition which is true, and not the proposition itself. A Government bond, it cannot be too distinctly remembered, is not wealth. It is simply an evidence of debt. It is an acknowledgment by the nation at large that it has taken from A one thousand dollars' worth of his property, and (in our case) fired it away in broadsides, or used it in feeding and clothing fighting men, and that it will one day repay him. He is no worse off in having parted with his property, but the persons who took it, and who agreed to give it back, undoubtedly are. Government bonds are, consequently, not real capital. You cannot employ bonds in making a railroad, for instance; they do not represent wealth actually in existence; they represent wealth destroyed. If the holder wishes to use a bond in the work of production, what he does is to go to another man and say, "The Government owes me $1,000, and cannot pay me now, but will do so out of the future earnings of the people twenty years hence. I cannot wait so long; will you let me have the money, and take my place as its creditor?" In other words, the operation is simply a transfer of a claim from one hand to another.

It is easy to see from all this, that if the whole debt were held by foreigners, that is, if it was foreign capital we had taken and destroyed, and had agreed to pay back when we got to be richer, our condition would really be far better than it is; and the fact that most of the creditors of the Government are American citizens, so far from being a source of comfort or a sign of wealth, is simply a misfortune, a thing to be lamented and not rejoiced over. It would be well for us, the terms of the loan being the same, if every cent of the national debt were held abroad, except for the danger of the bonds being hurried home in a panic or in the event of a foreign war, and convulsing the money market. But even in this case the mischief would be slight and temporary, the advantage great and permanent. For, if foreigners threw their bonds on the market in a fright, they would have to sell them very cheap, and as nobody but our own citizens would buy them, they would become possessors of claims on the Government at a very low rate, and though the expense of the war would not thus be diminished to the nation as a political corporation, it would be diminished to it as a collection of individuals.

It is the interest of every nation to carry on its wars with foreign money, if it can get it at any lower rates than it has to pay for money at home. It is also its interest to borrow all the foreign capital it can get for productive undertakings, if it can get it more cheaply than at home. Nothing can come of such borrowing but good; nothing but good ever *has* come of it. The worst that can possibly happen is that it will have to pay back as much money as it got; but if it has had the use of it at five per cent. and has made ten per cent. profit, all wailing over having to pay it back is ridiculous. A nation cannot be sold out; its creditors have no remedy if it fails to pay its debts but to sell their claims low. It may therefore become knavish under its obligations, but it cannot be ruined by them. The howl over the amount of a foreign indebtedness which the *Tribune* has been keeping up for thirty years is one of the amusing economical eccentricities of that paper; it would be, however, a very ludicrous spectacle for the *Post* to join in it.

The *Post* may now see why it should not take exception to our deducting the whole amount of the national debt from the estimated total of national wealth, nor maintain that only the debt held abroad should be so deducted. That the latter should be deducted is, of course, not denied by any intelligent writer; the question is concerning the bonds owned by our own citizens. Now, the bonds held by our own citizens are, indeed, counted as part of their personal property in the census returns; but, as we have just shown, they are not true property in the sense of national wealth. If they were paid off to-morrow, that payment would neither increase nor diminish the true wealth of the country by one single dollar, whereas it would undoubtedly diminish the census returns of personal property by the full amount paid off. The whole of the bonds have been created since 1860; whatever amount is held by our citizens is, therefore, an apparent but not real increase of our national wealth, made since that time; and in order to ascertain the true increase, the bonds held at home, as well as those held abroad, should, therefore, be deducted from the total returns of national wealth. The bonds are not, as might be supposed, already deducted on the returns, since the latter are not derived from the statements of the taxpayers, like the income-tax returns, but are the result of actual assessments; in these, no account is taken of the nature of the individual's property, whether invested in national securities or otherwise, but the total value of the real estate is taken from the records, and the personal property is estimated by the assessors.

RECEIVERS.

THE elaborate histories of several important lawsuits which have lately appeared in the newspapers, magazines, and reviews have made the public familiar with the names, at least, of many technical legal terms generally known only to experts. In attacking or defending the professional character of eminent counsel, and the private designs of litigant parties, questions of practice have been freely discussed, as though the ordinary citizen was as well acquainted with the details of procedure as is the advocate or the judge. Among these technical terms none has been repeated oftener than the word "receiver," and repeated with such an amount of sharp criticism and of damaging application to individual cases, that one might think the homely legal maxim ought to be slightly modified by a change in its articles, so as to read, "*a* receiver is as bad as *a* thief." We purpose to describe, without the use of any legal phraseology, the nature and objects of the

receiver's office, his general powers and duties, and the well-settled rules which govern or which have hitherto governed his action.

In all ordinary common-law actions, on account of the essential character of the proceeding, and of the judgment or relief granted, there is no occasion for any such officer as a receiver. Outside of certain statutory enactments, the receiver is therefore only known in courts of equity. A suit in equity almost always relates to some particular identified property, either lands and their rents and profits, or chattels, securities, or moneys, in which all the parties, plaintiff and defendant, have or claim to have some ownership or interest; and its primary object is to establish and declare these various ownerships and interests according to their respective natures and extent, and to enforce the rights which flow from them, when thus ascertained, by transferring possession, permitting present use, or otherwise securing the enjoyment, as the circumstances of the case may demand. It is evident that during a protracted litigation, while the interests of all the parties remain undetermined, the property itself may perhaps be consumed or destroyed, or suffered to go to waste, by the persons originally in possession, whom the final decree may decide to have had no valid claim whatever upon the subject-matter. To avert this danger, and to preserve the property secure, so that it may be delivered intact and undiminished to those who are found to be entitled to it, is the sole object of a receiver according to the settled practice of courts of equity. For this purpose alone such tribunals may, in certain cases, appoint that officer and clothe him with the proper functions of his office. The principles which govern this class of cases are well established and easy to be understood, and we will briefly state them. It sometimes happens that the plaintiff and defendant are confessedly owners of a common fund, and equally entitled to its control and management, so that neither has, as against the other, any right to exclusive possession or use; for certain reasons, these persons are unable to settle up their affairs amicably, and therefore appeal to a court of equity to decide all differences between them, and to divide the fund as their respective rights demand. The familiar instance is the action brought to wind up a partnership. Under these circumstances, a receiver to take possession of the property, to collect the debts, and otherwise to administer it until the final decree of the court, is indispensable. Again, when the specific property is in the hands of the defendant, and apparently in his ownership, but the plaintiff claims to impress upon it some trust in his own favor—that is, claims that he has in it some beneficial ownership, either absolute or partial, which would entitle him to complete possession and use, or to possession and use for a limited period of time, it is plain that, during the pendency of the suit, it might be possible for the defendant to transfer, or consume, or destroy the fund, and thus to turn the plaintiff's final success into a practical defeat. Under these circumstances, the court might appoint a receiver to take possession of the fund, and to hold it secure until the termination of the pending controversy. Again, the decree of the court might declare that the plaintiff had a lien on a certain fund owned by the defendant, and that his claim should be satisfied out of the rents and profits of the land, or out of the avails of the securities or debts, in which case a receiver would be necessary to take these rents and profits, or to collect the debts, or to convert the securities into money, so that the proceeds might be appropriated in payment of the plaintiff's demand. Finally, certain statutes provide that the affairs of an insolvent corporation should be placed in the hands of a receiver for settlement.

The nature of the receiver's official functions has been determined by an unbroken series of decisions and course of judicial practice. He is, in fact, an officer of the court, and the property entrusted to him is in the custody of the court. He has, and can have, no possible interest in the final event of the litigation; he is to look upon the contest as an indifferent spectator. His chief duty is to preserve the fund entire until the decision of the cause, so that it may then pass to its appropriate possessors and owners. To accomplish this ultimate purpose, it may be necessary for him to do many intermediate acts, such as the collection of debts, the payment of encumbrances, the maintenance of suits, and the like. These he is to do as an agent of the court, under its express directions and constant supervision. All the authoritative decisions and rules of procedure most carefully guard his integrity, and especially his entire impartiality between the contending parties. The notion that he is an agent or instrument of one of the litigants to aid such party in obtaining any advantage, or in reaping the fruits of a successful litigation from the outset, is utterly opposed to the fundamental theory in respect to his functions, and to a practice uniform in all places and times except in New York city within a few years past. The books speak one language upon the point: "He is an indifferent person between the parties." "He is appointed on behalf of all the parties, and not of the complainant or of the defendant only." "He is appointed for the benefit of all the parties who may establish rights in the cause, and the money in his hands is in the custody of the law for whoever can make out a title to it." "He should be a person wholly disinterested in the subject-matter of the suit, and ought not to interfere in any litigation between the parties." "He represents the interests of all the parties, which interests are often various and conflicting, and sometimes involved in doubt. It is his duty to protect the property entrusted to him to the best of his ability, for all those interests, without being controlled by any one of them." These maxims are elementary, and undoubtedly apply with special force to the acts of a receiver pending the litigation. After a final decree, he becomes more the agent of the successful party, and his duty is to carry into effect the judgment against the loser.

It is plain from the foregoing statements and citations that the theory and settled practice of equity courts require that a receiver should be a person not only of the highest integrity, but of peculiar independence of character. Above all, he should be bound by no personal relations to any of the litigants or to their attorneys or counsel. He must be a man able to hold himself utterly impartial, able to repel at once all approaches towards favoritism. He is entrusted with property not his own, and he cannot decide upon the merits of the controversy nor upon the respective rights and claims of those who participate in it. In addition to these indispensable elements of integrity and independence of character and position, he must often be a person of large and peculiar business knowledge and experience. It is true that he acts under the direction of the court; but this direction must from the necessity of the case be general, and much or all of the details of the administration must be left to his discretion. Very peculiar matters are sometimes committed to his charge. Thus, in a case before Chancellor Walworth, the property in the hands of the receiver was a political newspaper, with its subscription-list and goodwill. The chancellor said that the court could not carry on a political newspaper indefinitely, and therefore the receiver must dispose of it as soon as possible, but that until such disposal he must edit it and manage the concern as best he could. It would be a violation of judicial duty for a court to appoint as receiver of an insolvent insurance company a person ignorant of the business of insurance, or as receiver of a bank one ignorant of banking, or as receiver of a railway one ignorant of the special business of railroad management. To sum up, the settled procedure of courts of equity requires in the receiver integrity, independence, and special knowledge of and fitness for the particular trust to which he is appointed, so that all of the parties claiming the subject-matter of that trust may be satisfied that their interests will not be injured or defeated by his dishonesty, by his favoritism, or by his ignorance or mismanagement.

In the light of these principles, courts of equity have uniformly proceeded with great caution in the appointment of a preliminary receiver. The general, almost universal, rule requires that the application should be made upon notice. Appointments of receivers *ex-parte*, with no opportunity for the defendant to be heard, were exceedingly rare until very recently. No such step would ever be taken against a defendant who had appeared in the suit or whose time of answering had not expired, unless in a case of great emergency, where the property, would be likely to perish. In other words, there must be some very special and extraordinary circumstances making the plaintiff's right clear, and showing that a delay of a few days even would probably be fatal to that right. But the caution of the court goes still further. Not only is notice thus requisite, but the judge does not assume to name the receiver. He simply orders a referee to examine into the fitness of the

persons suggested, and to select such an one as seems to him proper, and to report back his proceedings for confirmation. An *ex-parte* appointment by the judge himself is a recent innovation upon the established practice, confined as yet, we believe, to a narrow but unfortunately most important district of the State and the country.

It is plain that a receivership pending a litigation is at best an invasion of rights of immediate possession and perhaps of property, and that the measure is only resorted to as a matter of necessity, in order to preserve ultimate rights and to render the decree which is to be made effectual. For this reason, the practice of the courts in England and in America has surrounded the proceedings with all the safeguards which an extreme judicial caution could suggest. How far this theory and practice have been departed from, and how completely these safeguards have been overthrown in New York City, can be easily learned from the history of a few notorious cases with which the public have been made familiar. In the first place, the fundamental notion that a receiver is an officer of the court, standing entirely indifferent between the parties, has been thrown to the winds. A receivership is rather looked upon as an ordinary step to be taken at the commencement of a suit in order to enable the plaintiff from the outset to enjoy all the advantages of a final decree in his own favor, while the receiver regards himself not as an officer of the court, but as an active agent for the parties who procured his appointment, ready and willing to obey their directions, and in every possible way to subserve their interests. The facts which illustrate this statement are too well known to require more than a simple reference to them. The voting of the receiver of Mr. Groesbeck's stock in the Susquehanna Railroad controversy, at the suggestion of the counsel who procured his appointment, was without any color of authority, and in plain violation of his official duty. The *ex-parte* appointment of Mr. Fisk in the same matter as receiver of the entire road was a scandal which disgraced alike the counsel who obtained the order, the judge who granted it, and the administration of justice in the State of New York. A more recent occurrence shows the same tendency to pervert the forms and instruments of the law. By the easy compliance of an *ex-parte* receiver—who seems to practise the double profession of referee and receiver in the New York courts with great diligence and success—the Erie Company or its officers were enabled to raise money upon thousands of shares which should have remained locked up in his safe, while the certificate left in his custody was probably rendered valueless.

Another departure from the theory and practice of equity seems to have been established. The requisite of business knowledge and fitness for the special duties of particular trusts is no longer important. Receivership as well as refereeship has become a profession, and a few favored practitioners monopolize the business. The New York lawyer has long been able to predict who will be made referee in a given case by certain judges, and he may now prophesy with equal certainty as to prospective receivers. We are not competent to pronounce upon the personal and professional merits of these fortunate gentlemen, but it is certainly safe to say that, in addition to their great legal acquirements, they can hardly be versed in *all* the various kinds of business carried on in the commercial metropolis. One of them bears a name which will long be notorious if not celebrated in New York politics, and nothing seems too small or too great for his attention and care. He does not disdain a receivership in supplementary proceedings to enforce an insignificant judgment of a few hundred dollars, in which, if we can believe the vigorous protests of the indignant attorney, only ninety-nine per cent. of the proceeds may be absorbed in fees and emoluments; and again we find him presiding over the affairs of defunct life insurance companies, or forcing his way, armed with a judge's order and sledge-hammers, into the safes of a great railway corporation. We are satisfied that the double profession of referee and receiver in the New York courts offers many inducements and advantages to intelligent, sharp, and enterprising young men.

PRUSSIAN AND FRENCH SOCIETY.

We cannot resist the temptation of making one more extract from Colonel Stoffel's reports to the French Government, dated August 2, 1869, one year before the outbreak of the war. We have italicized the absurd passage where the colonel's judgment is clearly clouded by the spirit of "caste." His description of the kind of men who ought to occupy responsible positions shows that, shrewd as he is, his "heart" is not in the right place:

"Again, looking at the moral condition of the contending countries, one cannot but admit that Prussia is not only the more cautious and the more vigilant of the two, but that her people are also the most highly educated and disciplined in the world. Who that has lived here will deny that the Prussians are energetic, patriotic, and teeming with youthful vigor; that they are not corrupted by sensual pleasures, but are manly, have earnest convictions, do not think it beneath them to reverence sincerely what is noble and lofty? What a melancholy contrast does France offer in all this! Having sneered at everything, she has lost the faculty of respecting anything. Virtue, family life, patriotism, honor, religion, are represented to a frivolous generation as fitting subjects of ridicule. The theatres have become schools of shamelessness and obscenity. Drop by drop poison is instilled into the very core of an ignorant and enervated society, which has neither the insight nor the energy left to amend its institutions, nor—which would be the most necessary step to take—become better informed or more moral. One after the other the fine qualities of the nation are dying out. Where is the generosity, the loyalty, the charm of our *esprit*, and our former elevation of soul? If this goes on, the time will come when this noble race of France will be known only by its faults. And France has no idea that, while she is sinking, more earnest nations are stealing a march upon her, are distancing her on the road to progress, and are preparing for her a secondary position in the world.

"I am afraid that these opinions will not be relished in France. However correct, they differ too much from what is usually said and asserted at home. I should wish some enlightened and unprejudiced Frenchmen to come to Prussia and make this country their study. They would soon discover that they were living in the midst of a strong, earnest, and intelligent nation, entirely destitute, it is true, of all fine and delicate feelings, of all fascinating charms, but endowed with every solid virtue, and alike distinguished for untiring industry, order, and economy, as well as for patriotism, a strong sense of duty, and that consciousness of personal dignity which in their case is so happily blended with respect for authority and obedience to the law. They would see a country with firm, sound, and moral institutions, whose upper classes are worthy of their rank, and, by possessing the highest degree of culture, devoting themselves to the service of the state, and setting an example of patriotism, know how to preserve the influence legitimately their own. They would find a state with an excellent administration, where everything is in its right place, and where the most admirable order prevails in every branch of the social and political system. Prussia may be well compared to a massive structure of lofty proportions and astounding solidity, which, though it has nothing to delight the eye or speak to the heart, cannot but impress us with its grand symmetry, equally observable in its broad foundations as in the strong and sheltering roof.

"And what is France? What is French society in these latter days? A hurly-burly of disorderly elements all mixed and jumbled together; *a country in which everybody claims the right to occupy the highest posts, yet few remember that a man to be employed in a responsible position ought to have a well-balanced mind, ought to be strictly moral, know something of the world, and possess certain intellectual powers;* a country *in which the highest offices are frequently held by ignorant and uneducated persons*, who either boast some special talent, or whose only claim is social position and some versatility and address. What a baneful and degrading state of things! And how natural that while it lasts France should be full of people without a position, without a calling, who do not know what to do with themselves, but are none the less eager to envy and malign every one who does. Reverting to my architectural simile, France may be compared to one of those noble temples of ancient Greece, masterpieces of art in former times, but shaken, crumbled, and destroyed by revolutionary earthquakes and the corroding action of time. When gazing at it, the wanderer cannot help admiring the magnificent ruins strewn around far and wide; but in marking the beauty of its broken fragments his heart is filled with sorrow at the demolition of the whole."

THE CLERICAL DEFEAT.—MR. BANCROFT'S RESIGNATION.

BERLIN, April 14, 1871.

After an excitement of more than seven months, filled with war, battles, and sieges, country and people have comparatively quickly fallen back into their old habits. Only the absence of our soldiers indicates an unusual state of things. Since April 1, part of the Landwehr and reserves has been sent home; officers and men who have been discharged, cheerfully return to their old vocations of life; but the greater part of our army—fully seventeen army corps—is still in France, and it depends on the development of things there when our troops will finally be withdrawn. It is a sad spectacle in itself which France offers to the civilized world in general, and a heavy injury to our interests in particular; but if we should lose the whole war indemnity, the loss would not be out of proportion to the substantial advantages which we derive from the French disturbances.

Germany was much in need of this lesson. She has always been too

prone to look to France for the realization of her ideals. While from the days of Louis XIV. the French language, art, habits, and customs have been the models eagerly imitated by our ruling and aristocratic classes, the French Revolution made the people the successor of the nobility in its longings for the intellectual leadership of the French. With all due respect and thanks for past real or imaginary benefits, we cannot afford to be guided by the Revolution any longer, by making it, as do the French, a regular factor of progress, by striving for it as the great boon of salvation, by proclaiming it an integral part of political life. No other country in Europe but ours, I believe, just on account of its dearth of actual political strife, was so rich in theoretical revolutionists. Revolutionary sentiments and ideas were the test by which the honesty and integrity of a politician were measured. Among the German liberals it had quite become a superstition that the French example was the only panacea for political evils and shortcomings. Thus in our representative assemblies we have not followed the sound principles of English or American constitutionalism, but are still ruled by its French counterfeit, manufactured by the men of the Restoration. We had a French school in our literature, even up to the very outbreak of the revolution of 1848. Heine and Boerne, the most powerful writers who influenced the minds of the young generation, were blind idolaters of French superiority in political and social life. I took up, the other day, Boerne's "Letters from Paris," which for about twenty years were the gospel of all liberal Germans; but after having read a few pages, I threw them down in disgust. Looked at in the light of our day, a German must feel ashamed of the unpatriotic and slanderous character of the book, the more so when we consider what the ideal looked up to really amounts to. You will find in Heine's poems and prose writings the same glorification of the French character. A French Béranger, in spite of all his political mistakes, is a refreshing and grand literary phenomenon; but a gifted German poet, outdoing Béranger in worshipping Napoleon, is a sad spectacle, reflecting dishonor and shame upon his own nation. The radical wing of our philosophers, like Arnold Ruge, were under the same ban; our economical writers and the whole socialistic school were taught by French experience and views; and last, not least, George Sand had a firm hold on the minds of almost every German mother and daughter, who were imbued with a false idea of life by imbibing the sweet poison of the seductive writings of her first period. The events of 1848, and especially the insurrection of June, increased the strength of French sympathies. In some respects Victor Hugo was right in calling Paris the holy city, as it was so regarded by all the revolutionists of Europe, who, since 1789, have expected parole and countersign from there.

At present the French are most effectively destroying what they have been building up for the last two centuries. They are proving beyond contradiction that they are incapable of supporting a regular government, of establishing free institutions; and that, lapsing from one revolution into another, they only know how to sap the very foundation of the social and political structure. They are ruled by their beaux-ideals instead of a constitution, by whims and notions instead of political duties. Each man, each clique, each party wants to realize its principle; what constitutes this principle is left to the decision, to the *bon plaisir* of the individual. To what end will this lead? Ultimately the strongest will realize his principle and subdue the others, *i.e.*, a dictator, who with blood and iron holds down the popular passions and aspirations. Notwithstanding the several thousand members of the "Internationale," or the reddest of red republicans, like that innocent German music teacher of Hoboken, who, as he boasted, is opposed on principle to everything existing, our people will now sober down, and will themselves draw the logical results from the French cataclysm. What the great Lessing began, in emancipating us intellectually from the French influences, will be consummated politically by the events subsequent to the frivolous war of 1870. At present we cannot do anything but stand afar off, and let things go on in France as they will. It is not in our interest to follow the good advice of our British friends who, for the sake of European civilization and liberty, request us to act as the gendarmes of order, and to end the internecine struggle by means of our troops. The insinuated appeals of the Thiers Government for assistance have likewise not been heeded. As a return of thanks for Bismarck's abstinence and discretion, Favre deliberately states that he has refused the national enemy's offer for help. If we can help it, not a drop of German blood shall be spilt for the purpose of bringing the Paris mob to terms; but circumstances may arise which will make the German interference a matter of dire necessity. For the present, the German Emperor has consented to release 80,000 French prisoners, among them the Imperial guards, and to let them return home, where they will be enrolled against the Paris Commune. This situation in France is very injurious to our interests. Our just claims become more insecure from day to day, the final conclusion of peace is postponed, our expenses are trebled and quadrupled, and the return of at least half-a-million of German soldiers is rendered uncertain. Thus we should have not only a plausible pretext, but really good reasons to justify our interference; but all these considerations are insignificant in the face of the gratifying fact that the civilized world will learn from the neutral attitude of Germany how much she is in earnest in her protestations of peace.

The German Reichstag has given another unmistakable proof of the desire of our people to maintain amicable relations with our neighbors by its refusal to interfere with Italy. The clerical party, numbering some sixty-four or sixty-five representatives out of 382 in all, availed itself of the throne address debate to offer as an amendment the motion of an eventual intervention for the re-establishment of the Pope. It was rather too good that, after Pius IX. had been dethroned by a Catholic king, and after all the Catholic powers had declared either their unwillingness or their inability to reinstate the Pope, an effort should now be made to engage the good services of that nation which, with more energy than any other, has for about 500 years fought against Rome politically and intellectually. This appeal, based upon the supposed German stupidity, was of course defeated. It would hardly be worth while to mention the Ultramontane motion in your paper, were it not for its accompanying circumstances. Contrary to former experience, the clerical party acted with a want of skill and cleverness which cannot be excused even by the hopelessness of their case. Instead of stating plainly what they wanted, they shrouded their unsuspicious-looking words with glittering generalities; they had not the courage to be straightforward. The speech-making part of the performance was equally indifferent. The principal speaker, the fighting Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence, cut a rather poor figure. By the way, this same Ketteler was a dashing young Hussar officer some thirty-five years ago in one of the Westphalian regiments; an excellent rider, who, at the request of the Sultan, and on account of the superior acquirements in his line, had just been commanded by the King of Prussia to drill the Turkish cavalry according to the Prussian system, when he had a sabre duel by which he lost half his nose. While on his sick-bed he reformed and imitated the example of Ignatius Loyola, with whom he also shares the energy and bitterness of a narrow intellect. Instead of going to Constantinople and drilling recruits for the Turkish army, he went to Rome to be taught to drill souls for the Catholic Church. Ketteler looks like one of those mediæval bishops whose effigies are cut in stone in many old cathedrals; he gives the impression of having just risen from his grave, and of deploring the lack of persecution and zealotry of our age. The parliamentary platform is not the proper arena for this class of men; they cannot monopolize talk there, and, instead of being listened to with respect, they are interrupted or refuted very irreverently. The awkwardness with which the clericals have made their début in the Reichstag could hardly be understood were it not for the reason that they did not act of their own motion, but by order from Rome. The Catholic Church has become aggressive again. In decreeing infallibility, it has chosen the war path to reconquer what it has irretrievably lost, and it will cause much disorder, strife, and misery; it will fight a desperate struggle all over the world before it will acknowledge that it cannot regain its former position. I apprehend that it will be more successful on your side of the water than on ours. We know the old enemy by centuries of experience, but his tactics and craft are as yet not fully understood by the people of the United States, where the Irish element is the rank and file, which are pushed back and forward, like the pawns on a chess-board, at the will of the players in Rome.

The Reichstag will probably adjourn its first session in a few weeks. Thanks to the liberal elections in Southern Germany, where the patriotic enthusiasm of the liberals has defeated the clericals and the state-rights men, the liberal party is stronger than all its opponents put together. The fears which were entertained after the elections in Prussia, that the new parliament would inaugurate a reactionary period, have fortunately not been realized. It is not a very brilliant, but an honest body of men, which means to work and to secure the political fruits of the last year's development. Slowly but surely it will advance the interests and enlarge the liberties of the people. The principal business of the session will be to authorize a loan of 120,000,000 of thalers, which has become necessary in consequence of the Paris disturbances. Another important measure will be the admission of Alsace and Lorraine. These disturbances have

quite a salutary effect upon the people of those provinces. They now prefer remaining where they live instead of emigrating to France, where they will have to pay at least double taxes; and, besides, the comparison between the two states in their present condition more readily reconciles them with the German Empire. A deputation of Alsatian manufacturers has been received here with marked attention. A temporary tariff will win over the Mülhausen manufacturers to our side. The German civil and military officers treat the Alsatians with marked distinction, and if the latter continue to understand their own interest they will soon be the spoiled children of Germany, and will be much better off than in their former connection with France.

The resignation of Mr. Bancroft, and his probable succession by a politician who has greater claims on the party, is the cause of much regret among those of his countrymen and those Germans who look at the importance and duties of a diplomatic representative with different eyes from the members of the victorious party at home. If Mr. Bancroft did not consider it his principal duty to introduce at court successful ready-made clothing or paper-collar manufacturers, or, as a kind of "commissionaire," to act for and attend to the business of any fool who thought himself especially entitled to the assistance of "his" minister, there are better men who appreciate the always hearty and able services he has rendered in drawing the two countries as near to each other as possible. Mr. Bancroft has always been a staunch friend of Germany, and her leading men will never forget that, as much as was reconcilable with his duties as the minister of a neutral power, he stood by her in her hour of trial. They know very well that he was not concerned in the sale of arms with which his Government so painfully surprised us last fall, and that the offence would never have been offered to the German people if Mr. Bancroft had been asked for his advice. His intimate relations with the most prominent men of letters and public character, his mastery of the German and other languages, and his extraordinary knowledge of German history and politics, have enabled him to do more for the mutual understanding of the two nations and for their mutual appreciation than any of his predecessors in office. Since 1797, when John Quincy Adams was appointed as the first minister to Berlin, up to date, only three American diplomatists have been here who have endeared themselves to this country. They were Adams, Wheaton, and Bancroft—three men who will always stand in the foreground of the political and literary history of their own country. What we want here, and what I would advise you to send here, if I were asked for my opinion, is not so much an unsophisticated Western squire, who chews tobacco, holds handkerchiefs in utter contempt, and considers it a prejudice, unworthy of a true republican, to express himself in any other language than his native English, as an educated gentleman and scholar who knows a little more of European history and politics than he can learn from Abbot's so-called histories or from Mühlbach's novels—in short, a man who nobly represents American science and republicanism, and by his personal character and intercourse with others makes the most efficient propaganda for his country—a gentleman, for instance, like Geo. W. Curtis. The time, however, appears to me to be near at hand when Tammany Hall will appoint the Hon. John Morrissey or Ben. Wood, if not the great James Fisk, jun., himself. I apprehend, however, the Berlin climate will not agree with these worthies.

Notes.

In the press of Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co. are the following works not heretofore announced by us: "Muskingum Legends," with other sketches and papers descriptive of the young men of Germany and the old boys of America, by Stephen Powers; "Travels of a Doctor;" "Life of George Junkin, D.D., LL.D.," by D. X. Junkin; "Religious Philosophy," four courses of lectures before the Lowell Institute, 1845–1853, by the late Alonzo Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania.——Four prizes of $50 each are offered by the American Social Science Association for brief essays on the following subjects relating to hygiene: I. The Care of our Eyes. II. The Brain, and how to hurt it. III. Nursing the sick. IV. Food, Cookery, and Digestion. But essays on the Air we Breathe; Inherited Disease; Work and Play, or the Influence of Association upon Health, may, if the subjects are preferred, be rendered in place of the first named. They must be written in a popular style, and contain not more matter than twenty crown 8vo pages. They should be sent with a sealed note containing the author's name and address, before July 1, to the Treasurer of the Association, 13 Pemberton Square, Boston. A person may write on one or more of the subjects.——On Tuesday next, May 16, a meeting of persons interested in mining and metallurgy, either as owners of works, engineers, or foremen, will be held at Wilkesbarre, Penn., for the purpose of organizing an American Institute of Mining Engineers. The morning will be devoted to visiting the mines, furnaces, and other works of interest in the vicinity, the afternoons and evenings to the reading of papers. The occasion promises to be one of no little interest, and the organization itself is likely to prove an element of concord between labor and capital, though its primary aim is scientific and economic.——Messrs. Appleton & Co. will publish, first in their *Journal* and afterwards in book-form, "Good-bye, Sweetheart," by the author of "Red as a Rose is She." Also: "Fifty Years' Reminiscences," by Mark Boyd; "Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ," by Dr. Wm. Stroud; and a new edition of the late Winthrop Sargent's "Life of André." Their *Annual Cyclopædia* for 1870 will appear this month.——Messrs. Holt & Williams will shortly publish a translation of Gustave Droz's "Autour d'une Source;" to be followed by other of the same author's works.——"Seed Truths; or, Bible Views of Mind, Morals, and Religion," by Rev. Pharcellus Church, D.D., will be published simultaneously in Edinburgh by T. & T. Clarke and in this city by Sheldon & Co.

—The draught of an Act to regulate Primary Elections has been printed by a committee appointed for that purpose by the late Republican Convention to revise the rules of the party in Philadelphia. It is modelled after an act passed within a few months by the Ohio Legislature, and already applied in the spring elections, which in turn was copied from a California statute of March 24, 1866—a good instance of the room there is in this country for a Review of the comparative legislation of the several States. The proposed act seems to us good as far as it goes, and it has the very great merit of uniting all parties in its support; though it is instructive to notice that the Ohio measure was introduced and carried in the House by a Democratic member, and was first defeated and afterwards bitterly opposed in the Senate by Republicans. On the general question, we are of opinion that it is more important to encourage the practice of candidates offering themselves for election, thus giving the electors the widest possible choice, than to seek to purify the caucus. All representative bodies, at least, might be chosen in this way, in accordance with the Hare system. This would not dispense with party nominations, but would simply change their character. They are now, in our political contests, little more than a countersign, distinguishing the hostile camps; they would become what they ought to be, the military outfit. The best arms would then win the day.

—We are happy to be able to point out that our respected contemporary, or whatever is the right name for her—sister of the press, perhaps—Ouida by name, has been getting herself into a disagreeable little scrape. If she has not herself been stealing an American poem for the purpose of adorning her magazine, she has been imposed upon by some gentleman who has been guilty of that bad act. In the last *Broadway* that we have seen, we find a poem called "No Love Lost," which, except for some mutilations, intended to conceal its nativity or to adapt it better to the shrinking modesty of the British nation, is identical with a poem published in *Putnam's Magazine* in December, 1868. Some of our readers will remember the latter as telling in pleasant hexameter verses the story of a love affair which occupied the minds of two or three young ladies and gentlemen who were at the time making the tour of Italy, and who wrote letters in which are very prettily mingled poetry, humor, and story—the humor, perhaps, being the best of it, but the story nice enough, too. The author, as we had almost forgot to say, was Mr. W. D. Howells. The alterations which his English despoiler has made are not numerous, and Ouida will have no difficulty in bringing the crime home to him, nor, we should think—if she condescends to any but the more violent kinds of wild poetic justice—in getting satisfaction out of him before a police justice or a British jury. Here is a sample of one of the greater alterations. The party are at Venice "taking their ices al fresco" and observing the scene before them in the Piazza San Marco:

> Dark-eyed Venetian leoni regarding the foresticri
> With those compassionate looks of gentle and curious wonder
> Home-keeping Italy's nations bend on the voyaging races!
> Taciturn, indolent, sad as their beautiful city itself is;
> Groups of remotest English—*not just the traditional English*
> *(Lavish milor is no more and the travelling Briton is frugal)*
> *English, though, after all*, with the Channel always between them
> (Islanded in themselves) and the Continent's sociable races:
> *Country people of ours—the New World's confident children,*
> *Proud of America always, and even vain of the Troubles,*
> *As of disaster laid out on a scale unequalled in Europe;*
> Polyglot Russians, etc., etc., etc.

The lines in italics our piratical friend leaves out, as, to do him justice, he could hardly help doing, if he was to get any good from his thievery.

—Of Mr. Howells, by the way, it is proper to say that he has now succeeded to the editorship of the *Atlantic Monthly*, of which he has for a long time been the working editor, though he has not been the manager in any sense which would make it proper to hold him responsible for what, not of his own writing, has appeared in that magazine. Neither will it be fair, we presume, to hold him responsible for all of the next number or two, the accepted articles in a magazine editor's drawer being always numerous, and in very many cases not being such as any two editors, how like soever in point of taste, judgment, and knowledge, would equally approve. The mention of this magazine brings to our recollection that we have not done what we some time since meant to do—namely, call attention to the recent very marked improvement in the character of the editorial page of Messrs. Osgood & Co.'s weekly paper, *Every Saturday*. Originally an eclectic publication, *Every Saturday*, whether in its early days as an illustrated paper, or in its earlier days without illustrations, gave little or no proof of any other editorial ability than the ability to select interesting light reading for decidedly light readers, and of that sort of ability it gave not much proof. Recently, however, it has published articles on State and national politics, social essays, as they are called, and dramatic criticisms, which, as a rule, have been both able and independent. Particularly noticeable, especially amid the rather timid consideration of the Boston press, have been some few biographical and critical essays, accompanying the paper's portraits of public men, and written by somebody who, whether or not very wise or always just, at least does not put on a foolish face of praise whenever certain names are mentioned. This is a department of the paper that might be made very serviceable. Reflect, for instance, on the admirable services rendered the country by Mr. Curtis, in taking advantage of such a vehicle as *Harper's* illustrated periodical publications, and talking so sensibly and takingly as he usually does on the right side of each important current question, political, moral, or social. Some such work we shall hope to see *Every Saturday* constantly doing.

—We have occasionally referred to the scientific corps of the Army, whose operations, at least during peace, have an intrinsic value and a special character that bring them more in accord with the country at large than those of their brethren of the Line. Among them the Medical Department, by modestly-styled circulars and reports, holds a worthy place. The latest publication of the Surgeon-General's office is under the title of Circular No. 4, 1870, and is a "Report on Barracks and Hospitals," with a description of the chief military posts, making an illustrated quarto of five hundred pages. The report is by Assistant-Surgeon John S. Billings, of the army, who, in thirty-three well-written pages, succinctly sets forth the general principles upon which houses for well or sick soldiers should be constructed, and points out how fearfully deficient our military service is in this respect. The remainder of the book, compiled from the ordinary reports of the Medical Corps, is valuable for reference both as to the natural features of the country and the special description of the military posts. Our army, whose organization and administration are copied so closely from the British, contains both in theory and practice many features that are, or rather should be, wretchedly obsolete. Dr. Billings regards its preventible mortality from disease (exclusive of epidemics) at 50 per cent. of the whole during the last three years. This estimate is probably not exaggerated. The cause is the want of an intelligent system. Notwithstanding all that was learned in the late great war—notwithstanding the superb arms and the most admirable commissariat that now are supplied the enlisted man—his clothing, his mode of carrying his equipments, his sleeping accommodations, and his ordinary barracks are no better than they were fifty years ago, and for this reason a picked medical corps is comparatively powerless. The latest regulations (1863) allow as a possibility 225 superficial feet to six soldiers north of 38°; which, with a ceiling of ten feet, would give 375 cubic feet per man. But there is absolutely no provision whatever for ventilation, and even this superficial allowance the commanding officer may cut down at his discretion. In point of fact, at less than twenty out of the one hundred and fifty-one posts described, are the air-space and ventilation both satisfactory. At more than half of the military posts double bunks—often of two tiers—occasionally of three tiers (for six men) are used. A two-tiered bunk was looked upon as a curious relic thirty years ago in the British army. Without noting other reasons—and they abound—those two are amply sufficient to weaken the efficiency of the army fully as much as is reported. Were it not that so large a part is healthfully employed on the frontier, the sick rate would be much larger. It is but fair to say that the Medical Department does not seem to be responsible for this unfortunate condition. Except as to reports and remonstrances, it is powerless—these weapons, judging from the accompanying sub-reports, it appears to use freely. This admirable discussion, emanating directly from the office of the Surgeon-General, ought to arouse the co-ordinate branches of the military administration to a sense of the sanitary evils which they only can directly remove. If they still neglect the warning, the Military Committees in Congress can appropriately legislate thereupon. To place it upon the lowest of all grounds, the country cannot afford to recruit one hundred men when fifty are all that are necessary. The army has no special prerogative in the principles and practice of hygiene, and this excellent paper deserves to be studied by every Board of Health in the country.

—It has caused some disappointment among students of Plato that Professor Jowett, in his translation of the Dialogues, does not give the grounds of his accepting some as genuine and rejecting others as ungenuine. His critics say that we should either accept as Plato's everything, from cover to cover, of that collection which has come down to us labelled Plato's Works, or else should state our reasons for pronouncing this or that really Platonic, and this other or that other counterfeit. To do the one or the other of these things would be to adopt at least an intelligible and justifiable method of editing the Dialogues; but Mr. Jowett, it was urged, had done neither. Such critics will be pleased to hear that among forthcoming English books will be a fifth volume from Mr. Jowett, in which he will discuss the question of authenticity and such other matters as he could not compress within the limits of the previous four volumes. Another important new English book is also supplementary of previous volumes by its author. Mr. Henry Sumner Maine, in six lectures delivered at Oxford, where he is a professor, has followed out his studies of Eastern law and of social life. "Village Communities in the East and West" is the title of the volume. Professor Masson has now finished the second volume of his "Life of Milton," and it will soon be published by Macmillan, who also announces a two-volume life of one of the most remarkable of Milton's contemporaries, Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury—Dryden's "Achitopel," royalist, Parliamentarian, leader of opposition to Cromwell's government, a main instrument in the restoration of Charles II.; the worst chancellor England ever had, and her earliest Parliamentary debater; the politician who engineered Titus Oates's plot; author alike of the Test Act which excluded Catholics from place and power for a century and a half, and of the Habeas Corpus Act; "Alderman Shaftesbury" of London, who, being prosecuted for high treason, was going to come over to this side of the water, and caused John Locke to draw up his famous constitution for a colony in the Carolinas. His career is one of the most interesting in the annals of English politics, and the author of his life, Mr. W. D. Christie, has secured one of the best of subjects. Of other new English books perhaps as much worth attention as any is one that will be the joint work of half-a-dozen dignitaries of the Established Church. The Archbishop of York, Thomson, best known in this country as the author of a good little elementary treatise on logic, will unite with the Bishop of Carlyle, the Dean of Canterbury, the Rev. Stanley Leathes, and others, to "take up the challenges thrown down by modern scientific infidelity, and answer them one by one." So here, then, we are to have "an old abusing of the king's English;" for the scientific men so civilly referred to will look with the utmost scorn on the amateur science of the clergymen, and they have Mr. Huxley to teach them how to express their feelings on such occasions, while, as is well known, the clerical gentlemen have not the softest of tongues. The archbishop is to treat of "The Theory of the Development of the Universe by purely Physical Laws."

—Two French works which deserve a place in any collection pertaining to the siege of Paris are "Principaux Discours prononcés au Club de la Porte-Saint-Martin pendant le Siège de Paris;" and "Le Siège de Paris: Impressions et Souvenirs," by Francisque Sarcey. The first consists of the best addresses delivered before the only rational club in Paris while it was beleaguered, which was organized by M. Eugène Yung, editor of the *Débats*, and met in the theatre of the Porte-Saint-Martin. It was further distinguished by charging an admission fee, and by tolerating the word "Messieurs" from the platform. The attendance was large, and the proceeds were devoted to patriotic purposes, just as those arising from the sale of this volume will be applied for the benefit of wounded soldiers. The best-known names which appear here are those of Coquerel, Pressensé, and Cernuschi. Mr. Sarcey's "Impressions and Recollections" have reached a seventh edition in Paris, notwithstanding his exceeding frankness in regard to the shortcomings of his fellow-citizens. One of his most

amusing stories is this, of a quiz who sought to test the credulity of a man of Belleville:

"'The Germans have agreed to retire without our sacrificing an inch of our soil,' he informed this patriot.

"'Nor a stone of our fortresses?'

"'Nor a stone of our fortresses.'

"'Nor a crown of our treasure?'

"'Nor a crown of our treasure.'

"'And what indemnity do we mean to exact of them?'"

—Gustave Flourens, who has figured so prominently and, as far as can now be seen, with so little credit to himself in the history of Paris during the past year, and whose death last month at the hands of the Marquis of Gallifet's cavalrymen did not cause regret on this side of the water, was not merely a feather-brained revolutionist and nothing besides. He was a writer of some merit, a successful lecturer on ethnography at the College of France, and the author of several other published works, one on "The Science of Man"—non-political—and one, "Paris Delivered," which came out last month, political enough, no doubt, to make up fully for its predecessor. Flourens's activity in the cause of what he believed to be liberty was not confined to his own country; from 1865 to 1868 he was in the mountains of Crete fighting, with what effectiveness is not stated, against the Turks.

—Readers of poetry will be somewhat interested in some remarks which are prefexed to a metrical translation into German of Marlowe's "Life and Death of Doctor Faustus." A Doctor A. v. d. Velde, of Breslau, is the translator, and what he asserts is, that the English poet founded his play not on an English ballad, nor upon an English translation of the "Historien von Dr. Johann Fausten, dem weitbeschreyten Zauberer und schwarz-Künstler," but directly upon this "Historien" itself. That Marlowe knew no German is altogether probable, but Dr. v. d. Velde would seem to make it appear that from 1585 to 1587 two English actors, Pope and Bryan, performed in Dresden and Berlin; and this being so, the supposition becomes probable enough that Marlowe got the story from them. It is not certain, however. As Dr. v. d. Velde shows, the lines in the first act where Faustus speaks of "chasing the Prince of Parma from our land" point to the year 1588 or 1589 as the date of the production of the English play, for it was shortly after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 that Alexander Farnese left the Netherlands. But in or near 1589 there was extant in English not only the buffoonly ballad which relates "The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus, the great Conjurer," but also "The Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus," a prose version of the "Historien" above mentioned, a work which spread and became popular with very great rapidity. However, the matter is of no great consequence. To the popular tradition rather than to any particular poetic or dramatic use which it has been made to serve were both Marlowe and Dr. v. d. Velde's great countryman indebted.

—Professor Krause, of Halle, author of a valuable work upon "The Byzantines," has recently published a monograph entitled "Die Eroberungen von Constantinopel"—treating of the Latin Conquest in the Fourth Crusade, the reconquest by Michael Palæologus, and the final capture by the Turks in 1453. His view of this last event is that it was not a necessary one, the result of an irresistible movement; still less, that it was the substitution of a vigorous race for an effete one; but that it was, in every point of view, a calamity which might and should have been prevented. It is true, the power of the Empire had fallen very low, weakened by the inroads and encroachments of Slavonic and Asiatic neighbors; still the author maintains that it possessed a remarkable degree of stability, as was shown by its previous history, while it was noways lacking in elements of culture and progress. He recognizes in its institutions, for instance, "an astonishing degree of pains to suffer no one to perish in misery and poverty." The story is told with great minuteness, and with a good degree of animation and interest, although nothing to compare, in this respect, with Gibbon's account. There is lacking, however, a clear statement of the territorial relations of the Empire and of the Turks. An interesting feature of the work is a Turkish account of the siege, in a style of which this is a fair specimen: "The season of snow, ice, and frost was over, the charming spring was arrived, and had adorned the meadows. The rose, the image of graceful beauty, displayed her charms. The dear nightingale began to let her complaints be heard. The earth, covered with a green carpet, seemed to await the armies of the righteous Mahomet. Soon the Mussulman tents arose in the midst of blooming meadows," etc. This Turkish account agrees in many points with those of the Byzantine writers, who are the authorities chiefly followed. Particularly, as Prof. Krause points out, it bears testimony to the determined will of the Sultan, which alone accomplished the great task; the stimulus which he gave his soldiers by the promises of the Koran; the great courage of the besieged and the immense losses of the besiegers; the horrible scenes of the sack of the city; and the important fact that it was only by transporting his fleet across land to the great harbor that the Sultan at last succeeded. In regard to this last exploit, the chronicler relates that the monks of the city had prophesied that the city could not be taken until a commander should convey his ships over the land with sails spread. Then, when they had seen with their own eyes the accomplishment of this miracle, they were astounded and overcome with despair.

—We recently mentioned, among the new publications, the "Diary of an Embassy from King George of Bohemia to King Louis XI. of France." The negotiations between these distinguished men had a twofold object; first, to form a union of Christian princes in order to expel the Turks from Europe; and, secondly, to call a general council of the Church in order to settle the Bohemian question. George Podiebrad was, as is well known, a Hussite; and the Roman curia had determined to revoke the concessions made to the Hussites by the Council of Basel. George's whole reign was a struggle against Popes Pius II. and Paul II., by whom he was at last declared deposed and put to the ban. The Emperor Frederic III. was allied with the Pope in this crusade, and Charles the Bold of Burgundy was to carry it into execution. Naturally, then, George turned to Louis XI., the great rival of Charles the Bold, and attempted to get up a counter-combination, in which he hoped for the aid of Casimir IV. of Poland, Albert Achilles of Brandenburg, and other princes. The great embassy to France, consisting of forty persons, was in 1464; but resulted only in talk and scheming, and here the matter is usually supposed to have rested. Herr Pazout, however, of Prague, has recently discovered at Weimar some documents showing a later embassy in 1467, when Louis declared himself ready to enter into the alliance, and even sent an embassy the same year to Prague. George was to move an army upon Luxemburg, which had formerly been politically connected with Bohemia, and from there act with Louis against Brabant and Flanders. Before, however, any definite arrangements could be formed, the storm burst upon King George against which he struggled the last years of his life; and Louis XI. was not the man to help a friend in need.

MORAL INSANITY.*

Probably no work on the obscure and difficult subjects of which it treats has received more attention or exerted more influence on public opinion—in the United States at least—than Dr. Ray's. The publication of the fifth edition affords an occasion to consider how far some of the author's peculiar theories, in regard to the legal effect of insanity in criminal cases, are warranted by sound reason and the rules of an enlightened jurisprudence. Such an examination seems the more necessary at the present time, when the plea of insanity on the part of the accused has become almost of course in criminal prosecutions, and is accepted, by juries at least, with a readiness and recklessness which may well alarm those who would stand in the ancient ways of jurisprudence until convinced that they are wrong.

Dr. Ray joins issue boldly with the received legal notions in regard to insanity and insane delusion. He says that "every year's experience has only strengthened [his] conviction that much of the common law relative to insanity, whatever other support it may have, has no foundation in the facts of science." In these words we find the erroneous assumption on which much of Dr. Ray's reasoning is based, namely, that insanity means the same thing in law and medicine. Law takes cognizance only of acts, and, in some cases, of their motives, and it can notice insanity only as it is manifested in acts. With the pathological condition of the patient's brain, with all the numberless indications which demonstrate to the physician the presence of insanity, the law has nothing to do, except so far as these may tend to show that the act itself, whose quality it is the office of the law to decide, was dictated by an insane impulse so strong as to overpower the reason and will. By the physician, on the other hand, insanity is very properly regarded as a disease whose presence is manifested by certain symptoms. Dr. Ray himself regards it "solely in the light of a disease—of a derangement of the physical structure." To him it makes no practical difference whether the disease has proceeded so far as to overpower the reason or will of its subject—it is still insanity; and

* "A Treatise on the Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity. By I. Ray, M.D." Fifth edition, with additions. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1871.

Dr. Ray appears to believe that the presence of insanity, in ever so slight a degree, ought to excuse the criminal acts of its subject. In other words, he contends (and it is upon this proposition that the issue between him and the common-law authorities is joined) that moral insanity is an excuse for crime.

Moral insanity may be defined, in the fewest words, as the inability to distinguish between natural right and wrong. It cannot be doubted that many, either by natural disposition or bad education, are really unable to see any reason in the nature of things why they should not lie, steal, or murder. It was reserved for the sentimentalists of these latter days to invent a theory that such men were to be the law unto themselves, and that society should suffer their depredations simply because the criminals were unconscious that they were committing a moral wrong. Indeed, it may well be doubted whether this theory, pushed to its logical conclusion, would not excuse every crime against society; for it is probable that a vast proportion, if not all, of the criminals who are brought to justice have formed in their own minds some theory which to themselves justifies their crime. Thus, the burglar and forger believe that society owes them a living, and that they have a right to take it by force or fraud, and the murderer only pushes the same theory to a little broader extension. If we once break down the legal rules which declare that the criminal shall not escape the consequences of acts which are *mala prohibita*, merely because he himself is unable to perceive that they are *mala in se*, it would seem that we might at once abandon our system of criminal jurisprudence, and revert to that state of primeval barbarism in which the stronger vindicated his rights, and the weaker went to the wall.

The mischief which Dr. Ray's book is in danger of doing among non-professional readers lies not so much in the naked enunciation and elaborate defence of the theory we have thus briefly criticised—a theory which no amount of reasoning could render plausible, and which the author himself would probably hesitate to follow to its logical result, as in his strange failure to discriminate cases, to perceive the difference between that moral insanity which can never excuse its subject from legal responsibility, and that intellectual mania which destroys will and reason, and with them, of course, legal responsibility. Dr. Ray does, indeed, state his views as to what constitutes moral insanity with sufficient clearness. Speaking of its victims, he says: "Their abstract conceptions of crime present its hideous outlines as strongly defined as they ever were in the healthiest condition. The particular criminal act, however, becomes divorced in their minds from its relations to crime in the *abstract*, and, being regarded only in connection with some favorite object which it may help to obtain, and which they see no reason to abstain from pursuing, is viewed, in fact, as of a highly laudable and meritorious nature." Observing, again, that the above passage would describe the precise mental condition of nine-tenths of all the robbers and forgers in the community, we shall find that the actual cases which Dr. Ray cites as instances of this "moral mania" nearly all include some derangement of the *reasoning* faculties of their subjects.

This error is particularly noticeable throughout the seventh and eighth chapters, which treat of "General Moral Mania." Of the cases there cited, nearly every one is, in fact, an example of clearly-defined intellectual insanity. Thus, it appears from Dr. Ray's own statement of the case of Peter Neilsen (§ 263), "that the idea of killing his children first came into his head on the morning of the day that he put the idea into execution, and *that the impulse was quite irresistible*." Surely, an irresistible impulse must overcome the *will* of its subject, yet Dr. Ray cites this as an instance of "moral mania" simply. Again, in Cornier's case (§ 264), the accused, who, without cause, had brutally murdered a child, and thrown its head from a window into a crowded street, was manifestly so intellectually insane as not to appreciate the consequences of her own act, and declared that "she was destined" to commit the murder. Certainly, she had lost much more than the mere perception of moral right and wrong. Trestel (§ 270) "was so imbecile as to be incapable of executing the slightest commissions," and finally destroyed himself while awaiting execution. There can be little doubt that he ought to have been acquitted, and none that, had he been morally insane simply, he should have been convicted. It is in thus laying down the theory that moral insanity ought to excuse crime, and then citing cases in its support that are not cases of moral insanity at all, that Dr. Ray's great error lies.

The author seems to be unable to perceive the different principles which determine civil and criminal responsibility. There is no doubt that mere moral insanity may, and often must, render invalid civil contracts made under its influence; but the inference that, therefore, the criminal acts of its subject are to be excused is a most dangerous specimen of *à priori* reasoning. Yet Dr. Ray (§ 304) lays down the following proposition, which seems little less than monstrous: "There is certainly no reason why a person should be held responsible for a criminal act that springs from a delusion which would be sufficient to invalidate any civil act to which it might give rise. A monomaniac's sense of the *fitness of things* is not different when he signs a ruinous contract, or makes a will, from what it is when he commits a criminal deed." Perhaps the absurdity of this doctrine may best be shown by an example in point. A familiar case is cited in the books, where a father, under a perfectly groundless and insane delusion that his wife had been unfaithful to him, made a will disinheriting his children. The will was properly set aside. Now, according to Dr. Ray's theory, the testator's "warped sense of the fitness of things," which rendered his will invalid, would equally have excused him had he chosen to murder his children because he believed they were bastards. Yet the rule is all but universally recognized that criminal acts committed under the influence of a delusion shall not be excused, unless if the delusion had been a reality they would have been justified. This was the view taken in McNaghten's case by all the judges of England, and in this country by Chief-Justice Shaw of Massachusetts in the famous case of Commonwealth *vs.* Rogers.

We have no desire to question Dr. Ray's honest belief in the opinions we have criticised; and no one can fail to recognize the ability which he brings to their advocacy, or the vast and patient labor of which this book is the result. As a digest of curious cases, the work is of the greatest value. But its very ability and learning render its erroneous theories all the more dangerous in these days, when the rules of criminal responsibility have become so unsettled.

THE LIFE OF GREENE.*

The new volume of the life of General Greene covers from the autumn of 1777 to that of 1780; that is, a little more than the period during which he held the office of Quartermaster-General. It ends with his departure for the South, to take command of Gates's army. These years were the darkest in the war, and the most devoid of events of stirring interest. The first enthusiasm of the contest had passed away; the resources of the community were almost exhausted; and the history of these years is in great part a record of indifference, discouragement, and dissensions. It was Greene's brilliant Southern campaign that turned the tide at last; of that we shall hear in the next volume. But it may in a certain sense be said that his is the central figure during the period of this volume, as well as the one that followed; for the office he held was not only that which suffered most severely from the exhaustion of the resources, but was—next to that of the Commander-in-Chief—the one which had most responsibility and influence upon the fortunes of the war; for upon the quartermaster's department rests at all times the efficiency of the army; but at this time it was peculiarly the case, because the thing to be done was not to fight, but to wait and prepare.

Perhaps there is no time when Washington's real greatness appears more strongly than in these years. The qualities which enable a commander to protract a war year after year, under such circumstances as these, are rarer than those which win battles; and Washington came out from them higher than ever in the estimation and confidence of his countrymen. The volume before us places this feature of his character in a strong light, and, indeed, affords illustrations of his personality from many points of view. One cannot help being struck, for instance, in reading the correspondence in this volume, with the strong and solid good sense and vigorous thought of Washington. Greene is likewise distinguished for these qualities; but, as compared with Washington's style, his appears weak, inexact, and diffuse. In more personal points, too, we have an occasional glimpse of Washington which we are glad to get; for instance, on page 161, where Greene writes that "His Excellency and Mrs. Greene danced upwards of three hours without once sitting down."

But if it is true that the war could not have been kept up during these years without the personal qualities of the Commander-in-Chief, it is, perhaps, equally true that even he could not have accomplished the task without the special support which he received from Greene, and which he judged that nobody could give him so well as he; for it was in the main a question of supplies and transportation; of food, clothing, and ammunition. The volume is very properly, therefore, made up in large

* "The Life of Nathanael Greene, Major-General in the Army of the Revolution. By George Washington Greene, author of 'Historical View of the American Revolution,' 'Historical Studies,' etc." In three volumes. Vol. II. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1871. 8vo, pp. 514.

degree of a description of the ways and means in the quartermaster's department, its difficulties and discouragements, and the manner in which these were met; and this results in a very graphic picture of the condition of things. Of course, from the nature of the subjects treated, it contains more dry detail than the other volumes. There is very little, however, that the reader would wish to spare, except letters now and then which are hardly more than a repetition of others given just before (as on pp. 225 and 350). There is indeed a good deal too much of this.

We do not think it is made quite clear enough why there was such bitter hostility to Greene on the part of Congress; from all that appears, it may be inferred to have been wholly an outgrowth of the spirit of Conway's cabal, and perhaps the author intended so to represent it—as unquestionably it must have been in great part. Seeing that Washington himself could not be injured, his enemies did their best to overthrow the officer who was most nearly identified with him. But any such opposition must pitch upon special charges of mismanagement, corruption, or extravagance, and it is not brought out with sufficient distinctness what these charges were. Again, page 343, we ought to be told specifically what was the interpretation put by Greene upon his reservation of his rights as Major-General when he entered upon staff duties. We are told that Washington did not agree with this interpretation, but this fact does not seem to have interfered with his obtaining the command of West Point at his own request, and being immediately transferred from there to a most important command in the South.

The character of General Greene himself is, of course, amply illustrated, as well by actions as by copiously quoted words. One is especially glad to have the frequent pictures of his domestic relations, which appear to have been exceedingly happy. "No pleasure is equal to domestic happiness," he writes to his cousin, Griffin Greene, page 297. . . . "I wish the war was over, that I might return to my dear fireside." His letters abound—as is so common at this period—in lamentations at the degeneracy of the times. "The world is full of folly, superstition, and ignorance," he goes on, "and overrun with malice, prejudices, and detraction. . . . The black passion of jealousy and the cankering spirit of envy had well-nigh worked my overthrow before I had the least idea that I had an enemy in the world."

Two or three illustrations of his clear and moderate tone of thought will be of interest. General Sullivan, just after the failure at Rhode Island, had expressed his dissatisfaction with the French Admiral very strongly in a letter to the Governor. Greene happened to be present in the Legislature when this letter was brought up. "'Do not let these letters be read aloud,' said he in a whisper to the Speaker; and the whisper passing round the house, the order of the day was called, and a serious danger averted; for the house was crowded, and such accusations, publicly read, could hardly have failed to spread over the country, gathering strength as they passed from mouth to mouth, and reviving at a critical moment old and dangerous prejudices," page 149. Again, page 155, in a letter to Governor Greene he gives wise counsel in regard to the treatment of Tories: "I would recommend great moderation. Let none fall a sacrifice but such as may be dangerous hereafter, or are necessary to deter others from similar conduct. . . . Proscription and confiscation are rather to be considered as misfortunes than benefits to government, although we may seem to gain by the measure." It is also interesting to learn of his habit of reading a little before going to bed, in order to calm his mind for sleep.

Lord Mahon, in giving an account of the trial of Major André, speaks of the judges at the trial (at which General Greene presided) as "having never probably so much as heard the names of Vattel or Puffendorf." To this Mr. Greene answers, page 234, that General Greene was as familiar with the common law "as an attentive study of Jacobs and Blackstone could make him familiar; and the law of nations he had studied in Vattel, the leading authority of the day."

An interesting illustration of the temper and suspicions of the times is afforded by the incident, page 144, of General Hancock presenting the French admiral with a picture of Washington. "He was going to receive it on board the fleet by firing a royal salute, but General Hancock thought it might furnish a handle for some of the speculative politicians to remark the danger of characters becoming too important. He therefore dissuaded the Admiral from carrying the matter into execution."

There are some judicious remarks, page 342, upon the result to Greene himself of his having held the quartermaster's office, which, as we know, was against his will. "The probation of the quartermaster-general's department proved an instrument of success, a completing of that severe and vigorous discipline of mind and character by which he had been prepared for the exercise of independent command; and when at Charlotte he set himself to the study of the condition and resources of his army, he found that the period of his public life which he regretted most had been fruitful of an experience, and, through experience, of a knowledge without which he would never have won the proud name of Conqueror of the South."

This volume is marked by the same high qualities on the part of the author as the preceding; its style appears more even and sustained, while—as would be expected—there are fewer passages of striking interest. As before, the hero is rather depicted than described, and one side of his character—that of thoughtfulness, faithfulness, and accuracy—receives ample illustration. His executive and active qualities will be more fully brought out in the closing volume. An appendix of 120 pages contains a number of additional letters, and the entire controversy between Mr. Greene and Mr. Bancroft in regard to the charges of the latter against General Greene.

THE MAGAZINES FOR MAY.

CRUIKSHANK'S absurdly truthful pictures of the great drama of "Punch and Judy," as played in England, may be found in this month's *Harper's*, and together with the accompanying letterpress which gives the text of the play, as rendered by Piccini, an old puppet showman, who, for forty or fifty years, has gone about exhibiting his show in the English cities and towns, they make about as instructive and agreeable an article as any of the May magazines has to offer. It is a little curious, by the way, that "Punch" has so little luck in this country, where several attempts to establish him have been made, of which none has had good success. One would have thought that merely as a nation of Dickens readers we should have given the old gentleman a heartier welcome. Doubtless, however, his unlovely moral character has much to do with the coolness of his reception; we observe that when it was undertaken a while ago to introduce him to the Bostonians, it was considered necessary to change the catastrophe of his fortunes. In the last scene of the last act of the original drama there begins a terrific combat between the Devil and Punch, and the latter in the beginning gets very much the worst of it; the fact is that he has been made faint by the sight of this new enemy after even the hangman has been disposed of, and by the simultaneous thought of his many murders and robberies. He succeeds, however, more by luck than skill or valor, in planting a few good blows, and, going on prosperously, he at last stuns his adversary, kills him, and gives three cheers because the devil is dead. This was too much for the moralities of the Boston people, and though, for humanitarian reasons probably, the Massachusetts Punch is allowed to hang Jack Ketch, yet there his successful criminal career is made to end, and when the devil comes, Punch is made to know the difference between Boston and London.

How much longer a reputable house sending family literature for all sorts of readers into every State in the Union will feel justified in keeping on its list of authors such a writer as the author of "Anteros," it would be curious to know. Mr. Lawrence's "Guy Livingstone" was bad enough, though it would be of little avail to try to prevent its being read with avidity by certain readers. The craving for slate-pencils to eat is not more natural than the craving for "Guy Livingstone" and other such productions; and disgust at a story in which the school-girl notion of what constitutes strength and dignity of character is revealed side by side with the most abject social snobbery, may always be diluted with amused contempt for the silliness and dulness of a man who could hold such opinions, and advertise himself to the world as holding them. It was one of the most agreeable and suggestive passages in personal literary history which has happened during the last few years, that our Brummagem Guy should have pulled on those big boots of his, brushed out his reckless moustachio, come over here to draw his tremendous sword in the cause of the gentry of the South as against the proletariat, and been lodged in the Old Capitol prison for the valor of speech which he displayed in Baltimore and thereabouts, while the squadrons expecting his advent were some hundred or two of miles to the southward. But a story such as "Anteros" is in no way amusing as throwing light on the conception of life entertained by a certain kind of person, or set of persons, and is merely immoral. Not that there is much need of saying anything of all this in the interest of readers, for the story is long-winded and dull; we were thinking rather of the responsibility of publishers in having anything to do with putting such a book before the reading public.

In the Easy Chair of *Harper's* we have something about ministers' salaries, which is juster and more sensible than what most ministers allow

themselves to say on that subject, and something also about literature as a profession. "Dead-Headed" is a lively sketch, very good in comparison with the love-story which may usually be looked for at about its place in *Harper's*.

The *Atlantic* opens with another instalment of Mr. John Fiske's curious collection of mythical folk-lore, and gives first a personal experience of Mr. Fiske's with the witch-hazel divining-rod still in use in some parts of Massachusetts, and still successful, if we are to believe Miss Gail Hamilton. In Mr. Fiske's unbelieving hands it declined to work as decidedly as a Spiritualist medium when a "sceptic" of a discordant "sphere" or "plane" comes into a company. Another interesting article is about Delsarte, the French teacher of the philosophy and art of gesticulation. The story of his life as told here is touching. He was born at Solesmes, in Northern France, in 1811, and in 1815 began his troubles by insulting a detachment of the allied troops. He cried *Vive l'Empereur!* as they passed, and the officer in command caused the house of the Delsartes to be burned to the ground, and thus reduced the family to ruin. His boyhood was passed in all sorts of misery; but, though his education was not regular, it was not wholly neglected, and his brain was continually active. For instance, he invented for himself a system of musical notation and a system of shorthand. Briefly, in 1829 he had a success on the lyric stage, and in 1834, his voice failing him, he abandoned the active exercise of his profession, and took to teaching gesticulation—an art the philosophical reasons of which he thinks he has discovered, and believes, as do some of his pupils, that he has formulated. At all events, whatever his pupils may think of his philosphy, which looks to us, in some of its particulars at least, "very French," he certainly succeeds in teaching them a good deal. Perhaps it will never be easy for people of American blood to refrain from something like contempt for the acting even, let alone the oratory, sacred or secular, which rests on arts such as Delsarte teaches; and perhaps it is inevitable that there should be in the details of any such scheme a good deal that is highly arbitrary and dependent on no fixed or no discernible principle; but the exposition and illustration of the system would be interesting, and there is now in the country a pupil of Delsarte. As some of our readers are likely to see his illustrations of his master's theory, we recommend to their notice this sketch of Mr. Durivage's, which appears opportunely.

"Castilian Days" is pleasant reading this month, though rather affected in tone. Kate Beaumont goes on, and is readable. "The Capture of Fort Fisher" appears to be written in the interest of General Butler, and the *Atlantic* is rather a queer place in which to find it. The pity really is, that General Butler was not absent on the first occasion of attacking the fort as he was on the second. In the account before us, Admiral Porter appears in no very good light; but, as we say, it seems a partisan account, and certainly is an incomplete one.

Mr. Donn Piatt's portrait is the illustration in this number of the *Galaxy*, and in "The Galaxy Club-Room" we have his first work as editor of the humorous department, which is like all other similar departments—unless, indeed, we except the collection of old and new stories at the end of *Harper's*—in being, on the whole, depressing. "The Duke of Cambridge," by Mr. Justin McCarthy, is, perhaps, best worth reading in the May *Galaxy*, Mr. McCarthy being not above a little gossip now and again, and his expressions of opinion having as a rule this value, that one may know from them something of what is thought and taught by the so-called intellectual radicals in England.

Old and New has a rather elaborate and somewhat stiff and not very exhaustive eulogy of the late George Ticknor, of whom Mr. G. S. Hillard, we think, has spoken best, certainly very well, with sound and discriminating praise—indeed, a model of what such things should be. This in *Old and New*, however, is also worth looking at. A very disagreeably written essay entitled "Jesus and the Christ" is the other most noticeable thing in *Old and New*, unless perhaps the little account of a remarkable co-operative agricultural association, which existed thirty years ago at Ralahine, County Clare, Ireland, and which had a curious ending.

The *Overland* usually reaches us a little after the other magazines, and so is less often noticed here than we could wish. We should like, for example, to call attention now to a remarkable article in the April number, in which are set forth the advantages which California offers the cotton planter. It is the custom to laugh a little when Californians make talk about the boundless natural resources of their State, but the writer to whom we refer appeared to be reasonably cautious and yet make out a strong case. The May number has all the *Overland's* characteristic merits, which are freshness of topic, the local color of the Pacific coast as visible in the men, the incidents, and the scenery, some fun and wit, and some sentimentality of a healthy enough kind. The loss of Mr. Harte was no inconsiderable loss, but on the whole the *Overland* will be found not to be essentially different to-day from what it has been since its establishment; full of good light reading for magazine readers, who will seldom find in it anything stupid, or stupidly like the regulation magazine articles from which no Eastern magazine is free. Here is a story from Mr. Prentice Mulford, who tells about the old-time California camp:

"These are a keen set of men. Involuntarily their minds turn to the study of human nature. When a stranger comes in their midst, they set to work and analyze him and sift him down, until he is thoroughly known. Has he any special weakness, it is discovered. These little, lazy 'Camps' become select schools for the study of character. New material wanting, they study each other. They know, and comment upon, and relish each other's peculiarities. There is Green, a tall, gaunt man from North Carolina—a man profoundly wise in ignorance. Green cannot read. But he watches narrowly the newspaper as others read it; he notes the location of stirring paragraphs which have been read aloud; he fastens upon them with his thumb and finger, and then, awaiting his opportunity until some unemployed bystander saunters into the 'Magnolia,' he knowingly and triumphantly hands him the sheet, perhaps upside down, and remarks, 'Here, sir, read that!' Green's *ruse* lasts for years."

Mr. Mulford appears again in *Lippincott's*, and relates more of his mining experience, but is not there in any very great force. Other articles in the current number are something pleasant about Berne in winter, more of Mr. Donbavand's "Wild Ireland," and an intelligent essay on Ivan Turgenef, the novelist. There is also this contradiction of some assertions contained in the last number of *Lippincott's*, where they formed part of an article on Mr. Charles Francis Adams, which we noticed at the time. The expulsion of Mr. Hoar is the particular matter in hand:

"That unhappy event was sufficiently discreditable to our State without any exaggeration, and has probably been more misrepresented than any fact of like importance which has occurred in the present century.

"I have no intention of correcting any of these misrepresentations, save those contained in the following sentences: 'Mr. Hoar's life was threatened in the streets. A sheriff's officer assaulted him. A mob, headed by one Rose, who had profited so little by the education which he owed to the bounty of the Massachusetts University, conducted him to a steamboat about to depart, and South Carolina once more drew tranquil breath.'

"As I was an eye-witness of Mr. Hoar's departure from the Charleston Hotel, I feel competent to correct some of the errors in this extract. With regard to Mr. Hoar's life having been threatened in the streets, I can only give negative testimony. I heard nothing of it at the time, but I did hear that a policeman, who met Mr. Hoar in the street, advised him to leave the city as speedily as possible. The 'mob headed by one Rose' was composed of said Rose, Joseph Leland, and David Leland (two natives of Massachusetts), and the distinguished James L. Pettigru. These gentlemen called to advise Mr. Hoar's departure, especially as he was accompanied by his daughter. They told him of the angry feeling which his mission had created, and represented that, as he could do no good by remaining, his proper course was to depart before this feeling culminated in violence. From Mr. Rose's lips I heard what was Judge Hoar's reply: 'Gentlemen, I have been appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts to attend to a public duty, and I mean to perform it, regardless of consequences.'

"This *mob-leader*, Mr. Rose, who had previously urged the removal of the daughter to his private residence, then told Mr. Hoar that, if he was determined to remain, he and his other friends would remain with him, and protect him as far as lay in their power. As soon as the matter was presented to Mr. Hoar in this light, he immediately changed his mind, and said, 'Gentlemen, I will go. I have a right to peril my own life, but I have no right to expose you to any danger in my defence.' His luggage was brought down, and Mr. and Miss Hoar got into Mr. Rose's carriage, which was waiting at the Charleston Hotel, and drove to the steamer, without any escort save Mr. Rose himself.

"The insinuation that Mr. Rose was educated by the '*bounty* of the Massachusetts University' is probably about as true as that he 'headed a mob.' Mr. Rose inherited an ample fortune, and doubtless paid for all the education he received at Harvard University.

"As soon as the carriage drove from the Charleston Hotel, Mr. Pettigru walked over to my store, his bearing and manner indicating great excitement. To my remark that our Legislature had made a dreadful blunder in voting to expel Mr. Hoar, he replied, in the most emphatic language, that it was a most unhappy business; and he also stated, with a solemn oath, that before a hair of Mr. Hoar's head was touched, they should have walked over his dead body."

Reginald Archer. A Novel. By Anne M. Crane Seemuller, Author of "Emily Chester" and "Opportunity." (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.)—It is not a pleasant task to find fault with a writer who is evidently ambitious, and who apparently takes increasing pains with her work. In some respects, too, the "Author of 'Emily Chester'" does really improve as she grows older, and gains more literary experience. The

action of her stories is better, she has fewer superfluous characters, and her personages, when in conversation, dabble less in the metaphysics of their bloodless passions. She is as analytical as ever, still, and, owing to what seems to us the unnecessarily revolting nature of the subjects she chooses for that process, we find it in the present instance even more repulsive than it was at first. Most of her readers have, we suppose, had time enough to forget her first novel, unless the family likeness which the present one bears to it may have recalled it to their minds. What moral it was intended to suggest we have forgotten; the impression it actually left was that the writer had a not very clearly defined idea, to the effect that, when a woman who is personally attractive has an exceptionally good mind and more than ordinary cultivation, it is more than likely that she will never find her emotional and intellectual needs quite satisfied by any *one* man, and that she is either condemned, as Margaret Fuller suggested in apology for George Sand, to seek full development of her whole self at the expense of her virtue, or to lead a miserable, dissatisfied, unhappy existence. It is a dangerous doctrine to broach in days when the "greatest happiness" theory of morals is flourishing, and when the next logically-minded reformer may argue that dissatisfaction and unhappiness are plainly immoral, and may follow the idea to its legitimate consequences. Now, this idea is not precisely and formally restated in "Reginald Archer," although the heroine does first gratify her thirst for beauty by marrying the villain of the book, and afterwards the needs of her higher nature by marrying his brother, whose personal attractions are but limited, but whose strict attention to business and to the requirements of the moral law are thereby fully requited. It is more than likely that our author did not consciously intend to suggest any such theory of the needs of women, but it is in her books nevertheless, and is a most serious fault in them. What we dislike most in the novel before us, however, is that increasing and familiar knowledge of the worst side of human nature which it is always unpleasant to have thrust unnecessarily before one, and which it is perhaps more disagreeable to find in a woman's work than elsewhere. Nobody, as we suppose, lies under a necessity of writing novels; and certainly no woman is called upon to deepen, by work which she undertakes at least as much for her own amusement as for her neighbor's edification, a suspicion which often enough forces itself upon the mind of any one who reads many modern novels, to the effect that delicacy and reticence are more certainly masculine than feminine virtues. The character of Mrs. Seemuller's hero, the incidents recorded of him, the sort of intimate knowledge of his vileness which she displays, do not, we confess, make her book one which we should be glad to see generally read; and a certain intensity and force there is in it only deepens our objections to it.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1871.

The Week.

Opposition to the ratification of the new treaty makes some small show, but the general opinion, as expressed by the newspapers, seems to be that it ought to be ratified, and that it will be. Of partisan hostility there seems to be very little, although it is undeniable that Grant will be very decidedly strengthened as a candidate for re-election if his Administration can bring this business to a prosperous conclusion. Mr. Reverdy Johnson, indeed, whose influence with the Democratic senators is deservedly great, is represented as strongly urging ratification—a course of action which seems very creditable in a man who has had to bear such an amount of ignorant abuse as was lavished on him as the conductor of previous negotiations. Of the Republican opposition nothing very definite appears to be known, but human nature would not be human nature if we might not look for hostility from certain quarters. And every true patriot must share in the apprehensions which some of our senators have expressed in the hearing of the Washington correspondent of our contemporary, the *Tribune*. It is regarded as unfortunate, he says, that the arbitrator in the San Juan question should be the Emperor William of Germany, because that monarch is an aged man, and, as the Cable reported the other day, is suffering even now from an indisposition. In case of his demise, he would be succeeded by his son, Frederick William, who would not only fill the ancestral throne, but would also take his father's place as arbitrator. "The arrangement of the Joint High Commission is considered unfortunate in view of the fact that the Prince, having married Victoria Adelaide, the daughter of the Queen of England, might therefore be influenced in the determination of the question by family considerations." Nothing more probable; and we would give a large sum of money towards procuring "a testimonial" for the publicist who has pointed out this peril to his fellow-countrymen. The strongest opposition comes from the East, and, as was anticipated, the fisheries question is the point where most difficulty will arise. Something is indeed said about the necessity of excluding expressly the claims of the English holders of Confederate cotton bonds, but we should say that anxiety as to those claims might profitably be left to the bond-holders themselves in session at the London Tavern, and that all alarm as regards them is a little preposterous in the American breast. A queer "claim on the United States Government" a certificate of the Confederacy's indebtedness would be.

As regards the fisheries question, the attacks and replications are confusing, and it would require a board of experienced Eastern fishermen and dealers in fish to come to an intelligent conclusion as to the matters in debate. According to a writer in the Boston *Advertiser*, the effect of the treaty, as it now stands, would be to cripple our own fishermen, and give our home market to the Province people. This for these reasons: We being at a distance from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, are obliged to build a class of swift, costly vessels, good sailers, but bad carriers, and, under our present tariff, these vessels pay high duties on everything that enters into their construction. Secondly, bounties have been withdrawn by the American Government, while the Canadians pay a bounty of four dollars a ton. The only reason why, under these circumstances, our Gloucester and Cape fishermen hold their own is, that Provincial fish have been subject to a duty of two dollars a barrel on mackerel and half a dollar a quintal on dry fish, which duties have sufficed to secure for our men the home market. The treaty gives to the Provincial fishermen the right to import their fish duty free, and also to come into our waters and catch the mackerel bait—which does not frequent their shores—which we now sell them at a price ranging from $200 to $300 for each vessel. Thus, says the writer in question, we grant a privilege worth more than six times as much as the privilege conceded to us by fishing within the three-mile limits. This latter concession is, after all, he says, of no very great importance, except that making it removes some possibilities of collision between the two countries. Not a third of our mackerel are caught out of our own waters, he says, and not a tenth of those which are caught in Provincial waters are caught within the three-mile line, and our cod-fishery is carried on in the deep sea by vessels which do not enter the Gulf and never cross the three-mile line. Yet, for the abolition of this limit, we are not only to pay such a compensation in money as may be hereafter determined, but we are to make what amounts to three other payments – namely, we are to let Canadians fish in our waters north of 39°, where most of the mackerel are taken; we are to let them take bait here; and we virtually give away our home market for salted and dried fish.

On the other hand, to read in some of the Dominion papers, one would suppose that in case of the ratification of this product of Yankee greed and English timidity and indifference to colonial interests, there will be immediate revolution. To be sure, there is nothing much less to be depended on for exactness of statement than a Provincial paper when it is talking about a "Government measure" if it is itself "in opposition," or an "opposition scheme" if it supports the Government. The smallness of their politics is, as usually happens in such contracted fields, made up for by their spitefulness and bitterness. Still, the Nova Scotia malcontents have this excuse, that if it is true that the privileges which the treaty accords us are so much more valuable than those we accord that we shall have to pay money for them, it is pretty certain that the money will go to the Dominion, and that Nova Scotia will be no better, or very little better, for it. Then, again, let it be said, they say, that the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick fishing interest will be benefited by the operation of the treaty; other interests, which languish without reciprocity, will be sacrificed to the fishing interest; and the country will have given away irrevocably the price with which reciprocity was some time in the future to be bought. And the sacrifice will be made, because, says the Halifax *Chronicle*, which hates the Dominion, "the English blockade-runners and shipbuilders are to be permitted to father the cost of their blunders on Nova Scotia. The Home Government may as well attempt to sell the province over our heads—to sell ourselves outright—as to sell our fisheries;" and it prophesies a struggle. But the Government papers, although they are by no means enthusiastic, are disposed to regard the proposed arrangements as on the whole satisfactory, and to lay much stress on the right to a free market in this country as being a complete equivalent for the right conceded to us of fishing anywhere in Canadian waters, and curing our fish on British soil. There will, however, be plenty of discussion of this part of the treaty, and the Canadians are not likely to be too tractable.

Everything promising so well as it does, and the dawn of an era of international good feeling being so close at hand, it is a pity that anything should occur to mar the general happiness; but in the newspaper world there is much sadness and depression. One American newspaper has been found capable of wringing everybody's breast by "disgracing American journalism," and the air is full of the highest-toned sermons directed at the offender. It is notorious that if there is anything which the managing editors of our journals will not do, it is to connive at the practice, by reporters and correspondents, of any devices for obtaining news which are in the least ungentlemanly and wanting in delicacy of feeling. So it may be fancied what heartfelt rebukes were administered to the editor of the *Tribune* when there suddenly appeared in that paper, and before it was elsewhere published, the full text of the Treaty of Washington. Did he not know that it was desired to keep the treaty from public comment until the Senate had examined it? How, then, could he so far forget what was due to himself and the public respect for decency as to print that instrument? Did he not know that American journalism could never be elevated to its proper place so long as leading newspapers

violate the usages observed among gentlemen? Indeed, some of his censors, in their zeal for the honor of the profession, used language that was almost too severe even for his fault. The *World*, in particular, could not fully express its disapprobation of his ungentlemanly conduct, and several days after the commission of the offence talked to him in this way: "The illegitimate, incomplete, and inaccurate publication by the *Tribune* of the Treaty of Washington having led to its legitimate, complete, and accurate publication in the *World*, and Mr. Greeley having gone to Texas, the *Tribune* illustrates its honesty by its courtesy, calls the *World* a liar, and, admitting itself to have been a thief, seeks to implicate the *World* as a receiver." This is in fun, of course; but there was much preaching done that was professedly serious, while doubtless the Washington correspondents of the preachers were at the same moment in receipt of telegrams cursing them for letting So-and-so "get ahead of them." The fact being that bribery and all kinds of sharp practice, to say nothing of all kinds of disgraceful violations of almost every code of morals or manners, would be forgiven, and rewarded, in almost any of the offices of our daily papers, provided its correspondents showed more "enterprise" than its competitors', it is even a little disgusting to uncynical friends of the press to read these periodical homilies on gentlemanliness.

It is amusing rather than otherwise to see the Senate, too, making an occasional stand for its dignity, and to hear it talking of expelling the senator who gave to the "*Tribune* man" a copy of the treaty, and to watch its investigation, by a committee, into the conduct of the reporters. These latter gentlemen seem to be very much at ease in their minds as regards the possible result of the enquiry, the secret perhaps being that they know perfectly well that about half, more or less, of the whole number of senators are always ready to tell the correspondent of this or that weighty paper anything and everything, no matter what, irrespective of the Senate's having put upon it "the seal of secrecy." It is a long time since there was a secret session of either Senate or caucus the doings of which were not instantly made known by half-a-dozen senators to as many reporters capable of injuring or helping the honorable gentlemen's "chances." It looks a little absurd, then, for Mr. Conkling and his brethren to get into a flurry in the presence of our diplomatic British visitors. The genuine article of dignity they know when they see it, and while they recollect the published report of Mr. Conkling's secret session speech on his colleague Fenton, and Mr. Chandler's occasional displays, they are as little likely, as the reporters to be much impressed by the committee.

The convention of taxpayers at Columbia, S. C., adjourned on Friday, after a harmonious session of four days. It proved to be composed of able and moderate men, and the action which it took reflected the era of good feeling in which the State now rejoices. One of the results proposed was to ascertain the exact amount of the debt, and everybody was pleased to learn that it does not exceed $8,900,000, whereas rumor had put it as high as sixteen or twenty millions. The convention was also assured by Governor Scott, in a private interview by committee, that "nothing had been done involving the credit of the State not strictly authorized by law;" that he would endeavor to bring about retrenchment in all departments, would cut off supernumerary officials, and make better appointments, and would heartily favor the introduction of minority representation. To the latter scheme, in the form of cumulative voting, the convention turned as a main reliance for removing the evils of bad legislation, and it seems not at all unlikely that the experiment will be made, great as the concession will be on the part of the non-taxpaying majority. Another and much respected State officer, Attorney-General Chamberlain, has argued very forcibly in favor of this reform measure, both in a letter published in the newspapers, and subsequently in a speech in the convention itself. While not omitting to speak in proper terms of the Ku-klux, his denunciation of the corruption of which his Republican associates have been guilty was most unequivocal.

The example of South Carolina in this matter of minority representation might now be taken to heart by the people of Connecticut. The Legislature of the latter State, having to determine a doubtful election for Governor last week, gave it to the Republican candidate, Marshall Jewell, after it clearly appeared that in one of the Democratic wards of New Haven there had been a fraudulent polling of at least a hundred votes in favor of Governor English—enough to turn the scale. Possibly other frauds might have been discovered if further search had been made, but it was not necessary. Whether they be allowed or not, the State is notoriously one of the most evenly divided in the Union, and this condition of parties inevitably leads to the practice of frauds, in order to secure the small handful of voters on whom success depends, and who virtually rule the State. This is attended by the serious evil of contested elections, which are a fruitful source of demoralization, both where they occur and where they come up for settlement. Party virtue is not equal to the strain of deciding impartially; and, besides, the facts are generally obscure, and the proofs of fraud rarely so undeniable as those obtained at New Haven. Moreover, the anomaly may any time arise of a Democratic executive and a Republican legislature, or *vice versa*; and, on the whole, nothing better could be devised to foster partisanship and the low arts of the politician, than the majority rule in such circumstances.

Ruloff, the Binghamton murderer, has been examined by two Albany doctors, who pronounce him sane, and publish a long farrago of question and answer as containing the basis and justification of their judgment. It is, however, a deal more convincing as testimony to their unfitness for the business they had in hand than as testimony of any value concerning the sanity of the convict, who, as on other occasions, showed himself to be a philologer whose "great work" has a very distinct family resemblance to the great work in philology of Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews. The doctors, however, listened gravely to all that he had to say. "Did you see his book?" said a reporter to one of them, after the interview was over. "Yes," said the doctor. "It is very profound; I am surprised that philological scholars have not taken more interest in the work than has so far been manifested." Again: "His ideas of Greek mythology are remarkable. I learned from him that he has conned over a single word for ten years before he has arrived at its exact meaning. The readiness with which he answered the metaphysical questions put to him was wonderful." A sample of the metaphysical questions put to him is this one, which was asked after Ruloff had said that once he used to read quantities of German philosophy, "Kant and Comte especially." "Do you accept their doctrines as conclusive?" enquired one of the physicians—or, in other words, did you, after bringing your mind to bear on it, conclude that the Copernican system of astronomy and the Ptolemaic system were beautifully correct? "I did," says Ruloff; whereupon the doctors fall to wonderment at the profound intellect of this person, and have pity for "those who think that he is only a superficial scholar." Other matter of similar wisdom is set down, along with some matter which goes to show that the criminal had gone through some of the common reading on various systems of morality. Considered as a philologist, Ruloff as usual appeared to be a man of some considerable acquirements, with an addled brain, just as he appeared when he was offering to sell his great secret for half-a-million. That a possible reason why the philological students of the country took no interest in this secret was that Ruloff's scheme is nonsensical, seems not to have occurred to the minds of his examiners. Apparently ignorant of linguistics, and not profound in metaphysics, those gentlemen stared at Ruloff as a wonder of erudition and ability, and declared him fit for the gallows on evidence which, so far as it makes anything plain, makes it plain that they are incompetent to speak as experts in such a case, and which leaves it as doubtful as ever whether Ruloff is not half a madman. This, of course, is not saying that he is not sane enough to hang; nor is it at all like saying that such a person can ever be of the least service to learning. But to hang him on the merits of the case, as they were shown in court, would be, whether he is crazy or sane, far preferable to hanging him on the strength of such a document as this physician's report.

The coal troubles continue. As we indicated last week, the resumption in Schuylkill is nominal, and the Reading Railroad has not reduced its excessive tolls. In Scranton, matters are going from bad to worse. The attempt to break up the Miners' Union by fomenting discord between the miners and the laborers, who both belong to it, has apparently failed, but has created a great deal of bad blood. The riots and scenes of violence reported thence have been proved to be mainly fictitious; but there is no doubt that the feeling is very unsatisfactory. The companies, after rejecting the offer of the men to resume on the companies' terms and leave the question of wages to arbitration, have now offered the men a nominal advance in wages, but have clogged the arbitration proposal with so many conditions that the men have in their turn rejected it.

The receipts of cotton continue to decline, and the unseasonably cold and damp weather is unfavorable for the prospects of the coming crop. Prices have consequently advanced sharply; but the exports continue liberal. Breadstuffs and meats continue unchanged, but with a general tendency to lower prices. Trade is dull and quiet, but, on the whole, more satisfactory in some departments. Nevertheless, and in spite of the extreme abundance of money at the leading financial centres, the complaints of poor collections continue to increase. The iron-masters, not satisfied with the result of combination among the coal-masters, have been endeavoring to agree once more about prices, so as to prevent competition among themselves, but without result—at least, so far as known. The coal troubles are sadly interfering with the iron industry, though there are not wanting persons who assert that many furnaces would have gone out of blast this spring even had there been no coal-strike. In general, all the highly-protected interests are not prosperous. Those which have been left to their own resources appear to be in a more satisfactory condition. Real estate is stagnant and depressed for all except choice building sites up-town, which continue to be in active demand at advancing prices, the belief being general that such property will ultimately prove remunerative, even as an investment. It is, however, asserted, as a remarkable illustration of this class of investment, that the Wilkins estate, which was sold a few weeks since for about one and three-quarter millions of dollars, and was originally purchased for a merely nominal sum, would have been more profitable if the purchase-money, with taxes and assessments, had been invested steadily at seven per cent. compound interest. In spite of the decided decline in rents, many stores and even dwelling-houses remain vacant, and builders report that walls torn down a few years ago to throw two stores into one, are quite frequently being put up again. Building materials are dull, although an unusually large number of new buildings are in progress or in contemplation.

The progress of the Versailles troops in the work of reducing Paris has been steady, though far from rapid, since the capture of Fort Issy. On Wednesday, May 10, they carried the insurgent barricades in the village of Bourg-la-Reine, killing or capturing a number of the defenders. In the following night, and on Thursday, severe fighting took place before Fort Vanves, which convinced the Parisians of the untenability of that stronghold. Simultaneous attacks were made, on the west, on the insurgent defences at Neuilly and Asnières, while forces were massing opposite Auteuil and Point du Jour, where the main assault was expected. The cannonading all around was reported as terrific. On the 12th, a position in the rear of Fort Issy, which was stoutly defended by the Parisians, was carried at the point of the bayonet. On the same day, a sharp fusilade was kept up against the defenders of Fort Bicêtre. The approaches to the ramparts were actively pushed forward, especially from the southwest, under cover of a heavy fire, and breaching batteries were placed in position against the *enceinte*. On Sunday, May 14, Fort Vanves was captured, with fifty guns, eight mortars, and a few prisoners, the bulk of the defenders effecting their escape to the adjoining Fort Montrouge. The Seminary of Issy, and a fortified position at Oiseaux, were simultaneously captured, with considerable loss to the insurgents in men and artillery; the Lyceum at the village of Vanves was occupied next; the communication between Forts Vanves and Montrouge was cut; trenches were opened in the Bois de Boulogne; the work of breaching the *enceinte* was vigorously begun, and, at last accounts, the Auteuil Gate was almost entirely demolished, the heavy guns at Montretout doing most of the battering. An address to the soldiers, issued by Marshal McMahon, was regarded as preliminary to a speedy grand attack on the city.

In several of these attacks the Government troops seem to have met with stubborn resistance, and to have suffered considerable losses. On the whole, however, there can hardly be a doubt that the defence of Paris is carried on with vacillating hands, without harmony and strength. Rossel, the successor of Cluseret—"the able Franco-American," as the London *Spectator* ludicrously calls him—resigned on the fall of Fort Issy, because he found that "everybody deliberated, nobody obeyed orders, and nothing was organized." He asked for a cell in the Mazas prison, and was arrested; but subsequently somehow succeeded in escaping trial, though the Committee of Public Safety, in a proclamation to the people, thundered against him, designating his surrender of Fort Issy as the first step in a plot hatched by treason which was to end with the opening of the gates of Paris. Delescluze succeeded Rossel, but ill-health prevented this new Minister of War—who has for long years practised the art of war in the newspapers—from displaying his talents in this new field; and he had to surrender the task of reorganizing victory to a man bearing the unusually martial name of Brittiorary, or Brittiorari, if he be an Italian, like La Cecilia, who now commands in Petit Vanves, sharing the brunt of the struggle with Dombrowski. The latter general is now said to meet with very little obedience, and various battalions of the National Guard, in spite of not unfrequent shootings for treason, have refused to march to the front. A widespread conspiracy for the overthrow of the Commune is suspected to exist, and that body is taking measures to guard against the peril. Executions by wholesale are demanded by the most exalted regenerators of France and cosmopolitan philanthropists; but the tone in general is rather subdued, and even that modern Brutus, Félix Pyat, has begun to despair of the Commune. Incarcerations, however, searches, suppressions of papers and religious institutions, confiscations, and demolitions continue to be the order of the day. New batteries and barricades are also raised, and a *levée en masse* is spoken of.

Thiers is sanguine of speedy success in the approaching decisive operations, and he is well sustained by the Assembly at Versailles—while the Parisians are busy demolishing his mansion in Paris. In a late division, which involved an expression of confidence, he is reported to have obtained 495 votes against 10, which, if correct, would prove that the ill-success of the Paris Commune, the general condemnation it meets with in the provinces, and fear of provoking the majority, are gradually silencing the voice of the opposition. The proposed municipal congresses, to assemble at Bordeaux, Lyons, Nantes, and Lille, have proved abortive attempts. The news from Algeria is also reassuring. Of its dealings with the Germans, however, which resulted in substituting a definitive treaty for the peace preliminaries of Versailles, the Government was in no condition to give a satisfactory report to the Assembly, and Jules Favre's communication caused quite an emotion, destroying, as it did, some previously received and much more favorable accounts. The main new features of the Treaty of Frankfort are these: France pays half-a-milliard francs thirty days after the occupation of Paris by the Versailles army, and a milliard more before the end of the year; on the receipt of the latter sum, and then only, the Germans will evacuate the Paris forts. This prolongation of their stay before Paris was extorted by Prince Bismarck from Favre as a compensation for the delay granted the French Government in paying the first half-milliard, and the permission given it to concentrate a large army north of the Loire, contrary to the stipulations of Versailles. Of the minor points we have as yet no account both definite and trustworthy. The exchange of ratifications is to take place on the 20th of this month.

THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON.

An analysis of the treaty which the American and British plenipotentiaries have framed with so much care and labor, shows that it consists, in the main, of certain principles applicable to assumed states of fact, and of provision for a system of arbitrations by which the facts themselves may be established, and the principles thereupon applied so as to produce practical results. But in addition to these features, which are expressed in positive terms, the arrangement in all its parts implies concessions by each of the high contracting parties which underlie the whole compact. The portion which naturally excites the most interest and receives the closest attention among Americans is that relating to the *Alabama* claims. We have, at the outset, a gracefully expressed regret on the part of the British Government for the escape of the *Alabama* and other vessels, and for the depredations committed by them. This clause is certainly unusual in treaties made without force and compulsion between powers actually equal and independent, and it ought to satisfy those who have the most loudly demanded a formal apology as an essential preliminary to any settlement. The descriptive language should be carefully noticed. No terms could be more general and comprehensive. Reciting the difficulties "growing out of the acts committed by the several vessels which have given rise to the claims generally known as the *Alabama* claims," the parties agree "that all the said claims growing out of acts committed by the aforesaid vessels" shall be referred to arbitration. This plainly includes every complaint and claim upon the part of the United States and its citizens for wrongs done by each of the Confederate cruisers which sailed from a British port. Stripped of all its detail, the scheme of arbitration is as follows:

The tribunal, consisting of five members, is to meet at Geneva; the two Governments, and not individual claimants, are to be represented. Each is to lay before the arbitrators a case containing the charges and counter-charges, the proofs and counter-proofs; arguments are then to be submitted in support of each case. The arbitrators are then to determine with respect to the *Alabama*, and with respect to each of the other Confederate cruisers, whether Great Britain, by any act or omission, failed to fulfil any of the international duties resting upon her in regard to the construction, equipping, arming, or escape of the vessel, and in regard to its subsequent use of British ports as a base of operations and for the procuring of military supplies. If the arbitrators decide the question in the affirmative, they may either award a sum of money in gross to be paid by Great Britain to the United States, or they may thereupon terminate their own labors. In the latter alternative, a new mixed commission, sitting at Washington or at New York, is to examine the claims that may be presented to it by the United States Government, pass upon the merits of each separately, and award such sum thereon as may be proper. It will thus be seen that the great and probably only function of this tribunal of arbitrators will be to decide a question of fact as to the original remissness of British officials in suffering the *Alabama* and other vessels to escape, and as to their subsequent fault in receiving the same vessels from time to time into British ports, and in permitting them to obtain warlike supplies. We do not understand that the arbitrators are to settle any rule or principle of international law. On the contrary, they are to be a jury, and are to decide the simple issue of negligence under the light of the three following rules of law, furnished by the treaty itself: "A neutral government is bound, *first*, to use due diligence to prevent the fitting-out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is at peace, and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use. *Secondly*, Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men. *Thirdly*, To exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties." While the British Government saves its consistency by protesting that these rules were not acknowledged portions of international law at the time when the difficulties arose, it agrees that for the purposes of this decision they shall retroact, and that in future they shall control the conduct of the two nations towards each other.

Such is the scheme. The important question is, What will be its probable result? It has been suggested that Great Britain concedes nothing, and that we are no nearer a determination in our own favor than before. This is the language of persons utterly ignorant of diplomacy. It is very true that the British plenipotentiaries have not conceded in express terms that the highest officers of the Crown were guilty of negligence, of a gross dereliction of duty. No honorable representatives of an independent nation would ever make such a damaging admission in a definitive treaty except at the close of a disastrous war, which had left no other alternative possible. But the provision itself, that the matters may be referred to arbitration, and that an award of damages shall be final, is a concession, and is always understood in diplomatic intercourse as a concession, of the existence of a claim *prima facie* valid at least. In signing this treaty, Great Britain has virtually said, "We were wrong." But, furthermore, the adoption of the doctrines and rules of international law which this convention contains—doctrines for which the United States had contended from the first—makes a decision by the arbitrators in our favor absolutely certain. The first of these rules relates exclusively to the construction and equipping of hostile vessels within a neutral jurisdiction; the second and third relate to the entirely different matter of the use of neutral ports by belligerent cruisers as the base of operations, or for the purpose of obtaining military supplies. Now, assuming for the moment that the officers of the Crown were not at all remiss in respect to the original construction of the *Alabama* and the other similar ships, it is notorious that all these vessels afterwards resorted to British ports, and refitted at will. The British Government never contradicted this fact, but simply denied its liability therefrom as a question of law. By acknowledging the law to be otherwise, and to be as claimed by the United States, Great Britain has destroyed all possible defence to this charge. The tribunal of arbitrators will, therefore, have no difficulty in deciding that Great Britain is liable under the second and third rules, and this will open the whole field of compensatory damages. Having reached this important conclusion of fact, the arbitrators will probably leave the matter of awards to the board of assessors provided for by Article X.

There are features of this treaty having an important bearing upon general international law which deserve a special notice. The first is the formal rules which have already been quoted. It is true that these doctrines are not new. The United States has maintained them by the decisions of her courts and by the acts of her administrative officers. Foreign jurists of the highest reputation have pronounced them to be accepted parts of the international code, or plain and necessary deductions from principles universally acknowledged. If Great Britain had finally rejected them, a doubt would have been raised as to the rights and duties of neutrals which can never hereafter exist. The second feature to which we refer is the absence of any allusion to the recognition of Southern belligerency by the British Government. The blow which some Americans, more zealous than wise, would have struck at independent neutrality, as a condition which the United States has generally occupied and must hereafter occupy, has happily been averted. We cannot here discuss the subject of recognition. It is enough to say that the position which the *Nation* has held from the beginning, through all the time of Mr. Seward's dispatches and of Mr. Sumner's declamation, has finally been reached by the Government. We may rest here secure and certain that our independent action as a neutral between two belligerent powers will not hereafter be cramped and thwarted by any such stipulations as a blind zeal or a wicked desire to keep alive national hatreds has so vehemently demanded. To sum up, we believe that the articles of this treaty relating to the *Alabama* claims are all that independent, self-respecting, and just America should ask, and all that independent, self-respecting, and just Britain should concede.

Articles XII. to XVII. provide that all claims of American

citizens upon Great Britain not included in the foregoing class, and arising between April 13, 1861, and April 9, 1865, and all claims of British subjects upon the United States arising during the same period, shall be referred to a mixed commission of three persons, who shall hear and examine the proofs, and make the final awards. The anxiety which the Administration has shown to avert an expected opposition to this portion of the treaty and to pacify the public, by asserting that the sum awarded to British subjects would be small, is certainly not very flattering to the honesty and sense of justice of the American people. It assumes that the people, while demanding apology and compensation for all wrongs done to the nation, will absolutely refuse to hear of a claim based upon alleged wrongs done by the nation. We have not so low an opinion of the mass of American citizens. We believe that, while they ask justice, they are ready and willing to do justice. What claims, therefore, can be brought against the United States by British subjects in conformity with well-settled doctrines of international law? First, the owners of vessels and cargoes captured and condemned for attempting to break the blockade can have no redress. The right of a nation to decide, in its own prize courts, all questions in regard to the liability of neutrals for a breach of blockade or for the carrying of contraband, and the absolute finality of such decisions upon matters of property, are as well settled as any other rules of international law. But it has been suggested that in some instances where the Supreme Court has decided against the captors, and has ordered a restitution to the owners, such restitution has not yet been made. If this be true, it states a plain case of a most just claim against the United States; indeed, it is a scandal that such liabilities should need the stipulations of a treaty for their enforcement. Secondly, there can be no claim on account of the emancipation of slaves, as slave property is universally admitted not to rest upon any natural right, but upon the positive municipal law, and as the owners of slaves hold them subject to any change in this law. Thirdly, the recent utterances of the officers of the Crown which have been so freely quoted by the newspapers, were statements of legal doctrines so familiar as to be commonplace. If a foreigner resides within the territory of one belligerent, his property is impressed with the enemy character so far as to make it liable to all the customary hazards and losses of modern warfare. Whatever property of British subjects domiciled at the South was therefore destroyed by the ordinary operations of war, whatever was seized or consumed on the line of an army's march, whatever was lost in battle or in the siege of towns, must be treated as so much enemy's property similarly situated, and the owner has no claim upon our Government for compensation. But there are cases which do not fall within either of these rules. After a city or a district of country at the South was completely occupied by the national troops during the war, and all resistance there had ceased, the cotton found therein was seized, sent to the North, sold, and the proceeds were paid into the Treasury. This was not done as an ordinary proceeding in military movements and operations; it was the result of laws of Congress, and was deliberately enforced as a part of the civil administration. Some of the cotton belonged to non-resident British subjects, and they clearly have a valid claim against the United States for this appropriation of their property. Another large portion belonged to British subjects domiciled at the South, and, as their case does not fall within the third rule stated above, their claim will doubtless be urged with earnestness.

Articles XVIII. to XXV. relate to the fisheries. Closely following the language of the Reciprocity Treaty, they stipulate that for a period of ten years and further, until two years after notice given by either party, American citizens, in addition to the liberty secured by the convention of 1818, may fish on all the coasts and shores, and in all the bays, creeks, and harbors of the Canadian Provinces and of Prince Edward's Island, and may land to cure fish and to dry nets. The United States grants to British subjects a similar liberty on its eastern coasts north of the 39th degree of north latitude. Reciprocity of trade between the United States and Canada and Prince Edward's Island is established for the same period in fish and fish-oil, the produce of the respective countries, excepting fish of the inland lakes. The British Government maintains that the concessions which it has thus made are of greater value than those made by the United States. A mixed commission is therefore to determine the amount of any compensation which ought to be paid by the Government of the United States to the Government of Great Britain.

In this arrangement, the American Commissioners seem to have waived their national rights more than in any other portion of the treaty, and to have abandoned the traditional policy and doctrines of international law advocated by the Government since the year 1815 to the time when Mr. Fish became Secretary of State. Unfortunately, they have used such language as will, we are afraid, for ever estop the United States at any future time from urging its rights growing out of the treaty of 1783. If the Commission created by these articles should determine that, in accordance with the doctrines of international law, the rights conferred in 1783 were permanent and still existing, they would necessarily hold that the stipulations of the present treaty grant nothing additional which must be paid for. But as we said before, unfortunately the language of Article XVIII., by making no reference to the treaty of 1783, and by expressly reciting "the liberty secured to the United States fishermen by the convention of 1818," makes it impossible for American agents to take this position before the Commission. It is very possible that the whole arrangement will fall through, and that the fisheries difficulty will be left more irritating to both parties from this very attempt to remove it. Before the articles become operative, they must be assented to by the British and Canadian Parliaments, by the Legislature of Prince Edward's Island, and by the United States Congress. It now seems very probable that the Canadian legislatures will reject the convention. In this case, we shall be thrown back into our present condition, with an additional element of exasperation.

We have thus noticed the three most important branches of this many-sided treaty. The other articles do not require separate comment.

"THE COMMUNE" AND THE LABOR QUESTION.

It has been in some respects a misfortune for the "labor reform" movement that its leaders should have had an opportunity offered them, by the surrender of Paris, of giving the world a specimen of their powers as political administrators. They escaped the discredit of the disorders in the provinces during the siege, though it was largely due to them, owing to the fact that lawyers and literary men were most prominent in beginning the confusion. It was only when the Commune was set up in Paris that Assy and his *confrères* of the International Congress were enabled to give us some idea of the kind of régime they have in store for us if they are ever allowed to have their way, and they could hardly have had a better theatre for the exhibition than Paris; for in no other city are the disciples present in such large force, and in none is their faith so lively. The number of men above twenty who believe society can be regenerated by decree is comparatively small in all countries except France; but in France—partly owing to the constitution of the French mind, which has always been fonder of ideas than of facts, and partly owing to the course of recent French history, which has for eighty years been composed mainly of a series of social and political experiments—their number really seems to be very large and their sincerity unquestionable. The Commune, it is true, has done but little towards regulating property and labor, but solely owing to the fact that it has been kept so busy fighting. If the Versaillists would let it alone, we should see, in a very few weeks, how poverty and great accumulations of wealth are to be prevented, and, at the same time, how man is to be made to labor as much as is good for him, for the benefit of the community at large, and not for the gratification of his own selfish desires. Thiers said, in 1848, in his cutting way, that men could readily be got to die for the country, but that it was ridiculous to suppose they could be got to make pig-iron for their country. If he had now the grace to let the Commune constitute itself peacefully, he would soon be convinced of his error.

But the doings of the Commune, however incomplete they have been, and however much they may have helped to injure the Socialist cause in the estimation of the world, will undoubtedly help to stimulate "the labor reform" movement for the present in other countries. The civil war now raging in Paris seems, to the portion of the civilized

world which calls itself "sensible," one of the greatest pieces of folly and wickedness on the part of the "Nationals" ever witnessed, if for no other reasons, for these two—that it is a revolt against the fair decision of the majority; and that it is a shedding of blood without a hope of success. Paris cannot fight all France, and therefore, granting that the objects of its defenders are legitimate, and that there is no immediate hope of attaining them through discussion, the contest is marked by that foulest and greatest of all kinds of guilt, the guilt of useless slaughter. It would probably be difficult, if not impossible, to find in history a case of indifference, even on the part of the most reckless absolute monarch, to the value of human life and of the results of human labor, as has been displayed by these Parisian humanitarians and peace men during the last two months. Kings, if they fought for nothing else, fought at least for the sake of military glory, which to military kings is a palpable good, but to the communists "glory" of this kind is simply a hideous chimera. But, then, the struggle has had for the school of political thought which they represent the capital advantage of translating into reality what a year ago seemed probably to the most ardent of them a wild dream. The Commune does really present a reality, however briefly and imperfectly—that turning of society upside down which the more enthusiastic members of the labor movement have long looked to as the goal of their striving.

This time the revolution is not directed by lawyers and literary men, or any other class to whose hands usage has hitherto committed the work of government. Veritable workingmen sit in council in the gilded saloons of the Hôtel de Ville, and—which is perhaps the most striking incident of the crisis—are waited upon by lacqueys in livery. Men who have passed their lives obeying other people's rules now make rules for everybody except themselves. Shiftless adventurers, who have had infinite difficulty in getting two meals a day all their lives, and have been treated with contumely and scorn not only by "financiers," but by small grocers, find the moneyed institutions and great fortunes of a wealthy city at their absolute disposal. Criminals who have not for years ventured into the streets by daylight, now promenade armed in the gardens of the Tuileries, and enjoy the luxury of seeing old policemen run away at their approach. Editors of the *petits journaux*, whose weightiest treatises, in days gone by, were reproductions of the gossip of cafés, and whose knowledge of geography was mostly confined to the Department of the Seine, find themselves charged with the foreign affairs of a "Universal Republic." In addition to this, the courts are all suspended; the ordinary modes of settling rights and deciding controversies are abolished; the churches are "secularized;" and, in short, everything is done that can be done to put out of sight or abolish all the machinery, whether moral or material, which the rich and educated classes have invented and declared to be necessary for the proper conduct of human affairs. To crown all, too, a government thus constituted has shown itself capable of maintaining an army, and carrying on war for two months.

The effect of this on the philosophers of the topsy-turvey system has undoubtedly been very great. It has given an air of practicalness to what all the rest of the world sneered at as unpractical. It has shown that it is not impossible for a great crowd of persons, whom "society" denounces as lunatics and loafers, to seize on the government of a great capital, and administer it for a time, at all events. Moreover, inasmuch as the Commune will perish, not under the weight of its own follies, but under the blows of "the reaction," its adherents will always be able to dream golden dreams, and tell golden tales of what it would have accomplished, if "the assassins of Versailles" had let it alone. Though, therefore, there is no doubt that "society" will everywhere hereafter regard the Socialistic theories with greater repugnance and alarm than ever, we think they are mistaken who suppose that the downfall of the Commune and the spectacle of its excesses will do much to weaken the faith of those who now hold these theories, and to lessen their attractiveness to the workingmen of the great manufacturing towns, not in France only, but everywhere—for it cannot be too distinctly remembered that a strong class feeling is, in the minds of the population of these towns, nearly everywhere taking the place of patriotism. It is the rich, and the capitalists of whatever country, who are now becoming their natural enemies or rivals, and not foreigners as such. The trades-unions are rapidly wiping out national distinctions, or at least as rapidly as difference of language will permit.

Another important contribution which the Commune is making to the "labor reform" cause is to be found in the extent to which it has succeeded by its exploits in Paris in bringing philosophers to its assistance. The influence of thought and learning on the popular imagination, especially with regard to social and political subjects, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, has greatly increased within the last twenty-five years, mainly, we think it may be safely said, through the rise of Positivism, the prophets of which, owing to their "radicalism," have very strong attractions for the working-class mind. No "cause" has much chance of success in our time which has not a regular "philosopher" at its back. Mere apostles, or martyrs, or fanatics will not do any longer. There has to be somebody in the rear, of good intellectual standing, armed with a complete social theory, and ready to stand by the main body of the faithful when hard pressed. It is Mr. Mill, for instance, who supplies the bold intellectual port of which so many rather weak and noisy bodies make so comical a display on the woman's rights platform, and the same thing, *mutatis mutandis*, might be said of the labor movement. If anybody doubts whether society can be regenerated by having people use sponge-baths, or walk two-and-two, he is now informed, with a pitying smile, that So-and-so, the great logician, or the great mathematician, or the great poet, differs with him; and what makes the arrangement all the more complete is, that the disciples usually take as much of the master's doctrine as suits them, and leave the rest. The woman-suffragists, for instance, take Mr. Mill's views on female equality, but never mention his hostility to ignorant voting.

What has brought the Positivist philosophers to the assistance of the Commune is its revolt against universal suffrage, to which all true Comtists entertain the strongest repugnance. The settlement of questions by a mere count of noses is to them only one degree, and that a short one, removed from anarchy. So that, though they do not share the Commune's ideas on the subject of property, they are enchanted with its refusal to be bound by the peasant vote or to live in subjection to it; and they predict triumphantly that we are now witnessing the beginning of the overthrow of the notion that the majority ought to rule. They applaud, too, singularly enough, the determination of the workingmen of the cities not to be governed by "the educated classes," maintaining that the workingmen have greater breadth and depth in their political ideas, and indeed, though for a different reason, having much the same distrust of what is called "culture" as the average American politician. They are of course compelled to admit that the doings of the Commune have been wanting in wisdom, and that a federation of cities, governed as Paris is at present, would be a somewhat singular organization; but then, like the communists themselves, they throw most of the blame of all these follies on the wretched Thiers and his reactionary followers at Versailles.

To crown all, the land question has received in England a touch at the hands of Mr. Mill and his followers which can hardly fail to have a powerful influence on the question, in what manner *all* property should be distributed, which really lies behind the conflict between labor and capital. Mr. Mill holds that the rise in the value of land which results from the general growth of the community in wealth and population properly belongs to the state, the quantity of land being limited, and its possession, therefore, a monoply. This proposition looks rational enough, and harmless enough, but it is impossible to believe that it can be stated by such an authority without greatly strengthening the "labor reformer's" doctrine, that nobody should pocket any profit, rent, or interest which is not the product of his personal labor; which, laughable as it sounds when laid down as it was the other day in this city, is devoutly held by a great and increasing number of English and Continental workmen, and which, firmly as we believe it to be the seed of a barbarism compared to which that of the Dark Ages was respectable and hopeful, is yet destined, we do not hesitate to say, before it disappears, to give the civilization of the Western world a severe shaking.

RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

An esteemed correspondent, whose letter we print in full in another place, asks us to answer the following questions: "Has a citizen of the United States, as such, any rights within the several States, and if any, what rights? What would be 'appropriate legislation' to enforce or secure such rights?" We will reply as briefly as possible, but shall not go over ground with which we have already made our readers familiar. The Constitution, as originally adopted, assumed that the status of citizenship existed independently of that instrument, but it nowhere defined this condition, nor described the rights and immunities which flow from it; it rather took them for granted as being involved in the very notion of citizens and citizenship. Undoubtedly citizenship implies a duty of protection on the one side correlative to the duty of allegiance on the other. It seemed best to confer upon the several States the function of actively administering this high duty in respect to personal liberty, security, and the enjoyment of property. To the State governments was therefore allotted the primary, and, with the exception immediately to be stated, the exclusive control of all matters pertaining to the domestic and civil affairs of the citizen, all matters relating to the protection of life, person, liberty, and property. But while the grants to the States were thus so large, and were unrestrained by any express limitations, except by the provision that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," and by the provisions respecting bills of attainder, *ex-post-facto* laws, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts, they were nevertheless held and were to be exercised under a most important implied limitation, growing out of the fundamental facts of an essential nationality and of citizenship independent of the Constitution, and out of the residuum of duty left in the General Government to afford final protection to citizens. This implied limitation was as follows: All citizens being free and equal, they must remain so before the laws of a State; they must be left by those laws in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property; they must not be subjected to any discriminating or class legislation. In other words, while the field of active legislation in reference to all private and civil matters was left open to the States, and was primarily to be occupied by them alone, they were implicitly forbidden to make or enforce any law which should abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, or to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or to deny to any citizen the equal protection of the laws. In our opinion, a State statute which violated these implied prohibitions was null and void to exactly the same extent and for exactly the same reason that a bill of attainder or law impairing the obligation of contracts was null and void. The first section of the Fourteenth Amendment was therefore declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution, and introduced no new principle nor rule. We concede that this position would not have been acquiesced in prior to the war, which kindled the slumbering sentiment of nationality into a clear and steady flame, but it is now accepted as correct by all who, like ourselves, regard the United States as essentially a nation, and its organic law as framed by the one people thereof. In it we find the authority to enact the Civil Rights Bill, which was so grand a movement in the development of the national idea. Whatever doubts may have existed prior to the war in respect to the rights of citizens and the limitations upon the legislative power of the States, they have all been removed by the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which has simply put into a positive and express form what was before inferential and subject to the varying interpretation of Congresses and courts.

The result is that, citizens being free and equal, each one has, as against the State in which he may be—that is, as against the State acting in its organic capacity—the right to remain free and equal to his fellows. The State is organically represented by its legislature, which alone wields the portion of sovereignty entrusted to it: the State acts organically by its legislature, and through its laws, and in no other manner; the implied restrictions of the Constitution which we have mentioned, and the express restrictions of the Fourteenth Amendment, are in terms addressed to a State exercising its function of law-making. The citizen has, therefore, under the Fourteenth Amendment the right, as against a State, that no laws shall be passed by its legislature, or enforced by its officers, which abridge his privileges and immunities as a citizen, which deprive him of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or which deny to him the equal protection of the laws. He has thus a right, as against the State, that his life, liberty, or property shall not be taken from him *by virtue of State authority*, in any other manner than by a regular course of judicial proceeding, and that all laws which affect him in his private and civil capacity shall affect him and all other citizens alike, without discrimination or class distinction. Under other provisions of the Constitution, he has a right, as against a State, that its legislature shall pass no bill of attainder, *ex-post-facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, which may operate upon his life, person, liberty, property, or agreements. The effect of the second section of Article IV. is simply to make these several rights effective as against all the States of the Union, instead of confining their operation to the single commonwealth in which the person may reside.

While the citizen is clothed with these rights directed against a State and referring to its legislative action, to its high function of law-making; while he has a right that the State laws shall protect him in the enjoyment of all the immunities which are based upon the fundamental facts of his freedom and equality, he has no jural right—that is, no right which can be made the subject of legislation, or which can be taken cognizance of by the courts—against a State *in reference to the due administration of its proper and valid laws by its executive and judicial officers.* We wish to dwell upon this proposition with emphasis. A confusion in the minds of legislators and of the public in reference to this very subject lies at the foundation of the Force Bill. The position we have thus stated must be maintained by all those who wish to preserve the nationality of the Union and the supremacy of its government, and, at the same time, the principle and practice of local self-government in respect to all things local and private. We repeat, therefore, that when a State has passed laws in agreement with the fundamental facts of freedom and equality, its organic legal duty to the Constitution and to the citizen is discharged; the Constitution can no longer be invoked to compel its action, and the citizen has no jural right as against it that these proper laws shall be duly administered by the executive and judicial officers. That this must be true is seen at once, when we consider that if such a right exists at all it can have no limit; if the citizen has such a right in respect to the due administration of proper laws, it cannot stop short of requiring absolute perfection in the course of administration, which would be simply impossible. When, therefore, the laws of a State are proper, the citizen has no jural right, as against the State, that prosecuting and police officers shall be vigilant in acts of prevention, of inquisition, and of apprehension, that grand juries shall be ready to find indictments and petit juries to convict, that judges shall be quick and stern to punish. All this is beyond the reach of the United States constitutional sanctions and, we may add, of State constitutional sanctions. We desire, upon this point, to be exactly understood. By jural right is meant a right which can be the subject-matter of statutory enactment and of judicial cognizance. The citizen, beyond all question, has rights—or we should prefer to say privileges—in respect to the due administration of the laws, but they are political, merely, and not jural; they are held by him in connection with all other persons, and are to be maintained and enforced by him through the ballot-box, and by means of a public opinion which he helps to create. This is a necessary incident of all governments, and especially of those which are republican and representative. If the good and valid laws which legislatures have enacted are not duly administered, there is no legal remedy to be obtained either from Congress or from the State governments; redress must be found alone in a change of officers through the ordinary processes of election and appointment. So much of the responsibility of government does the organic law leave with the people themselves as the final depositaries of power. It is hardly necessary to state that we do not here refer to the exceptional cases of positive corruption or maladministration in office, where the offenders become liable to the ordinary punishments for crime or to impeachment. The first question is thus, as we believe, plainly and accurately, though briefly, answered. We

have not referred to rights which may flow from the Fifteenth Amendment, because none of our readers need be told that the electoral capacity does not belong to any person merely by virtue of his being a citizen of the United States.

What has already been said suggests the ready answer to the second question. The language used by our correspondent shows that he has the Fourteenth Amendment in mind. The phrase "appropriate legislation" is used in the last three amendments, and nowhere else in the Constitution. In the present connection, such "appropriate legislation" must relate to the rights which, though originally implied in the organic law, were first expressed in the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. The nature of these rights, as already described, tells what legislation is appropriate. In the first place, no legislation at all is necessary. All the various constitutional prohibitions directed against particular acts or classes of legislation, either by Congress or by the States, execute themselves. Being negative and mandatory in their form and effect, any statute passed in contravention of their requirements is simply null and void. The remedy for their violation is judicial rather than legislative. It has never been thought necessary for Congress to pass statutes in aid of the three important prohibitions which are found in the tenth section of Article I., and which protect life, liberty, and property by forbidding the States to pass any bill of attainder, *ex-post-facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts. The new prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment stand upon the same basis as the old ones, are similar in form and nature, and, like them, are to receive their force and sanction from the courts. Congress may clothe the national tribunals with ample jurisdiction over all cases arising under such invalid local laws, and the citizen will thus be fully protected from their unjust and injurious effect. Secondly, If the legislature of a State should place upon its statute-book any law which violated the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, and which thus infringed the rights of citizens as above described, Congress might, beyond a doubt, declare all acts of State executive and judicial officers, and others, in enforcing such laws, to be offences against the United States, and make them cognizable in the national courts. We express no opinion upon the question whether the State legislators themselves, who enacted the invalid laws, can, in like manner, be made amenable to judicial sanctions. In accordance with this doctrine, the Civil Rights Bill, in its main features, was a proper exercise of the authority conferred upon Congress. Thirdly, In no case can the United States interfere with violations of State laws by individual offenders. In no case can Congress confer upon the national courts jurisdiction over criminal acts of violence done by one or more persons acting singly or in concert against the private civil rights of life, liberty, person, and property, which belong to all citizens alike. *A fortiori*, in no case can Congress make the defaults, deficiencies, and laxities of State executive and judicial officers, in duly administering those State laws which are valid and proper, offences cognizable by the courts of the United States. In the foregoing we do not, of course, include the very exceptional instance of domestic violence within a State, which is specially provided for by the fourth section of Article IV. We have thus answered the questions fully, though briefly, and, as we trust, with precision and accuracy. The subject is a broad one, and a complete treatment of it requires that the naked propositions which we have stated sometimes without the connecting links of thought should be carefully illustrated and amplified.

ENGLAND.—THE TAX BLUNDER.

LONDON, April 28, 1871.

I HAVE several times called your attention to the decreasing influence of Mr. Gladstone's Government. It is, in fact, easy to see that they have made various blunders in the course of the session, that they have not called forth any genuine enthusiasm, and that they have quarrelled with the extreme wing of the Liberal party, from which they should naturally expect support. But I confess that I never anticipated that a misfortune would befall them of the particular kind which I have now to mention. If there was one subject upon which Government might be expected to show an unmistakable superiority to its opponents, it should naturally be finance. Mr. Gladstone owed a great part of his reputation to his distinguished success as Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is past eighteen years since he turned out the then Conservative Government by a victory over the budget proposed by Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Lowe, again, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, is certainly one of the very ablest men in the Government. He is rather too deficient in sentiment and imagination to win much popularity as a statesman in other departments. But he is admirably clear-headed and logical, a sound political economist, and, in short, endowed with all the qualities which should go to making a great financier. And yet Mr. Disraeli, though he will hardly succeed in upsetting the Government, is likely to take a good instalment of revenge for his old defeat. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe between them have succeeded, contrary to all expectation, in incurring great unpopularity from their financial policy; and what is even worse, in incurring no small amount of ridicule. At the present moment, the Government, with its hands full of important legislative proposals, has almost gratuitously got into difficulties which will very naturally weaken its remaining prestige.

The reason of this singular catastrophe appears to be, in two words, that Mr. Lowe has been too clever. He has invented such an ingenious scheme that in his own delight at its merits he fairly forgot the impression which it was likely to make upon the public, and has thus conjured up a storm which shows at present no signs of being appeased. I will recapitulate shortly the history of the last week's campaign. The result of the measures for army reform was that Mr. Lowe found himself in face of a deficit of £2,713,000 for the coming year. Parliament had voted, though with some grudging on the part of the Radicals, that the expenditure should be increased by the compensation for the abolition of purchase and other military measures, and the question arose how this expenditure was to be met. Mr. Lowe's budget involved three changes in our system of taxation. The first was a slight increase in the income tax; the second was a change in the legacy and succession duties; and the third a tax upon matches. Now, in each of these proposals there was something at once vexatious and ingenious. The rise in the income tax was expected, but Mr. Lowe tacked to it a proposal for changing the mode in which the tax was to be calculated. Instead of asking for another penny in the pound, according to the ordinary method, we were to pay 44 shillings in a hundred pounds, making, if stated in our accustomed way, 5 pence $1\frac{3}{5}$ farthings in the pound. This detestable $\frac{3}{5}$ of a farthing was a vexatious fraction, and gave a headache by anticipation to people whose knowledge of arithmetic is limited. They saw themselves in imagination performing the most troublesome operations in the rule of three, and floundering in hopeless perplexity before the demands of a tax-gatherer. The change in the succession duties was unnecessarily irritating in a different manner. Hitherto there has been a scale, according to which persons succeeding to the inheritance of their parents or near relations paid less than if the testator had been more distantly connected with them. Mr. Lowe pronounced this to be contrary to sound philosophy, and applied a partial remedy, whilst raising a rather larger sum, by increasing the percentage to be paid by near relations. To the unphilosophical mind this appeared to be a case of harsh political economy riding roughshod over the natural affections of mankind. But the final proposal was by far the most unfortunate, though Mr. Lowe described it as a small tribute of respect to the United States.

Now there are some things which English Liberals would be glad enough to borrow from your arrangements, but, if you will permit me to say so, your system of taxation is not generally reckoned amongst them. Mr. Lowe proposed to raise half-a-million pounds sterling by a small stamp upon match-boxes, and produced rather startling statistics in confirmation of his estimate. I forget how many millions or billions of matches are annually manufactured, nor, as things have turned out, does it much matter. Mr. Lowe was unaffectedly delighted with the ingenuity of this proposal, and showed his pleasure by a number of carefully prepared jokes which adorned his eloquence. Eighteen distinct witticisms were counted up by his opponents. He had, indeed, gone so far as actually to order the new stamp for the boxes, on which were to be engraved the words *ex luce lucellum*. (You will pardon me for pointing out what few members of the House of Commons seemed to remember, that *lucellum* is the diminutive from *lucrum*.) Everybody has sometimes witnessed the melancholy effect of a joke elaborately concocted by a very clever man, which somehow completely misses fire. The hearers look uncomfortably upon each other, and the clever man blushes inwardly, and repents his rash confidence. Never did joke fall flatter than this bit of financial pun. But there was something worse than a mere failure of facetiousness. Grave economists urged that to impose a new tax upon industry was a

piece of retrograde policy, and in this instance it was peculiarly out of place. The poor inhabitants of the East End of London are the chief makers and sellers of matches, and the proposed taxation of a Liberal ministry would thus fall with totally unexpected severity upon a class who are just struggling with doubtful success against pauperism, and barely keeping their heads above water at the best of times. Meetings of the unemployed are being held to beg for aid in emigration; and there was a kind of curious infelicity in suddenly saddling them with a new burden, which would be of little service to the public treasury, and would be keenly felt by one small and impoverished class. The consequence was general indignation, mixed with not a little ridicule. A procession of matchmakers was organized from the East End of London, under pretense of presenting a petition to Parliament. They came accordingly in considerable numbers, and, it is said, though the facts are disputed, that they were treated with unnecessary roughness by a large body of police who were called out on the occasion. In short, this tax was one of the most luckless proposals ever laid before Parliament. Almost every newspaper, even those which are thick-and-thin supporters of Government, denounced it, and I have no doubt that if a new election takes place within any short time, it will be a new cause of alienation of the working-classes from the Liberal ministry. They conceive that they have already much cause of complaint in the direction taken by the economical reforms of the Government, such as the reduction of the number of laborers in the dock yards, and it will certainly not diminish their bitterness when they remember that it was proposed to raise additional revenues from the pockets of the very poorest classes. Economy, they will say, means turning off laborers, and extravagance means having them. Which is the worst move for the gentleman whom the *Daily Telegraph* used to call "the people's William"? He had unintentionally proposed to raise half-a-million in such a manner as to give the greatest possible stimulus to the revolutionary sentiments current amongst the lower orders.

The indignation aroused in all quarters by these proposals has been fatal to the Government measures. The Radicals and the Conservatives coalesced—the Radicals because they objected to any increase of expenditure, the Conservatives because they objected to the particular mode of raising the necessary means. Government succeeded in repelling a condemnatory motion, drawn up with a view of combining the hostile elements, by a majority so small as to be fatally significant, and last night Mr. Gladstone substantially announced that he was prepared to abandon the whole scheme. The match tax and the change in the succession duties were surrendered unequivocally, and instead of Mr. Lowe's proposed modification of the income tax, we are to have the beautiful simplicity of paying an additional twopence in the pound. Whether this proposal can be carried must still be doubtful. It is vehemently opposed by the *Times*, which advocates as an alternative measure the suspension for a year of the scheme carried some time back by Mr. Gladstone for the gradual reduction of the national debt. It was opposed also by Mr. Fawcett, on the ground that, although an "extreme democrat," he objected to throwing the burden of increased taxation entirely upon the class which pays income tax. That, he urged, was substantially encouraging the lower classes, who are now coming into power, to incur heavy expenses, and make the higher classes pay the bill. The argument sounds rather questionable in the mouth of a Radical, but it probably indicates that the party with which he generally acts is prepared to continue its opposition to Government. The breach between Mr. Gladstone and the extreme fraction of his party has, in fact, become wider than ever, and the main security of his Government at the present time is that a coalition between that fraction and the Conservatives cannot well outlast more than one or two particular votes. I should imagine, therefore, that Mr. Gladstone will probably tide over the present difficulty, though with much injury to his prestige; and the immediate harm caused by the fiasco which I have described will be confined to the delay caused in much important public business, and the weakening of the hands of Government in carrying it through Parliament. The prospect of useful legislation during the session is certainly diminished, though we may still hope that a fair amount of work will be accomplished.

The supporters of woman's suffrage are having their annual field-day this afternoon, and I take the opportunity of returning thanks to a correspondent of yours, who drew a flattering picture—in some respects, I fear, rather too flattering a picture—of our so-called "strong-minded" ladies. In one part of her remarks, however, I should be disposed to agree without qualification. The ladies have certainly strengthened their position within the last year by the share which they have taken in the working of the school-boards. Several ladies have been elected in different parts of the country, and, though it is rather premature to speak of the working of the act, they have so far at least improved their reputation for practical ability. Their success in that department gives additional weight to their claim for sharing in the franchise. Though that change will hardly be made in the present Parliament, the prospects of carrying it within a moderate time are probably increasing.

Correspondence.

AN ENQUIRY.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: I agree in the main with the forcible protest you make against legislation by Congress in violation of State rights; but I do not agree with you in thinking that the Ku-klux law (so called) is fairly obnoxious to all your objections to it. Your arguments, especially against the second section of the law, seem to me to overlook, or not fairly to consider, the rights of citizens of the United States, and you will oblige me, certainly, and possibly other readers of your very valuable paper, if you will answer these questions:

Has a citizen of the United States, as such, any rights within the several States; and, if any, what rights?

What would be "appropriate legislation" to enforce or secure such rights? Vermont.

DR. CUYLER'S CONFESSION.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: The Rev. Dr. Cuyler, in a speech made at a temperance meeting yesterday, said (see report in to-day's *Tribune*):

"And when the alcoholic takers can show a man who has lived as long and worked as well on wine as he on water; or an editor that works as long and as well on wine as Horace Greeley works on water; or a preacher who will preach as long and as well on wine as Henry Ward Beecher on water; a man who will speak as long and well on wine as John B. Gough on water; or a man who will make his light shine as far on wine as William E. Dodge on water, I will go down to the *Nation* office and acknowledge that I am an 'unscrupulous orator.'"

I beg leave to "show" the poet Goethe, whose performances on wine will compare favorably with those of the above-named gentlemen on water, especially on the subject of making his light shine. I expect Dr. Cuyler now to come down to your office and make his promised declaration. Some persons might call it not only unscrupulousness, but downright impudence, to pretend to challenge the world with a few names of some local note—the world so full of really great names unconnected with the whim of total abstinence. A Reader.

New York, May 12, 1871.

JULIET'S RUNAWAY.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In your notice of Furness's "Variorum Shakespeare" (p. 308, No. 305), you refer to the exhaustive criticism bestowed upon that stumbling-block of the commentators, "Juliet's runaway." An emendation which, so far as I know, is original with myself, and which I do not think has been published, has been approved by several competent scholars to whom it has been communicated. This is simply to substitute "Veronese" for "runaways," so that the passage would read:

> "Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night,
> That *Veronese* eyes may wink, and Romeo
> Leap to these arms, *untalk'd of and unseen*."

The word *Veronese* has the authority of Shakespeare, being used in "Othello," Act II., Scene I.:

> "The ship is here put in,
> A *veronese*;"

but I am disposed to believe that it was used in a somewhat different form in the particular passage under discussion. In "*Tales and quicke Answeres, very merry, and pleasant to rede*," a book written temp. Henry VIII., we have *Janway* put for *Genoese, e.g.*: "There was one amonge the *Janewayes* that the Frenche kynge hyred to make warre agaynst the Englysshe men, etc. . . . Then sayde the *Janway*, etc."*

Shakespeare himself sometimes uses a similar construction, as when he puts *Senoys* for *Siennese*:

"The Florentines and *Senoys* are by the ears." (*All's Well that Ends Well*. I. 2.)

Now, if we may be permitted to suppose that the poet, in this confessedly

early work of his, wrote *veronoys* or *veronayes* as he wrote *senoys*, and as his contemporary wrote *Janways*, so that the passage would read—

"Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night,
That *veronayes* eyes may wink, etc.,"

we are able to see at once how easy it was for the transcribers and printers of the first editions to mistake the word for *runnwayes*, and so originate the error that has occasioned such debate. I am not familiar enough with the written text of that time to be able to say whether its character is favorable to my supposition or opposed to it.

EDWARD SPENCER.

RANDALLSTOWN, MD.

Notes.

TRÜBNER'S *Literary Record* announces the publication, early next year, of a new volume by Robert Dale Owen, author of "Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World," which also, we believe, appeared first in England. The title will be "The Debatable Land between this World and the Next," and one of the divisions of the book will consist of an address to the Protestant clergy, who, if they will read Mr. Owen's thirteen sections, may be convinced that "spiritualism [is] necessary to confirm the truths and assure the progress of Christianity."——Macmillan & Co. publish shortly "Inside Paris during the Siege," being the diary of an Oxford graduate; "Our Baths and Wells," an account of the mineral waters of the British Islands, with a list of sea-bathing places, by John Macpherson, M.D.; the Hulsean Lectures for 1870, viz., "The Witness of History to Christ," by Rev. F. W. Farrar; and "The Atonement of Christ," by Alfred Barry, D.D.——"The Life that Now Is" is the title of a new book of sermons by Rev. Robert Collyer, to be published by Horace B. Fuller, Boston.——Messrs. Pott & Amery announce a cheap reprint of the English portion of the Rev. J. T. Bailey's "Defence of Holy Orders in the Church of England," to which will be prefixed two of the large folio pages (of the photo-zincograph) containing the record of the Consecration, at Lambeth, of Archbishop Parker.

—We are glad to observe that the Hebrew Library which we announced in January as about to be sold by Mr. Frederick Muller, in Amsterdam, and whose rare value made it a highly desirable acquisition for this country, has in fact been purchased by a committee of members of the Temple Emanuel, in this city. This must be considered one of the most important of the recent transfers of fine collections from Europe to America. It is stated that Cornell University has offered to take charge of this library, and in return to establish a Hebrew professorship and ten scholarships at Ithaca; but without success, as the new owners naturally prefer that the library should remain in this city. Columbia College would stand a better chance of getting it; or why should it not go to swell the Lenox free library?

—The "Handbook for Immigrants to the United States," prepared by the American Social Science Association, and just published by Hurd & Houghton, meets a want which has been keenly felt in England, where general ignorance of this country is combined, in the classes tempted to emigrate, with special unfitness for adventure. The remedy proposed for pauperism, of shipping the more deserving poor to this country, has had no practical effect, partly because the small tradesmen whom failure or indebtedness has permanently reduced to the rank of paupers, have no knowledge—they or their families—of any mechanical art or of agriculture, and, overcome by their sense of helplessness, lack the will as well as the means to remove to an unknown land. The pitifulness of their case first suggested, we believe, the compiling of this Handbook, which can, of course, furnish them little besides the information necessary to inspire a certain degree of confidence. Among the Irish, especially the more intelligent of them, this book promises to be of immediate value. For emigrants from the Continent, there should be an edition in the vernacular of each people; and we understand from the prefaee that, if private or public benevolence will furnish the money, the Association will publish translations in several languages, and supply them at the chief ports of emigration. As an experiment, considering the difficulties of gathering and condensing statistics, the Handbook is sufficiently successful to warrant the Association in asking support towards spreading and improving it in future editions. It is a fairly national undertaking.

—Doctor Felipe Larrazábal is known to those who have studied the history of the South American States as the author of a valuable "Life of Bolivar," an English version of which was published in this city some five years since, and which may possibly be remembered as much for its curiosities of translation as for its intrinsic merits. "There, the hands still clasped," we read on page 408, "Bolivar, whose vivacity was superior to all ponderation, spoke to Montilla of going to free Cartagena. . . . 'Munificent was the Liberator, on this occasion,' says the biographer of Montilla, 'manifesting from that moment, of what feeling is capable in the heart of a hero.'" And on the page following it is stated: "Afterwards the election of the President of Colombia was proceeded with, and General Simon Bolivar was unanimously elected. None could doubt this election, and, *notwithstanding*, it was received with enthusiasm"—an unconscious satire on South American constitutionalism. Doctor Larrazábal has, however, a good literary reputation, and the publication of a work which he has prepared on "Ilustres Americanos," is looked for with some interest. The preface he has already printed in a Caracas journal, ventilating what may be called Know-nothing doctrine quite amusing to encounter in the world of letters. He holds that

"None but Americans must write on America, on the manners and customs of the Americans, on their history in both periods of their oppression and their victory, of their captivity under the colonial system, and of the splendor of their struggle for independence. The books which reach us from Europe are incurably infested with errors on everything that relates to us. The ignorance which is shown by the learned and the unlearned on the other side of the ocean on matters referring to the New World, must stimulate us to take the greatest pains to exhibit the condition of our country, which, in French, English, and German books, is obscured by the grossest absurdities and errors."

The examples which he cites of European misstatements, so far as they are given in *Trübner's Record*, do not seem to bear out this editor's allegation that Doctor Larrazábal would exclude foreigners from "*scientific* researches in and publications on America;" but simply from historical and political and, incidentally, geographical undertakings. This limitation relieves the doctrine of much of its absurdity.

—The first volume of Leopold von Ranke's "German States and the League of Sovereigns" (Die deutschen Mächte und der Fürstenbund) shows unabated vigor of style and research in the venerable author. It treats of the period of 1780–88, the time immediately preceding the death of Frederic the Great and next succeeding the accession of Frederic William II., including the state of religious affairs in Prussia under Wöllner. Particularly interesting is the stand taken by Frederic the Great against Austria in consequence of the Bavarian war of succession, when Bavaria already cherished the design of breaking Austrian influence and bringing about a union of the northern German princes against the imperial house of Hapsburg, the failure of which was mainly due to the death of Frederic. Still greater expectant interest awaits the sequel, both because it will cover less trodden fields and because the popular movements thence taking rise must be heeded by a man for whom history is made in the cabinets of ministers and monarchs, and who regards popular agitation as a matter of record, but not of material moment. In the initial volume of his "History of theEmperor Frederic I." (Geschichte Kaiser Friedrich's I.), Hans Prutz discusses anew German relations with Italy (in 1154–1165), and the ill-starred war waged by the pattern of German emperors against the Lombard cities. Dr. Geiger offers an interesting book on the "Life and Works of Johann Reuchlin." Eminent and powerful by reason of his public position and distinguished erudition, holding high imperial office, and famous for his learning in the law, the classics, oriental languages and literature, and standing in intimate relations with the eminent scholars of his day, Reuchlin was the central figure of the pre-Lutheran Church agitation, for his siding with the Jews in their controversy with the Dominicans concerning the Talmud gave impulse to the agitation which ended in Luther's reformation. Of effective importance in this were the "Epistolæ virorum obscurorum," whose origin and influence the author attempts to set forth in this capitally written book, which also contains signal contributions to the history of the culture of the time, particularly as respects the condition of legal and natural sciences. Professor Ritschl, whose recently published letters to Napoleon III. have caused so much umbrage, has re-edited the "Trinummus" of Plautus, omitting many of the opinions formerly maintained by him. He promises a speedy justification of his present views. Interesting to the student of philology is Gatschet's "Sprachen und Dialekte der Schweiz," in which are discussed the various languages and dialects spoken by the two millions and a half of Swiss. Of the three languages, German, Italian, and French, the German has at least thirteen dialects, the Italian six, and the French two.

* Quoted in "Lower on English Surnames," i. 53.

. —Those who may wish to preserve an interesting record of the late war, and indeed of the present one, can have an excellent opportunity by subscribing at any foreign bookseller's to the *Illustration*, which was published weekly in Paris before, during, and since the siege. The back numbers are now being reprinted, and copies have been received up to as late as the 26th of November. Often the numbers are small, not larger than eight pages, but the illustrations are always interesting, and the letterpress, with its record of the doings of every day of each week, gives an excellent account of the various emotions, the hopes, despairs, exultations, griefs, and indignations of the Parisians during that time. At times we see pictures of the half-dozen Frenchmen holding countless hordes of barbarous Prussians at bay, but generally the artists are remarkably fair. The later numbers, those for April, give a full account of the later scenes in Paris, of the doings of the Commune, and all the proclamations of the Reds. One year's subscription will give one an interesting and, in time, very valuable volume.

—Two of the English magazines for May, *Macmillan's* and the *Cornhill*, have noticeable articles on the late war. In the first, M. Gabriel Monod contributes "Souvenirs of the Campaign of the Loire," he having been attached to the 11th Ambulance (*bis*) of the Paris Société Internationale de secours aux blessés. The *Cornhill* paper is entitled "Recollections of the Siege of Paris," but we do not clearly make out whether it is a true history, under a proper disguise as to names and places, or an historical romance. In the latter case it is to be praised for its verisimilitude, and for its entertaining style. We quote a passage or two from the dramatic report of a meeting of the Sons of Brutus:

"Custom demanded that the meeting should every evening elect its board, the chair being occupied during that formality by the president chosen the night before. A board consists of an honorary president (often defunct but illustrious), an effective president, two assessors, and a secretary. The preceding night the Citizen Joshua, 'slayer of five-and-thirty kings,' had been elected to the honorary chairmanship amidst uproarious cheering. This evening an emaciated citizen, with long finger-nails, rose from one of the back benches and, in a shrill treble, moved—'That the Greek citizen Aristogiton be voted into the chair.'

"*A Citizen with a red beard*, springing up furiously—'Citizens, I protest. How does that man dare to move that a Greek aristocrat named Giton shall be voted into the chair at a meeting of republicans? Down with all *aristos*; say I.' (Vehement applause. Looks of indignation at the emaciated citizen. Cries of 'Turn him out.')

"*The Citizen Maclou* (in the chair).—'Citizen, I call upon you to explain what you mean by insulting this republican assembly.'"

The Emaciated Citizen explains that Aristogiton was a Greek *sans-culotte*, who slew the last of a race of despots and vampires like the Bonapartes, and restored the Republic. But there are murmurs of incredulity, suggestions that the man is a *mouchard*, a telling retort that "an aristo never restored anything to anybody—never," and finally a bundling out, arms and legs, of the Emaciated Citizen. The club afterwards proceeds to enlarge its list of public traitors. There is no burlesque in this episode:

"*A Citizen slightly drunk* thinks poorly of the Citizen Ernest Picard, Minister of Finance. He too—the citizen slightly drunk—had a communication of importance to make to the Government. He had invented a new shell, which was one of the most murderous ever fabricated, and would very soon get rid of the Prussians. Here it was, he had a model of it in his pocket. If he dropped this shell on the floor everybody in the room would be blown away to atoms. (Sensation.) Ay, and it would be precious difficult to find the bits, he could tell them that. (Renewed sensation.) Well, he had applied to the Citizen Picard for a subsidy to help him push his invention, and Picard had declined to lend him a centime. What business had the Citizen Picard to give himself these airs. Did he think the purse of the nation was his? Who filled those money-bags which he guarded like the dog in the manger? It was not the Citizen Picard himself, I fancy (hear, hear). No, it was the people, with the sweat of their brow; and this conduct of the Minister of Finance was but part and parcel of the old system followed by all governments, of keeping the workingman out of what justly belonged to him. He moved that the Citizen Picard be summoned to tender his resignation without delay. (Hear, hear. Applause. The citizen retires with his shell to a front bench, which is expeditiously vacated by its occupants, who install themselves at a prudent distance.)"

—M. Monod speaks of his countrymen and his country's invaders with admirable frankness and impartiality. His talk, indeed, is chiefly of the latter, and he reserves for another article his judgment on the French; but he says incidentally that "the Empire had bequeathed its system of lying to the Republic, and Gambetta lied to the nation as the Empire had done before him." In the Loire army he recognized many faces which he had seen before the battle of Sedan—"not a few, I grieve to say, officers who had sworn not to take up arms again, but were now prepared to break their parole, encouraged by a government that had lost not only its regard for truth but all sense of honor."

"Never had I been so painfully conscious of the incorrigible levity of our national character; or of the strength of those illusions by which so many minds are prevented from grasping the reality in all its deformity; or of that wilful blindness which not only makes the French unable to see the truth and unwilling to speak it, but makes them even detest to hear it."

He says, in another place, speaking of the Germans: "They were just in their appreciation of the French, and always ready to recognize any real superiority either in their tactics or method of fighting, and in their courage. All which convinces me that in many respects it is not too much to say that, comparing the two sides, the Germans were like men fighting with children." The worst charges of outrage brought against the Germans—such as the wanton burning of houses and villages—he does not find sustained by his experience; but he testifies to the wholesale plundering done by certain portions of the German armies—the Pomeranians, Poles, Siberians, East Prussians, and Bavarians—and to their characteristically rude behavior. The following tribute, however, is of the highest kind, and seems to have been universally merited:

"The most remarkable feature of the campaign was the respect paid by the Germans to women; and this is a national virtue, and one to which in a great measure the Germanic race owes its power. Individual outrages may have been perpetrated, but not one came under my notice in the long course of my seven months' experience, neither did I hear one testified to as a positive fact. Everywhere, on the contrary, I saw women treated with true respect in a manner that astonished the French soldiers, who, on several occasions, remarked to me, 'We should have behaved rather differently if we had been in their place.'"

—The Cable brings us the news of the death of one of the last of those complete astronomers whose labors did as much as anything, perhaps, to distinguish in science the first half of this century. When Sir John Herschel held a place beside Bessel, Struve, and Argelander, it was impossible to attain eminence in this lofty science without a largeness and strength and discipline of intellect in comparison with which, it is no disparagement to say, the ability of the brilliant amateurs who have of late so much adorned astronomy is slender indeed. Sir John Herschel understood how to make chemical experimentation aid astronomy as well as our modern lights, and in his early days he discovered some important phenomena of polarization, added much to our understanding of photography, and may be said to have originated the spectrum analysis. But in those days it was necessary for an astronomer to be a mathematician and not merely a manipulator, and though he never reached any fame in that direction, yet his attainments were very considerable, and sufficed for original researches into several important questions. In the calculation of the orbits of double stars, for example (by no means so easy a problem as might be supposed), his method has quite driven out that of Encke. His popular books (written, it is true, before the art of popularizing was carried to its present extraordinary pitch), "The Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy," "The Outlines of Astronomy," and the treatises on Optics and Acoustics, exhibit him as a man of an elegant intellect, and one who is able to look at science with a philosophic eye, and to direct his scientific labors by the light of wide and large views. He was by no means without literary talent, and in his last years published a translation of the "Iliad" in hexameter verses of a peculiar kind. Upon the title-page of his books his name appears in this style: "Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., K. H.; M. A.; D. C. L.; F. R. S. L. and E.; Hon. M. R. I. A.; P. R. A. S. T. G. S.; M. C. U. P. S.; Member of the Institute of France; Correspondent and Honorary Member of the Imperial, Royal, and National Academies of Sciences of Berlin, Amsterdam, Breslau, Brussels, Copenhagen, Göttingen, Haarlem, Massachusetts (U. S.), Modena, Naples, Pesth, Petersburg, Stockholm, Turin, Vienna, and Washington (U. S.); the Italian and Helvetic Societies; the Academies, Institutes, etc., of Albany (U. S.), Bologna, Catania (Gioenian), Cherbourg, Dijon, Lausanne, Nantes, Padua, Rome (dei Lincei), Venice (Athenæum), Utrecht, and Wilna; the Philomathic Society of Paris; the Asiatic Society of Bengal; South African Literary and Philosophical Society (C. G. H.); Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; Historical Society of New York; the Batavian Society of Experimental Philosophy of Rotterdam; Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society; the Institution of Civil Engineers, and Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, London; the Leeds and Manchester Literary and Philosophical Societies; Geographical Society of Berlin; Astronomical and Meteorological Society of British Guiana," etc., etc., etc. If such a display of honors seems like vanity, it must be remembered that hardly any one was so instrumental as he in bringing the scientific men of Europe into communication with each other, and the large number of societies of which he was a member testified to the suc-

cess of his endeavors, and was therefore a thing in which he might take a rational pride. Besides, societies are sometimes offended if they are not mentioned in this way. The chief work of his life was the completion of his father's survey, with a great reflecting telescope, of the entire northern heavens, and the making of a similar survey of the southern heavens. All this he did at his own expense. He discovered about 5,000 double stars. The number of nebulæ known to us exceeds five thousand; but those for a knowledge of which we are not indebted to either Herschel cannot amount to four hundred. For a round century, Sir William and Sir John Herschel have been enriching astronomy with important theories, and the results of their untiring work of observation, which no other astronomers had the assiduity to do, and few at first had the penetration to appreciate. Their epitaphs are inscribed on the heavens, and it is not, perhaps, too much to predict that ages hence the name of Herschel will be as familiar as that of Hipparchus.

IVAN TURGENEFF.*

We take advantage of the appearance in English of one of the best of Turgeneff's novels to call more of the attention of the public to this remarkable writer. Already a translation of his "Fathers and Sons" has appeared in this city, but it was far from meeting with the success which it deserved. Whether it was that the reader was frightened by the uncouth names of the characters, or was too ignorant of the name of the author, at that time much less widely known than now, or for whatever reason, the book fell comparatively dead. Perhaps a more accurate explanation would be that the especial circumstances which produced the novel were felt much less vividly here than in Europe, and particularly than in Russia, so that the novel-reader preferred the beaten ground of the London ball-room. No such objection, however, can be made against this story. It does not require for its appreciation any knowledge of the materialistic philosophy, or of the social changes wrought by the freeing of the serfs, as did "Fathers and Sons." All it demands is a willingness to be delighted. It can be enjoyed as well in South America as on the banks of the Neva, for it is a love-story, pure and simple. If that were its only merit, it might very well be left to take its chances with the three or four hundred other novels of the year, most of which may be classed in the same category. But the interest of the story, the vivid drawing of the characters, and the poetical charm of the work, call for more serious notice.

The scene of the story is in Russia. The action is simple. We are introduced at the beginning to two young men, Shoubine, an artist, and Bercenef, a student, who are both in love with the heroine, Helena. Bercenef she prefers, his amiability and sincerity being more agreeable to her than the levity of Shoubine, which she never comprehends. Bercenef has a friend, Inçaroff, a Bulgarian, whom he introduces to Helena. They fall in love with one another. He being ardently devoted to his oppressed country, and feeling that his first duty is to that, determines to leave her while there is yet time. The way in which Helena sees and prevents this can only be told by Turgeneff. They are married, leave Russia together, and after a year he dies. Of her we only know that she gave herself wholly to the good of her husband's country. Her fate is left obscure.

An analysis of the story, of which this is the merest outline, would be unfair both to the writer and to the reader, whom we hope to send to the book itself. Turgeneff's way of telling it cannot be improved. It is a way so delicate, so poetical, and so rare, that the fascination of the reader is immediate and complete. Every character is drawn with a thousand nice touches, so that it represents to us not a type merely, but an individual, and one whom we know. In the book that we have before us, with what infinite vividness is Shoubine represented from the first chapter to the very last page! The author does not content himself with saying, like our duller workmen in fiction, that Shoubine was a merry-making, intelligent, cynical young fellow with artistic tastes, but he really does what many more people are praised for doing than have ever done it—he lets Shoubine appear to us as men do in life; we really find out for ourselves what sort of a man he is. On the other hand, he is very far from using the method, which, in their anxiety to avoid writing "horse" under their picture, too many of our clever writers have adopted: he does not dissect his horse, nor go into a chemical analysis of the component parts of what should be a living organism. His is an accurate and most sympathetic comprehension, and a most skilful representation of things as they really appear. But comprehension and representation are vague terms. In regard to Turgeneff, they mean in the first place a patient observation, with all the keenness of a humorist, but with a reserve, a coolness, that save him from the common faults of the humorist—sentimentality and exaggeration—and a power of description that is almost inscrutably life-like, so wonderful is its air of reality. Indeed, we know no author whose realism is so extraordinary, who, by so few touches, can so vividly represent whatever he wishes to say. If, for instance, we compare him with Balzac, we notice with what an apparent barrenness of means he more than accomplishes the same results. Balzac uses a ponderous machinery, describing a house, for example, from the lowest stone of the foundation to the topmost brick of the chimney; in the human face, not a line escapes his eye; but this is a microscopic accuracy, a scientific accuracy compared with that of Turgeneff, whose artistic eye judges as well as sees, who catches what to another might appear to be a useless trifle, and sets it where it has more importance than would the most thorough inventory. As in our lives the memory of a tragic event will be connected with some trifle, a flower, a stain on a carpet, a hole in an umbrella, so it is with these touches of Turgeneff, delicate and true as life. He has the same mysterious power of choice that memory has. His tales are full of incidents which, at first sight, appear to be only wilful examples of his powers of observation; later, we find that they have a bearing upon the story. For instance, there is the waiting-maid in the beer-garden in the story of Annonchka. Before the hero is in love, he happens to see the poor girl bemoaning the departure of her lover for the army; afterwards, when he is desperately enamored, and is leaving the town in search of Annonchka, he sees the maid flirting contentedly with another man. A simple enough incident, yet one that would hardly be noticed at the first reading. He is an artist in his realism.

We spoke of Shoubine above. What is true of him is true of all the other characters. We only mention him more particularly because, from the fact that he is so admirably drawn while he is not the hero of the book, we can see so well the care and power of our author. The heroine, Helena, is one of the most charming figures of fiction; in fact, Turgeneff draws his women with the same skill that he does his men. Those who are already familiar with his works need only be reminded of Helena herself, of Natalie in "Dmitri Roudine," of Annonchka in the little story of that name, and of Marie in "The Correspondence." Each leaves upon us a complete and individual impression; they are only alike in so far as they are women, and women in love.

From this same realism it naturally follows that none of Turgeneff's heroes are faultless creatures, pinks of every perfection, ideals of every virtue. They are simply human beings, with faults and foibles as well as whatever virtues there may be. Many realists see the stains upon their characters as vividly, and paint them as large as they do the virtues. With Turgeneff, however, none of the qualities are unduly magnified. He is always a narrator, never an advocate. The charming girl will fall in love with the stupid man; the intelligent or able man is too timid or too dull of perception to fall in love with the right woman. Turgeneff does not stray from the truth to bring about a happy termination. Justice is shown, too, in the construction of the story. Often this gives an unhappy ending, but this unhappy ending is an accurate one, as far removed from a wilful rending of the feelings as from the ordinary tinkle of the marriage-bells at the end of the volume, intended to suggest "happiness ever after."

Whether there is the same impartiality in his view of life that we see in the method of his stories, is another question. While with each story we might be contented to accept the sadness of its conclusion, it might still be asked whether a writer who saw life uniformly in such sombre hues were not limited in his field. There is tragedy in life, but is life all tragedy? Are the good never rewarded? Does the dullard get all the prizes? After all, optimism is much more a matter of feeling than the result of reflection; but are not the greatest poets those who have left cheery, strengthening works alongside of the deepest tragedies? And why are they the greatest, unless it be that they are the truest? Not that Turgeneff is all gloom and despair. In "On the Eve" we see the love of Helena outlasting everything, and, in spite of its unhappy termination, the reader is left at last in presence of the sublimity of a woman's love, rather than weighed down by an unnecessarily painful reminder of the truth that man is mortal. But there are others, again, which simply treat of hopeless misery. Such are "Le Juif" and "Die Unglückliche" (in the German translation).

The reasons for this pessimism are various. An intelligent observation of human life may be said to be one, however; and besides this, the political condition of Russia, and the general state of feeling that characterizes

* "On the Eve: A Tale by Ivan S. Tourguénieff. Translated from the Russian by C. E. Turner." London. 1871.

the present time, with its various remote causes. But we do not wish to-day to speak of Turgeneff's relation to the political and social matters of Russia, but simply to indicate roughly some of his more marked literary qualities.

For the benefit of any who may be desirous of reading his works, we would say that most of them may be found in French translations made by himself, or by Mérimée and others under his supervision. An excellent German translation is now being published at Mitau. The accuracy of this is guaranteed by Turgeneff. Four volumes have already appeared. A few of the shorter stories have been published in different American and English magazines, and many are to be found in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The translations are not all equally good. The story we have spoken of more particularly had better be read in the French version, which bears the title of "Éléna," and from which, as the spelling of the proper names clearly shows, that of Mr. Turner's was made, though his is far inferior. And the German translations, excepting those referred to above, abound with faults. All of the French ones, on the contrary, are accurate, except the volumes entitled "Mémoires d'un Seigneur Russe." The reader should try to get, instead of it, the "Récits d'un Chasseur," a better translation of the same book, but quite rare.

WYSE'S IMPRESSIONS OF GREECE.*

The condition of Greece is that of a clever spoiled child—full of offences against the general sense of fitness, now and then compensating for them by a vein of charming quality, by turns a nuisance and a delight. In no country in the world will one travel with such contradictory feelings, and of none will such contradictory testimony be borne by different witnesses. The revolutionary history of the Greeks was full of splendid heroism, which won from a reluctant Europe assistance and freedom; but, the phase of military action over, nothing to maintain political sympathy has followed it, and the "unnamed demigods" whose courage and persistence electrified civilization, remain in the barbarism where Navarino found them, save at the few points where commerce and its advantages have developed a trade prosperity, the most fickle and partial of all forms of national good. Indeed, so far as political organization is concerned, Greece has absolutely retrograded; for the system of local self-government which had survived the Turkish conquest (or been developed by it?) has given place to a constitution of the worst possible type, a bad adaptation of the French, centralizing, giving an almost despotic power to the King, and tending to develop place-hunting and demagogic ambitions—the worst vices of the republican state—with all the artificial stimuli and corruptions of the despotic.

So few people have lived long enough in Greece to understand the true condition of the country and the causes of its poverty and disorder, that the testimony of Sir Thomas Wyse, long a resident of Athens, familiar with the language, the country, the people, the politicians, the King, and the operation of the constitution and laws, is peculiarly valuable; the more, as few English officials care to speak well of Greece or anything in it. "Impressions of Greece" consists mainly of diaries of travel by Sir Thomas, notes of a book rather than a completed work, but full of vivacity and *vraisemblance*, which are better than polish without them, as one may see by the letters of Dean Stanley, appended in supplement to the incomplete work of Sir Thomas—carefully written, elegant models of style, but with a vague smoothness, an effacing polish, which make no favorable contrast with the vigorous diaries. An introduction by Miss Wyse gives her uncle's opinions on many matters of interest, and her own experience of residence with him in Athens. In this introduction are the most valuable items of information concerning the influence of the King and court. "It is melancholy," quoting from Sir Thomas, "to think what Greece is, and what under a tolerable government she might have been. The King came with absolute power; he had no aristocracy, no old habits, no prejudices to embarrass him. He had a most docile and a most intelligent population, and he had a treasury filled by the allies to overflowing. But he treated his population just as they had been treated by the Turks—as a mere sponge, out of which money had to be squeezed. He did nothing for them; he did not advise them or even encourage them to do anything for themselves. He treated them as an appanage to Bavaria—as a country given over to him as a younger son's portion."

In other places, Miss Wyse states, in unmistakable language, her own and that of witnesses as intelligent, the general effect of the form of government imposed on Greece by the protecting powers. "These trustees of the nation ruled at a period when Greece was yet young, . . . when everything had to be formed, and when the national character . . might have been moulded into a very different type. Instead of placing before their subjects a high standard of principle, honoring virtue and integrity and rewarding honesty, they permitted, when they did not sanction, trickery and corruption throughout the length and breadth of the land; bestowed their royal favors on fawning hypocrites, no matter how blackened their reputations, and persecuted men of probity and self-reliance if they dared to show disapproval of their arbitrary rule. Under this system everything collapsed, and, when blaming the Greek nation, the first and largest portion of that blame should assuredly fall on those who had it in their power to elevate and correct, but, on the contrary, contributed to lower and debase, this young nation entrusted to their care."

To sum up the testimony of "Impressions of Greece," abundant as it is in detail of the most satisfactory character: there is ample cause for all the disorders and poverty of Greece, the corruption of her politics, the squandering of some resources and the neglect of others, the brigandage, and all the rest, in the constant and shameless example of the King and Queen, who, new to the country, without sympathy with it or care for its prosperity except as their estate, corrupted, bought, depraved, oppressed, and perverted in a manner which makes an eminent English political economist, quoted in the book, say: "The King and Queen have had their own way; they have been able to squander or to accumulate for their own use more than a tenth of the revenue of the country; they have been able to discredit, by turns, every public man, and to reduce ministry after ministry, and chamber after chamber, into mere puppets; they have been able to ruin every one who opposed them."

Whoever would obtain a charming glimpse of the most beautiful country amongst the old lands of men, and a faithful portraiture of a people which, with great and undeniable vices, has some of the most admirable qualities which can enter into a national character, should read Sir Thomas Wyse's books of Greek travel. Democratic by instinct and tradition, with the most decided tendency to and adaptation for municipal institutions, which, indeed, in all Greek history has been a character of the nation, whether in civil or ecclesiastical matters, the Greeks have been compelled to submit to despotism after despotism (for the present King is only a weaker and more aimless despot than Otho); they have received from Europe all the ill which it was possible to impart; and, loaded down with unjustly imposed obligations, loans which were stolen before they were received, forbidden to develop even their national strength, or to apply their own resources according to their needs, they deserve, what Sir Thomas Wyse gave them, more sympathy and pity than blame for the misfortunes under which they labor still. "Impressions of Greece" will console many friends of the Greeks and correct many unreasonable antipathies.

THE EXPERIMENT AT RALAHINE.*

The raw material of the interesting experiment described in this book was the Irish field-laborer of forty years ago—the Ku-klux of that period of intense agrarian disorder. The particular force employed on the estate which was to try co-operative farming deserved no milder epithets than "ignorant, drunken, dissolute, and criminal." They were probably accessory to the murder of their steward, whose plantation manners had made him obnoxious to the whole neighborhood. They shared the savage life of the peasantry of the south of Ireland—"without any employment at all for months in winter; whose average earnings throughout the year will not amount to sixpence per day, and this for the support not of the individual only, but of a large family—his wife and children no other employment than attending to a little plot of potato-ground and begging—their only food a scanty supply of potatoes, and those frequently of bad quality—the whole family covered with filth and clothed with rags—all herding and sleeping in the same apartment (upon a bit of dirty straw) with pigs, ducks, poultry, dogs, goats, cows, and asses, on an earth floor, covered with mire and manure of every description—the apartment a miserable mud cabin, roofed with thatch or sods, often without window or chimney, and nine times out of ten with a dung-heap before the door—no bed, no furniture, scarcely any utensil save a cast-iron pot, in which the potatoes are boiled for the family dinner, and in which afterwards the surplus and refuse are served up to the grunters."

This picture is indispensable to an appreciation of the change wrought

* "Impressions of Greece. By the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Wyse, K.C.B., late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Athens, etc." London: Hurst & Blackett.

* "Co-operative Agriculture: A Solution of the Land Question, as exemplified in the History of the Ralahine Co-operative Agriculture Association, County Clare, Ireland. By William Pare, F.S.S." London: Longmans. New York: Robert Turner. 1870.

at Ralahine in the course of two years, under the initiative of the proprietor, Mr. John Scott Vandeleur, a friend and disciple of Robert Owen. The constitution of the "New System," as it came to be called, was put in operation November, 1831, with the assent of fifty-two laborers of all ages and conditions of strength and health, who thus found themselves an "agricultural and manufacturing co-operative association," renting a place of 618 acres, in sole charge of the cultivation of it, and paying rent and interest in produce of a fixed amount and at fixed values. The members hoped to gain from this arrangement a common capital; mutual assurance against poverty, sickness, and indigent old age; a greater proportion of the comforts of life than was then possible to persons in their condition; mental and moral improvement; and the education of their children. Mr. Vandeleur, on his part, sought to obtain higher rent for his land; better interest on his capital; the punctual payment of both; security for the advances he made upon the labor of the people; and the safety of the property entrusted to them. Both parties to the contract—so wise and explicit were its provisions, and so faithfully were they executed—had their wishes gratified.

In place of the steward, a committee chosen semi-annually by the members directed affairs, deciding what crops should be raised, and apportioning the work from day to day. Every farm-hand was obliged to learn some mechanic handicraft, and every artisan to learn farming, so that the whole force could, in case of need, be turned upon one thing. The married laborers had stone cottages built for them, two stories high; the single hands lived in dormitories provided for each sex. The cooking and washing for the association were done away from the dwellings, and the meals were served either at a common table or in the family cottages, where independent cooking was discouraged. All the advantages of a community were thus enjoyed at the least expense, the women particularly being the gainers, inasmuch as the infants and young children were kept all day, and finally all the time, by a teacher whose business was to amuse and instruct them, thus relieving the workers of all anxiety while engaged at their tasks. The older children were also educated, besides being taught a trade. There were evening lectures and classes for the adults, and frequent social gatherings for dancing and other enjoyment. The pay for work was in paper notes, receivable at the store of the association, but of no use off the place; and as no tobacco or liquor was sold there, the habit of using them was almost entirely abandoned. Though there was no ownership of the land or the buildings or tools (until they should purchase the latter, as they would certainly in time have done), the greatest care was manifested that nothing should be wantonly injured nor necessary repairs be neglected. No new members were taken in except by ballot, while the idle or vicious, or those who by marrying would have brought in undesirable persons, were given leave to withdraw. This last-mentioned mode of self-defence, as it tended to restrain members from making imprudent matches, did something to check the increase of population, and to overcome the natural recklessness of the poor in this respect. While the experiment lasted, sickness was unknown—proper accommodations and a mixed and well-cooked diet being allied with moral causes in producing an improved hygiene. There was all the elevation of spirits that came of self-government, each man and woman having a vote and being eligible to office, and all being free to write down in a "suggestion-book," which was read aloud at the weekly meeting, whatever hint or comment seemed to be for the general good. The priests were delighted with their transformed parishioners, the politicians made nowhere so little impression as at Ralahine. Even the country round about stopped its murdering and arson, in the faith that other landlords would adopt the "New System."

Preparations were making for turning to account the water-power at Ralahine by introducing machinery on a large scale—contrary to the not very old prejudices of the members themselves—when the philanthropist who had derived as much pleasure as profit from the workings of his little colony, suddenly fled the country, and left behind him a gambler's reputation and fortune. In the settlement of his affairs no regard was paid to the moral claims of the association—unfortunately it had no legal status; the lands passed into the hands of the sheriff, and, to make a long story short, a year ago the old outrages were rife on the property held by the Vandeleur family. To this disastrous termination the word failure is not strictly applicable. The experiment had been proved sound at every point, and no one can read Mr. Pare's narrative without the keenest pity for those poor people who were thrust back into filth, poverty, and crime, when they and their descendants and their like should now be making Ireland the home of the happiest peasantry in the world.

The history of Ralahine, and of the numerous other schemes of associated farming described in the appendix—some of which are still in successful operation—is not so much a lesson on the value of co-operation as applied to agriculture, as on the simple methods that lie ready to hand of arriving at a good understanding with our fellow-men, of establishing pleasant and equitable relations between the workingman and the capitalist, and of enlarging for the former his sphere of happiness and of usefulness, by freeing him from anxiety, building up his self-respect, and stimulating his honorable ambition. This little volume, therefore, deserves to be recommended to all employers, in whatever branch of industry, and to all social reformers, of whatever stripe. Political economists must needs look into it.

Geological Survey of California: J. D. Whitney, State Geologist. Ornithology. Volume I. *Land Birds.* Edited by S. F. Baird, from the manuscript and notes of J. G. Cooper. (1870. Roy. 8vo, pp. xi., 592. Uncolored edition, $10; colored, $20.)—The publications of the State Geological Surveys do not, in general, fall within the province of the *Nation.* We leave to other hands the task of turning them over, and commending or condemning. Accordingly, while conscious of only friendly feelings toward the California Survey, we never even noticed the appearance of its two stout volumes of Palæontology. These were, to be sure, profusely illustrated, and in the highest style of art; but our particular public we know to be somewhat unimpressible by the beauties of an extinct and embalmed nature of a few million years ago, however skilfully limned, and however full of interesting suggestiveness to the trained scientific eye. The volume of Geology also passed unheeded by us, although its pages were adorned with many a view for lovers of the picturesque to admire; although much of the Yosemite Valley and some of the grand peaks of the high Sierra Nevada were depicted there. But when the best of these views were collected and published separately in a guide-book to the valley, accompanied with a text which not only described the valley itself and its vicinity, and the ways of getting to and from it, but also gave an accurate and attractive sketch of the physical geography of the region, in which this is only the grandest and most beautiful of many grand and beautiful features, while to it were added two of the best topographical maps that have ever been produced in America—then, as in duty bound, we gave the work a few words of welcome and praise.

And now comes forth another volume, which we may not leave unmentioned. The Survey has in preparation what is likely to prove the handsomest and most trustworthy account of American birds; and the first part of it, one volume out of three, has just left the press. This treats of the land-birds of the Pacific Slope of the continent found to occur in United States territory (excluding our last purchase, Alaska); the few species which have not yet been met with inside the California boundary being, for the sake of completeness, taken with the others. The second volume, already under way, is to contain the water-birds. So much of the work belongs to the Survey; but then, that the great cost and labor expended may not fail of its due result in wide use and usefulness, there is to be added by private enterprise a third volume, in the same style, treating of all the United States species which have not already found a place in the other two; and the three together will make up a complete illustrated manual of our ornithology. The work is edited, and in great part composed, by Professor Baird of the Smithsonian Institution, the best living authority on its subject; being, in its first part, founded especially upon material furnished by the well-known zoölogist, Dr. Cooper, a member of the Survey; for the third volume, the assistance of Dr. Brewer, of Boston, is also secured.

As was to be expected in an ornithological work brought out under such auspices, the scientific part—the classification, the nomenclature and synonymy, the description of generic and specific characters—is worked out with great care. The illustrations, too, are primarily rather scientific than pictorial. Under every genus is given a whole-length figure, smaller than life, of some typical species belonging to it. There is added a full-sized outline depiction of the parts specially characteristic by their form, as the ends of the wings and tail, the tarsus and foot, the bill in its various aspects—cunningly grouped together, so as to occupy the smallest possible space. These characteristic parts, or some of them, are also often given for individual species, wherever they seem called for. Then, for every species, a very careful picture of the head and neck is presented, of life size, and frequently for each sex; and these heads, in the more costly edition, are colored by hand in exact imitation of nature. Some of them, of course, are very brilliant, and all are exceedingly lifelike and characteristic, and, as helps to identification and study, altogether to be preferred

to the entire figures, carelessly drawn on stone and coarsely tinted, which are often found in illustrated manuals of ornithology. All the illustrations are engraved on wood and electrotyped, and they are introduced into the descriptive text itself, and printed along with it. This is the newest and most striking feature of the work, this putting of brightly colored figures upon the same page with the letterpress.

A Latin Primer. By Professor W. F. Allen. (Boston: Ginn Brothers & Co. 1870.) *Latin Composition.* By W. F. Allen. (Boston: Ginn Brothers & Co. 1870.)—This primer reminds us of the Dutch preacher who opened his discourse with "Let us say a few words before we begin." It is intended for children too young to attack the solid columns of the Latin inflections, but who can make predatory incursions into the enemy's country with profit. And we are inclined to believe that the old-fashioned method of beginning is altogether the best for those who are in a position to adopt it. It is astonishing how much of a scholar's attainments depend upon those bits of information which are picked up before he really commences the serious study of a subject. For boys who do not begin the study of Latin until they are fourteen this book would, of course, be a waste of time; but if a boy can have got the cream of the Latin grammar and a little vocabulary of Latin words before he begins to study the language at all in our ordinary sense, it is easy to see that he has a very fine start. To accomplish that object this book seems excellently well fitted. It gives by easy stages the inflections of the nouns and verbs and most of the common rules of syntax—enough, in fact, to enable one to read any Latin with profit. These bits of grammar are interspersed among the successive chapters of the "Historica Sacra," a Latin composition, hardly known to the children of this generation, but which used to be in the regular curriculum of all beginners. It is not very good Latin certainly, but it seems to be the only thing that is simple enough for the purpose. Then follow some dialogues of Corderius and Erasmus, the latter witty and captivating as usual, and some translations into Latin by modern scholars, one, "The Golden Egg," by the author himself, quite well done. Two or three extracts from Livy, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny the Younger, complete the work. It will be seen that the author is more concerned that the pupil should come to *realize* the Latin as a "living, flexible tongue" than that he should know that "the following have *ĕ* in the ablative." Though no scholarship is possible without the latter, yet of the two we think the pupil's mind in general is more benefited by the former. Though the matter is not specially suggested by Mr. Allen, it seems to us that this method tends to give a solution to some of the difficulties of female education. Though the regular course pursued by boys seems at present to be impossible for girls, there is no reason why every girl in the country who has any education at all should not learn to read Latin with ease by such methods as this, and so either prepare herself for real scholarship afterwards, or, at least, enlarge the scope of her mind by having within her range ten centuries more of literature and a distinct civilization which is largely the foundation of our own.

Somewhat more advanced, though adapted to a preparatory course, is Allen's "Latin Composition." The parts of the Allen series which this book completes are of various degrees of merit, but this is the best of them, and may be praised as absolutely good. Even if it were not so good as it is, it would be a relief after the dreariness of Arnold's "Latin Prose," with its "Balbus" and "stat per me quominus." It is short, too—another thing we ought to be thankful for—and yet it seems to give sufficient practice on all the ordinary constructions of Latin prose. The sentences, as well as the continuous exercises, are from classic authors, and are neatly translated with a sufficiently English flavor to lead to facility in the translation of modern prose. Take such exercises as "His soul, indeed, I persuade myself, has returned into heaven, from which it was; not because he led great armies, for these the mad Cambyses also had, but on account of his excellent moderation and piety, more admirable in him when he left his country than when he defended it," and so on for half a page; or, "Well, Tranio! what's going on? The country people are coming from the country. P. will be here at once. By Pollux, he comes in good time for me. I am of opinion that this neighbor of ours is a bold and bad man," etc. A boy who has had practice in such passages as these will find no difficulty in rendering any ordinary style into Latin as soon as he can increase his vocabulary sufficiently beyond the twelve hundred words given in this book. In particular, the treatment of the English potential mood and its accompanying auxiliaries is worthy of all commendation, and it is to be noticed that this is the only book in the world, to our knowledge, from which a correct idea of the Latin Protasis and Apodosis can be obtained. The temporal particles still lie buried in a German pamphlet, and it will probably be some years before they emerge into an English text-book. Meanwhile, however, the treatment of them in this book is neatly done, and is as good as can be expected. We cannot leave the work without calling attention to the especial excellence of the mechanical part of this as well as of all the Allen series. The printing is perfection. They are as refreshing to the eye as a grassy knoll in the middle distance, and we should not be sorry if they had a success even beyond their merits in other respects if it would serve as an encouragement to other publishers to imitate their external appearance.

History from Marble. Compiled in the reign of Charles II. by Thomas Dingley, gent. Printed in photo-lithography, by Vincent Brooks, from the original in the possession of Sir Thomas E. Winnington, Bart. With an Introduction and Descriptive Table of Contents, by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A. (Printed for the Camden Society. 2 vols., pp. 196, and ccccexvii.)—The name of the Camden Society is familiar to many of our readers as that of one of the great book clubs of England, whose publications have been as interesting to antiquaries here as to any of her Majesty's subjects. Founded in 1838, and named in honor of Camden, the author of "Britannia," it has had but one rival, the Surtees Society, until within the past few years. Out of the long list of its volumes (the 103d having been issued last autumn), it is hard to select any one for especial notice. The student of English history knows the value of all, and that much-abused personage, the general reader, must cull for himself. The two volumes above cited are deserving of attention, for an especial reason. The history itself consists of a series of pen-and-ink sketches, made by Thomas Dingley, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and now reproduced by photo-lithography in these 517 pages. It is a noteworthy use of this new process of printing, since at a moderate cost we are presented with fac-similes of the results of the prolonged labors of a skilful draughtsman, while the cost of any other mode of reproduction would have prohibited its use. These note-books are the production of a zealous antiquary, who jotted down epitaphs and pedigrees, copied monuments and made sketches of buildings and their contents, and in many cases thus preserved facts of considerable importance not now otherwise recoverable. It is impossible to explain without illustrations the character of this book; but it impresses the reader with the strongest idea of the compiler's industry, skill, and zeal. Page after page is filled with elaborate drawings of tombs in churches, of carved windows and shrines, of sculptured coats-of-arms, or copies of long and interesting inscriptions.

Little has yet been discovered by Mr. Nichols, the learned and careful editor of the volumes, as to the history of the author. It seems clear that he belonged to a family resident at Southampton, that he was admitted at Gray's Inn in 1670, that he lived at Dilwyn, in Herefordshire, and that he died unmarried in 1695. He was a great traveller, and in fact died at Louvain, while on a tour in Flanders. Besides this "History from Marble," five other manuscript volumes, recording his travels and the sights he noted, are known. They relate to the Low Countries, France, Ireland, and Wales, and are all enriched with drawings. Such a resuscitation of a forgotten worthy is interesting, and it may stand for a proof that solid well-applied labor is never lost—is even, perhaps, as certain of eventual recognition as noisy mediocrity seems to be in the present.

The Primary Synopsis of Universology and Alwato. By Stephen Pearl Andrews. (New York: Dion Thomas. 1871.)—This book is a brief compendium of "The Basic Outline of Universology." Universology is "the Science of the Universe itself, as the One, Grand, All-Inclusive Domain." Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews is the inventor of the science of Universology. "Alwato" is another of his inventions; it is the new scientific universal language. When we read—and the reader will please notice that what follows is not Mr. Andrews's Alwato but his English—that "This new Stage of Science is technically the Descending Wing of the Duismal Stage of the Scientific Mental Evolution lapping over the Trinismal or Integral Method and governing it, as Induction arose, at the other extreme, out of the Unismal Stage;" or that "the Non-Metals, Aerial, *Upward and-front-wise tending*, or as it were, visibly presentative, are *generically* Electro-Negative, or allied with the Lightning, the Grand Type, and, as it were, Fountain, of Electricity in the Cosmos, and with *its* Aerial Position overhead or above; and Electro-Negative *because they are so allied*, since things are not attracted to the Pole of Being which is identical with their own nature; they, therefore, being of the nature of the Lightning and of the Light (or

Front-Presence) are attracted to the Metals, which are of the nature of the Earth *beneath*, and of Obscurity, or of that region of the Edifice (or of the Human Body, to which the Edifice is an Adjustment) which is pointed *downward* and *behind*"—on reading such sentences, we say, we should be laying claim to steadier brains than we possess if we did not cheerfully resign this book to the admiration of Mr. Andrews and his disciples. All the more should we be content to give it over on being told that it "declines the jurisdiction of the technically so-called learned or scientific world as a special body of judges, and comes for understanding and appreciation to the general mind of humanity, learned and unlearned alike, according to inherent capacity;" but we cannot overlook in the preface a card in which, among others, Mr. Parke Godwin, President Barnard of Columbia College, Professor Youmans, Ex-Mayor Opdyke, and Judge Daly state that, "having listened to Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews's preliminary statement of his 'Universology,' and been impressed with the importance and originality of the new scientific claim, as well as with the profound research implied in it, [they] do cordially concur in urging the publication of the work at the earliest possible date." Names of such weight demand that we should divest ourselves of all flippant prejudices and give the book a careful examination.

We readily agree with President Barnard and Professor Youmans that the book is original; but is it important? is the research profound? This book concerns itself with the "Scientology of Language." Mr. Andrews affirms that "Every Alphabetic Sound of the Human Voice is inherently laden by nature herself with its specific significance or meaning; that the Aggregate of these meanings is, at the same time, the Aggregate of the Fundamental Entities and Principles of the Universe of Matter and Mind; and that, hence, a Language rightly built up from the combinations of these sounds must exactly echo to and represent, from the broadest Generalizations to the minutest details, the Total Universe of Matter and Mind, itself built up in parallel development from the Echoing or Corresponding Entities or Principles." Let us examine some of the inherent meanings of the alphabetic sounds.

A (ah) represents Thickth; Up-and-down-ness, etc. U, back, *shade*, retiracy, obscurity (as of the posterior and inferior portions of the body); occultness, turbidity, dubiosity, etc., etc., etc. COLLOID. W, cardinated sequentiality (waddling, wagging, waggling, walking). "—n (The nasalization, or nasal twang), incomprehensibility, mystery, the ineffable; *je ne sais quoi*. R expresses, break, roughness, turn, beat, and grab; L, not-broken-ness, not-rough-ness, not-roundness, not-grabbed—for example, *l*iquid, *l*iquor (what is *let* to flow), *l*iber, a book, the *l*eaves of which fall asunder or are free." Can Mr. Andrews put his hand on his heart and say that the *l* in *l*obster or *l*ion owes its presence to the fact that we do not grab them? And do Messrs. Godwin, Youmans, and Barnard seriously mean to say that they find here a scientific claim of vast importance? Is there profound research in the derivation of *substance* from *sub-stans*? or of *forma* (which the author accordingly writes *ferrima*) from *ferre*? Do those gentlemen really believe that there was a great necessity for the publication at the earliest possible date of such compounds as "Paus" (p. 130), which means "single or simple abstractoid linear-PARTINGS-*and*-point-like-UNITINGS; single HINGINGS viewed from the Flanges to the Rivet-and-joint; or single Triangulations viewed from the Legs to the Apexes (or Apices) of the Angles; converging or diminishing *conicities;* comings or bringings to a *Point*, whence POSITINGS, pointings"? Or "Aups" means "single or simple *abstractoid* linear-*counter*-PARTINGS-and-point-like-UNITINGS," etc., etc., etc., for eight lines, at the end of which we are bidden to compare the English *open* and the Greek ὄps, the eye.

We can leave it to the *Saturday Review's* accurate and penetrating reviewer of American books to be "so satirical" over this representative work of American philology. The extracts we have given above are very good specimens of the "importance, originality, and profound research" which characterize it. It has for a long time been easy enough to get meaningless praise of a book after its publication, but it is a novel as well as a sad sight when such men as those who signed the card from which we have quoted endorse and approve this unmitigated nonsense before it has seen the light, and thus help delude the ignorant into the belief that here is the solution of the universe, the great science of the future. It is high time we had a single word by which to express that culpable amiability by which alone we can account for their action. We bespeak for it the early attention of the inventor of "Alwato."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1871.

The Week.

THE treaty will probably have been ratified by the time this reaches the majority of our readers. The expressions of opinion on the part of the country at large have been almost unanimous in its favor, and although it falls far short, as we predicted it would, of meeting the extreme views which prevailed at and during the war, it meets fully the demands of the sober judgment of the best portion of the American people. Let us add that Caleb Cushing, who has written a letter on the subject, has not overrated its importance when he pronounces it not only unprecedented in character, but its conclusion the opening of a new era in international relations. It is the greatest gain for civilization which our age has witnessed, the most solid victory which the great cause of Peace has ever won. Of all the splendid contributions made by the Anglo-Saxon race towards the art of government; of all the things it has done to "make reason and the kingdom of God prevail," we do not know one—extravagant as it may sound—which will, as it seems to us, hereafter take a higher rank. Since this great contention has been settled round a table by a party of jurists, it is hard to see in what way a true *casus belli* can ever again arise between the only two nations which have thus far succeeded in saving liberty without imperilling order.

The correspondents of the New York *Tribune* and of the Cincinnati *Commercial* are still undergoing a sort of farcical confinement in a committee-room of the Capitol, surrounded in the daytime with their wives and children, and served with all the delicacies of the season, for refusing to tell where they got the copy of the treaty. To produce this ridiculous result, the Senate expended a week of an extra session called to consider perhaps one of the most important treaties ever laid before a deliberative body, and is now placed in the supremely humiliating position of having exhausted its powers without accomplishing its object. The correspondents will, of course, soon have to be released, and will then join the rest of the country in the laugh at their judges which is now going on. The *Capital*, whose editors have had considerable experience, however, in this business of Washington correspondence, says one very wise, and sound, and respectable thing about the whole matter, and that is, that real "professional honor" ought to prevent correspondents accepting information from any source which they are ashamed to reveal; that the disgrace lies in this case not in telling where they got the treaty, but in taking it from a man who dares not own that he gave it. As long as newspaper men place themselves in such positions, they must expect to have the term "gentlemen of the press" used with a smile, as a kind of nickname.

The folly and inefficiency of this proceeding is not unlikely to hasten the return of sounder views on this whole matter of legislative inquisitions. During the excitement of the war, and under the influence of the passions which grew out of the war, and under the instigation of sages like Thaddeus Stevens and B. F. Butler, Congress fell into the habit of "investigating" on the most frivolous pretexts, and examining people on all sorts of subjects with which the legislature had nothing to do, and which in no way concerned public business. The climax of this absurdity was reached when the House appointed a committee to find out what Judge Field of the Supreme Court said at Jerry Black's dinner-party, a mystery which, however, never was solved; and the whole business of investigating was made odious and contemptible when Butler was authorized by the House to collect a barrelful of private telegrams, and overhaul them, for the purpose of discovering whether Republican senators of the highest standing had not taken bribes in a judicial proceeding. Let us hope that we are now going to witness a return to saner and more constitutional ways. Public opinion will be strengthened in insisting that these extravagances shall come to an end by a decision which has just been rendered by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, discharging from custody a person imprisoned by order of the State Senate for refusing to answer questions which would criminate him. Judge Wells, who pronounced the judgment, held—and we presume this is as good law in Washington as in Boston—that the legislatures cannot deprive men of their rights under the Constitution; and that attacks on personal liberty which these bodies cannot make by enactment, they can still less make by mere order, for the purposes of "investigations," whether frivolous or serious.

Mr. Vallandigham has made his appearance in public once more at a Democratic convention in Montgomery Co., Ohio; and produced and got adopted a platform, which most people will read with considerable surprise, and which, if it should secure acceptance at the hands of the party at large, will be entitled to the rank of a political event of the first importance. If, too, the Democrats should put on it, at the next Presidential election, a candidate of high standing and character, of good Union antecedents during the war, the consequences would most likely be such as Messrs. Cameron, Forney, and the like would at first contemplate with horror, and then adapt themselves to with commendable alacrity. The great difficulty in the Democratic path is, however, well expressed in the popular proverb, "Fine words butter no parsnips." People somehow do not believe in Democratic promises, no matter how glowing they are. The difficulty, in short, is one of character. The new platform, which is to be called "the Dayton platform," declares bygones to be bygones; accepts the three last amendments to the Constitution; proclaims the equality of all the States, and denies the right of any State or States to deprive others of representation in Congress; protests against centralization; declares that all legislation outside the Constitution is essentially temporary in its nature and liable to revision; calls for a universal amnesty; for the early payment of the public debt; for a reduction in the number of tax-gatherers; for equality, uniformity, and justice in taxation; for a reform of the civil service; for a revenue tariff simply; for the basing of taxation on wealth, and not on population; and for a speedy return to specie currency, as the only sound one; expresses sympathy with capitalists, and also with laborers; opposes further grants of public lands to railroads; denounces the San Domingo scheme, the "Bayonet Bill," and "the Ku-klux Bill," and, finally, "the Radical party of 1871," which it says is "neither the Republican party of the period previous to the war nor the so-called Union party during the war." It is right to add, however, that the platform does not as yet find favor even with the Democratic press of Ohio.

An attempt, which, under the circumstances, cannot be called creditable, to say the least, has been made during the past week by telegraphing to newspapers, and other means of a similar character, to spread abroad the belief that Judge Smith's decision at Rochester in the Erie and Susquehanna litigation, on which General Barlow based a considerable portion of his charges as to the manner in which that litigation had been conducted by the counsel for the Erie road, had been reversed by the General Term on appeal, and the performances of the Fisk party thus relieved from the imputations which the Judge fastened on them. This is wholly untrue. The judgment has been affirmed on every point which has the smallest bearing on the manner in which the now famous election at Albany was conducted, and in which the accompanying litigation was carried on. The suit before Judge Smith was in the nature of a *quo warranto*, and was brought by the Attorney-General merely to try the question whether the Fisk directors or the Ramsey directors were lawfully elected, and which were entitled to the possession of the road. The General Term has affirmed so much of the judgment as declares "void the election of the Fisk board, and valid that of the Ramsey board," and orders that the Ramsey board "be let into possession of the property and

franchises of the Company," thus endorsing by implication Judge Smith's opinion of the manner in which the Fisk party carried on the election. There is not one word of dissent in the judgment of the General Term from his conclusions on these points.

The points on which the judgment of the court below are reversed are simply points of law, and have nothing to do with the conduct of the Fisk party. The Attorney-General asked that the defendants be restrained from the prosecution of further suits brought in relation to the matter in controversy, and Judge Smith did so restrain them. The General Term holds that the Attorney-General has no title to interfere in such a matter, and that no such injunction can be granted *on his application* in such a suit, on the ground that it would be "a dangerous precedent to allow the Attorney-General or any other officer of the Government to intermeddle in litigations between individuals." The other point on which the judgment of the court below is reversed is where it grants the costs of the action to those of the defendants who have been declared duly elected, against those of them whose election has been declared void; but this is merely a point of practice. Finally, let us add, the General Term does not, as some papers have disingenuously tried to persuade the public, relieve the Fisk counsel from the imputations cast on them by Judge Smith with reference to these proceedings. It is true that Judge Mullen tries to make things pleasant at the close of his opinion, but what he says is that he has seen nothing "unbecoming" in the conduct of the counsel in "these proceedings and the action," meaning, of course, the suit in which he was giving judgment. But nobody ever said that there had in *this* suit been anything improper. It was in the previous litigation which led to the action brought by the Attorney-General that counsel were, to use the boys' phrase, charged with "cutting up," and that charge has not been met or refuted before any tribunal or anything resembling a tribunal.

The Woman's Rights camp has again been the scene of frightful commotions, brought about partly, we believe, by the adherence of the two (or three?) rival organizations to the fond and foolish custom of holding their "anniversaries" in the same month and in the same city, and partly by a police case, in which Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull's domestic relations were brought into light, and which, as Satan would have it, came on just about the time of the annual meetings. The evidence revealed the fact that Mrs. Woodhull has been divorced from her first husband and is living with the second, from whom she has also been once divorced, but to whom she has been remarried, and all three reside in the same house. The first husband, it appears, is an incapable sort of person, living on the bounty of Mrs. Woodhull and of the second; and the latter is at sword's-point with his mother-in-law, who swears he threatened her life, while *he* swears he only threatened to "spank" her. He now goes by the name of Blood, and was an advertising doctor, and practised, it seems, under divers aliases, but at present fills the position of "Co." in the firm of Woodhull, Claflin & Co., engaged in the publication of a weekly paper, and, its enemies declare, the more profitable business of blackmailing. If anybody says, on reading the above, that this is very disgusting stuff to introduce into the *Nation*, we can assure him we entirely agree with him. It *is* disgusting; but we are not to blame. We have been pointing out for two years what this Woman's Rights movement, as it has been conducted, was tending to; and now that we almost have our hand on the proofs of the soundness of our previsions, we are not going to be driven off by foul sights or foul smells.

Harper's Weekly calmly informed us, two weeks ago, when, discussing "sex in politics," we ventured to assert that if women entered the political arena the probabilities were that the female politicians would, in their moral qualities, after a while closely resemble the male politicians—that is, that politics would speedily become a refuge or career for female adventurers of bad reputation, and thus make public life a foul sink of impurity, and paralyze reform, it might be, for a century—that the probabilities were all the other way, and bade us look at the influence of women in literature and in the drawing-room; as if literature and drawing-rooms were places in which the sexual passion could be brought into play to help in the winning of an exciting game, in which the stakes were high; as if Morrissey and Tweed gave any trouble in literature or drawing-rooms, or in any manner troubled the waters of social life. We now ask *Harper's Weekly* to consider attentively the Woodhull case. Mrs. Woodhull has in one short year risen to the head of the strongest and most popular section of the woman's suffrage party. She owns and edits by far the most widely-circulated organ of the movement. She lives the life of a "free lover," and announces openly that she holds the free-love theory in its entirety, and has a reputation damaged in every direction. Nevertheless, she is accepted as a leader with enthusiasm, not by the denizens of the slums and groggeries, but by a considerable number of excellent women; they refuse to pay any attention to her character, and declare they care not what she is, or what she was, so long as "she can speak the word for the hour"—to use the latest bit of platform jargon—and sit at her feet, and listen to her expositions of constitutional law with profound faith and reverence, and maintain that one has only "to look into her blue eye" to know she must be good, no matter what is said about her. It must be remembered, too, that as yet the women are only playing at politics; that there is as yet nothing but notoriety to be gained by their agitation; and that the constituency to which Mrs. Woodhull appeals is a picked body of persons of strong moral or religious feelings. We think any fair-minded persons may readily picture what would happen, when the struggle began in dead earnest, with subsidies, charters, and "treats" of all kinds for prizes, and with the common run of voters for constituents What is most strikingly revealed in the Woodhull case, too, is the readiness, and even eagerness, with which the female agitators have adopted the male politicians' indifference to character, as long as the champion is "sound," and can "speak the word for the hour."

The Republican State Convention of Kentucky met at Frankfort last week, with the not inconsiderable advantage of having been preceded by the Democratic Convention on the 3d instant. That body had proved a disappointment to the more sagacious if not more liberal Democrats represented by the Louisville *Courier-Journal;* for it not only endorsed the still-born Congressional Democratic address, but nominated men who are mainly identified with the bigoted policy which distinguishes Kentucky above any other of the former slave States. However, it is conceded that the nominations are not all bad; and that the Republicans may as well give up the idea of defeating Mr. J. G. Carlisle for Lieutenant-Governor, or Mr. D. H. Smith for Auditor. If they elect their own nominees for Attorney-General and Register of the Land Office, as they hope to do, they will be more successful than could be expected from the strength of the party, as shown in the elections of the past three years. The two platforms agree in demanding complete amnesty; but, whereas the Democratic resolutions glibly denounce lawlessness, whether in the form of "unconstitutional enactments or of organized bands," the Republicans reproach their opponents for not passing laws to suppress the Ku-klux, for not making adequate provision for popular education, and for rejecting negro testimony in the courts. This last injustice seems in a fair way of being removed, since Judge Cofer, of the Seventh Judicial District, has instructed the Grand Jury to admit colored witnesses. The Judge was an officer in the Confederate army, but he argues soundly for the supremacy of the United States Constitution and laws.

The extremely quiet condition of trade throughout the country furnishes but little employment for money, so that greenbacks and national bank-notes accumulate in increasing quantities, and the rate of interest has fallen to a lower point than ever before known in the history of the country. Loans on call are reported to have been made as low as *two* per cent. per annum, and prime commercial bills have been discounted at four and four and one-half per cent. National bank-notes have sold at a quarter to three-eighths per cent. discount, and the question of a system of practical redemption of these notes is again under discussion among bankers and others, to whom this discount is an annoying and unwarrantable loss. Under the influ-

ence of the great ease in money, prime railroad bonds continue to advance, Government bonds remain firm, and the speculation in the stock market generally in favor of higher prices, but there is very little business of any kind. The funding drags, and Europe apparently declines to participate in it. But large amounts of railroad bonds and stocks and other securities continue to be sent there, although probably only a small portion of these have been actually sold, the remainder being used as security for money loans. In spite of these loans and sales, the condition of the foreign exchanges does not improve, and the specie shipments continue on a liberal scale. Of the crops, especially cotton, the later accounts have been rather less favorable, and prices have again advanced a trifle. Breadstuffs are also firmer, but the merchandise markets are otherwise but slightly changed. Real estate has been more active. Coal, since resumption has commenced, is steadily declining.

The Döllinger revolt seems to bid fair to be really the most serious ecclesiastical event of the century, the support which the learned doctor is receiving being far greater and bolder than anybody a year ago would have ventured to predict. His brother professors at the university at Munich, which perhaps has no rival or equal as a seat of Catholic theological learning, have given in their adhesion to him to the number of forty-three, and their example is being very extensively followed by the country clergy. The King of Bavaria, too, stands firmly by him, and, finally, the professors of the Roman University at Rome have declared for him. Indeed, there is now hardly a Catholic theologian of real eminence outside the "Latin countries" who does not support him. The University of Marburg has conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Finally, the German bishops have become sufficiently alarmed to resolve on holding a meeting at Eichstadt, to consider the best means of preventing a schism.

The levelling of the Vendôme Column, on Tuesday, May 16, was the last great achievement of the Paris Commune, which has since been gradually tottering towards its own fall. Minor acts of vandalism and revolutionary terrorism, it is true, were still frequent after that date; churches were demolished or plundered of their treasures; Sisters of Mercy were turned out of their convent; "conspirators" were arrested, and "spies" were shot; a Court of Impeachment was opened to select hostages upon whom to execute bloody retaliation; clubs of women were organized to stop runaway patriots; the leading committees were purged of vacillating members; civil commissioners were placed at the side of the military chiefs, in order to frustrate all attempts at dictatorial usurpation; the last of the moderate journals were suppressed, and refractory editors menaced with death; and many other measures of a similar character threatened or proposed—but all real nerve for action seems to have vanished with the capture by the Versailles forces of Forts Issy and Vanves. Commune, Central Committee, and Committee of Public Safety wrangling with each other; battalions of National Guards refusing to march; Cluseret, Rossel, Delescluze, Brunel, removed from their brilliant spheres of activity; Pyat absorbed in elaborating laws against bachelors and the confessional; Rochefort meditating schemes of escape; suspicion everywhere within the walls; constant lying resorted to as a last means of encouragement—such was the aspect of affairs in the domain of Paschal Grousset's Republic when "the Prussians of Versailles" determined to make the final attack.

The last attempts of the Commune at resuming the offensive outside of the walls were made on the 16th and 17th, by Dombrowski's command, at Neuilly, and ended in failures. Batteries at Montmartre vainly bombarded at the same time the position of the Versailles troops at Château Becon. On the evening of the 17th, a powder-magazine exploded with terrible effect inside of the western *enceinte*, spreading havoc and consternation all around. Further south, fierce cannonading was kept up by the besiegers against the gates of Auteuil and St. Cloud, and from their new positions at Issy against Point du Jour and Grenelle. On Thursday, the 18th, two insurgent positions near Fort Montrouge were carried at the point of the bayonet, but subsequently abandoned. Some desultory fighting, with varying success, also took place on the two following days. The battering fire was renewed with the utmost vigor on the night of Saturday, the 20th, and continued until immense breaches were effected in the ramparts, which the defenders on Sunday gradually began to abandon, re-entering the city in the greatest disorder. In the afternoon the Government troops finally entered the capital; General Douai marching in from the southwest, by the battered-down St. Cloud Gate, at Point du Jour, and General Cissey from the south, by the Gate of Montrouge; the latter having shortly before occupied the positions at Petit Vanves and Malakoff, and Fort Montrouge, without a struggle. On the two extremes of the field alone, in front of Batignolles on the northwest, and between Gentilly and Ivry on the southeast, Generals Dombrowski and Wroblewski endeavored for a time to continue the contest outside of the *enceinte*.

On Monday morning, Dombrowski still made two assaults on the left wing of the Versailles forces, but his ranks were broken, and he himself wounded, and finally a panic seized his men, which was communicated to various detachments in the rear. All fled in wild confusion. The Government troops now advanced from every quarter, General Clinchant from the side of Clichy, Douai and Ladmirault along the Seine, Cissey from the south. There was hardly any resistance. The huge barricades at the Avenue des Champs Elysées and the Place de la Concorde were speedily abandoned; others but feebly replied to the guns of the assailants; the insurgents retreated towards Montmartre, hard pressed by Clinchant and Ladmirault; Cissey and Douai in the meanwhile occupying the southern and central portions of the city. In the evening, General Clinchant occupied Batignolles, and, on Tuesday morning, attacked Montmartre, the main stronghold of the insurrection, from the Avenue de Clichy on the west, and the Boulevard de Clichy on the south; while General Ladmirault attacked it from the southeast, having carried the fortified Northern Railway station by assault. Early in the afternoon, Montmartre was in the hands of the Government troops, and the insurrection was virtually, if not completely suppressed.

The history of the financial doings of the Commune, which are, perhaps, what will now prove of most importance to the unfortunate Parisians, will probably not be thoroughly known for a good while. There were strong fears entertained that they would seize on the "Grand Livre," or record of the public debt, and tamper with it; but of this there has been no news. They levied a contribution of $200,000 on the six railroad companies having termini in Paris, in the guise of "arrears of taxes," and must have stolen enormous quantities of plate from the churches and the private houses which they ransacked or placed "seals" upon. One of their decrees peremptorily forbade the imposition of fines for derelictions of duty on workmen or other employees in private establishments, "as an insult to the dignity of the laborer, and an outrage on his morality." Somebody appeared in London professing to be their agent, offering the pictures of the Louvre for sale; but it is to be hoped he was an impostor. There is, however, great reason to fear that large amounts of national valuables have been made away with, and the Versailles Assembly felt it necessary to pass an act warning people that the titles to property of churches, corporations, or individuals purchased from the Commune would not be respected. The anxiety on these matters is increased by the fact that the leading members of the Commune made no secret of their contempt for art and learning. Assy boasts of having read only one book—a history of Florence, with the frequent revolutions of which he was enchanted. On the whole, the reign of the Commune must be pronounced the most extraordinary episode of modern times, and strikingly illustrates the truth of the observation that the barbarians whose ravages the modern world has to dread, live not in forests, but in the heart of our large cities.

HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS LABOR.

Our explanation of the cause of the coal troubles was, as our readers may remember, that too many capitalists had gone into the business of mining and transporting coal, and each company was naturally unwilling to go out, and very anxious to have the others go out, and leave it to supply the reduced demand, the railroad companies to bring the mining companies to terms, and the mining companies the railroad companies. The companies, however, offer another, through the argument of their counsel, Mr. Gowen, before the Judiciary Committee of the Pennsylvania Senate, which, they say, is the only true one. Says Mr. Gowen:

"It is well known that during the late war the demand for coal was greatly increased. The navy required a large supply; and manufacturers—who are always the great consumers—were prosperous and active; coal-mining became exceedingly profitable; the coal-carrying railroads all made money; the miners and laborers were paid high wages; and it was no uncommon occurrence for a good miner to earn several hundred dollars a month. In consequence of this, a great impetus was given to the coal trade. New collieries were rapidly opened; new coal regions were brought into connection with the markets by new railroads, which were extended into every valley that contained a deposit of coal; and the high wages earned by the miner attracted from other countries a large immigration of skilled workmen, and diverted to the business of mining many who left other trades and occupations to gather the golden harvest which was spread before them. The natural result of this was, that after peace was declared and the war demand had ceased, the productive capacity of the anthracite coal regions was far greater than was required to supply the consumption of coal; and the laboring population had increased so rapidly that employment could not be given to all. The natural remedy for this state of things would have been enforced by the law of demand and supply. The badly constructed and ill-ventilated collieries that could not produce coal at the rate the public was willing to pay for it would have been abandoned, and the better class of collieries that could have supplied the market would have continued at work and given employment to as many men as were necessary to produce the amount of coal required by the wants of the community. The surplus population that could find no employment at mining would have gone back to other occupations, until the increased demand for coal resulting from low prices would have called them again to the coal regions. Thus a year or two of low prices would have supplied the cure for all the evils that were felt at the close of the war. But about this time there came into prominence an organization which is now known as the Workingmen's Benevolent Association. Embracing originally several distinct societies in the different regions, it gradually became a united and compact organization, chartered first by the courts and subsequently by the Legislature; and by the year 1868 it embraced nearly the entire laboring population of the anthracite coal region. The object of this organization was to secure employment for all of its members, and prevent the reduction of wages which every other class of labor had to submit to at the close of the war. Well knowing that if all its members worked a full day during the year, the production of coal would be much greater than the demand, they insisted upon an increased rate of wages and decreased amount of work, which would enable a man to earn in six or seven months as much as had previously been earned in a year—so that the entire population should receive employment without increasing the supply of coal above the demand. As it was also well known to them that such wages could not be paid unless the price of coal was kept up to a high rate, they suspended work whenever the price reached such a sum as made it impossible for their employer to comply with their demands.

"We, who thought we understood something about the laws of trade, and knew that natural causes would soon bring relief, remonstrated with the leaders of this organization in vain. The law of supply and demand, and every sound maxim of trade which experience has demonstrated to be correct, were thrown to the winds; and from the bowels of the earth there came swarming up a new school of political economists, who professed to be able, during the leisure hours of their short working day, to regulate a great industry and restore it to vigor and health. In the wildest flight of the imagination of the most pretentious charlatan there never was conceived such a cure for the ills with which we were afflicted as was suggested by these new doctors. In their hands, however, we were powerless: and with the eagerness of a student, and the assurance of a quack, they seized upon the body of a healthy trade, and have so doctored and physicked it that it is now reduced to the ghost of the shadow of an attenuation."

The miners, nevertheless, obstinately refused to go into any other occupation, and ignorantly and stupidly persisted in endeavoring, through combinations and threats, to force the companies to supply them with employment at rates of wages which it was, in the actual state of the public demand for coal, impossible for the companies to pay. We learn, furthermore, from the same argument, that the agents of the miners were daily to be seen on the floor of the Legislature coercing the senators and representatives into voting against any measures for the relief of the operators, and even into voting for measures intended to punish the railroad companies for their resistance to the miners' demands. In short, the capitalists charged the laborers with doing what we charged the capitalists with doing, and they proposed, as a remedy for the evils of the present state of things, that the laborers should transfer their labor to some other field of activity, or, in other words, should do with their commodity what we thought the capitalists ought to do with theirs.

We do not propose to review the argument in question in any detail this week. We have been deeply impressed in reading it, however, with the unconscious way with which the operators, who, as Pennsylvanians, are all warm supporters of the protection of native industry by Government, use against the miners the very arguments, and almost the very words, which the free-traders use against them. We have no hesitation in saying, too, that the very best answer the miners could make to these arguments they will find in the defences of the protective policy which have issued from the press during the last twenty years. That answer obviously is, that it is a good thing for the country that large numbers of persons should be engaged in mining industry; that if the market will not stand the supplies of coal which so many hands, if kept actively engaged, would pour into it, the prices must be kept up by artificial means; that legislation must be resorted to to supply these means, if possible, but that, in default of legislation, there must be strikes and intimidation of employers or of competing workmen. If the operators and the public do not like this, so much the worse for them; the business of the miners is to take care of themselves—by their votes first, and, if need be, by their clubs and knives. They are as much entitled to have their labor bought by the public at such rates as will enable them to live, and in such occupations as they think proper to follow, as the capitalists are to have their products bought at such rates as will yield them a fair profit, and in such fields of industry as they think proper to enter. In other words, in neither case is the market rate to be fixed by free competition, but by the creation of monopolies.

We took the liberty of pointing out, some weeks ago (March 2), that the disturbance, which becomes more violent every day, all over the world, in the relations of labor and capital, and the disinclination of the working-classes to look to any mode of bettering their condition, such as co-operation, which requires simply the display of intelligence and self-denial on their own part, is due in the main to the way in which the capitalists have for centuries familiarized the laborers with the spectacle of capital procuring legislation for its own benefit, hostile both to the laborer and the community at large. There is not a country in the world, the United States not excepted, in which capital has not succeeded in procuring legislation for the express purpose of increasing its profits, either by closing the market to certain classes of competitors, or punishing laborers for trying to raise wages in the only way in which they could be raised—by combination. This plan worked very well as long as the capitalist class had possession of the government. But that class has lost possession of the government, or only retains its influence over it by secret corruption, while the laborers are rapidly seizing on it, and are bent on using it, as they have seen the capitalists use it, for the purpose of maintaining an artificial scarcity of labor; or—to express the same idea in another way—of raising wages above the natural market rate, as settled by the proportion borne by the quantity of capital seeking investment to the quantity of labor seeking employment. In the earliest stages of the movement, which is all we have as yet witnessed in America and England, it consists simply in a demand, either express or implied, that the government shall not interfere to protect capital from the operation of such weapons of offence, whether simple combination or combination accompanied by violence, as the laborers may see fit to employ against it. In the more advanced stage, which is now to be witnessed in France, and was openly described by the International Congress of workmen three years ago at Geneva, it consists of the seizure of the government by the laborers, and the use of its authority to establish a new and artificial mode of dividing profits between the laborer and capitalist, in which the capitalist really gets nothing, and is reduced to the rank of a mere laborer. The insurrection in France having been put down, the socialist ideal in aid of which it broke out will doubtless not be realized yet awhile; but no intelligent observer doubts that this ideal is gaining ground among the

working-classes all over the world—that it is taking the place in the working-class mind of most of the motives by which society has hitherto been governed, such as patriotism or religion—and that it has within a few years received a great stimulus from the concentration of laborers in the manufacturing towns and mining districts, and, above all, from the steady and rapid descent of political power into the hands of this class. Thousands of demagogues are busy every day telling the workingmen of the civilized world of the power they now begin to possess over society, and the workingmen are nothing loth to exercise this power at the earliest possible moment. Few but the wilfully blind now fail to understand the exact nature of the danger with which we are threatened; and to those who imagine that America is going to escape the convulsion, we recommend a careful study of the history of the mining industry of Pennsylvania during the last ten years.

The way, and the only way, in which the laboring classes of all countries can be prepared for the active and direct control of the body politic at which they are now aiming, is the steady and persistent preaching and *practice*, by all classes, of the doctrine that, in the choice and pursuit of a calling, there is nothing so good either for the individual or the nation as liberty. The one thing government has a right to do about a man's business is to protect him in the exercise of it, and in some cases to see that he is properly qualified for it. To tempt him into a pursuit by bribes, or sustain him in it by subsidies or monopolies after his own incompetence or the state of the market has shown it to be impossible for him to follow it profitably, is not only economically inexpedient, but, as now begins to be plainly seen, is politically dangerous. In other words, protectionism contains the germ of communism; what may be in the hands of the sober, thoughtful capitalist a means of stimulating a useful industry, becomes in the hands of ignorant and fanatical socialists a justification of an equal division of goods. The only salvation for modern society lies in making governments let people alone in all that relates to the exercise of their faculties. Interference once begun, nobody can tell where it will end.

Mr. Gowen, in his argument, brings out the fact that the leading idea of the French Socialists, that no person should receive larger wages for his labor than another, and that it is an outrage on justice that a lawyer or capitalist should enjoy an income of thousands of dollars a year, while a laborer only receives a few hundreds, has found a lodgment in the mining districts of Pennsylvania also, and we fear it is not confined to Pennsylvania. The function of the capitalist in our day is one of enormous importance to the community, and, considering the losses which capitalists save to the community, and the profits they enable it to make, they are really, so far as money goes, greatly underpaid. The salary of any great director of industry consists solely of that portion of the profits which he spends in personal enjoyment. Whatever portion of his income is reinvested is devoted wholly to the employment of labor—or, in other words, is used for the benefit of the community at large, and especially for the benefit of the laborer; so that, when labor reform demagogues hold up the erroneous revenues of "Stewart and Astor" as subjects for popular indignation and as signs of rottenness in the State, they simply show that they do not understand what they are talking about. Whatever these gentlemen spend in food, clothing, and personal luxuries is the real amount of their income; the total of their receipts is only the apparent amount. The way in which our capitalists are overpaid, is in the power they acquire over legislation; and the problem we have to solve is to leave them in the free management of their revenues, without letting them control the government. The task they perform for us is the most important of all economical tasks, that of discovering the places and things in which the products of past labor may be invested without loss or with profit. The talent required for this duty is one of the rarest of gifts, as everybody knows who has ever had money of his own to invest, and who sees the tremendous mistakes which people, unprovided with the necessary experience and sagacity, make in trying to invest. The prosperity of a nation, it may be fairly said, in the long run, depends largely on the number of men it produces who are able to say what enterprises will "pay" and what will not, and the services of such men a nation can hardly reward too highly in money. The nation which produces plenty of them, and can keep them honest and public-spirited, is twice blest. There could hardly be a better proof of the ignorance and folly of socialism than the hatred and distrust of them which it entertains, and the great determination it always shows to get rid of them if it gets a chance. In the Socialist and Labor Reform Utopia, the delicate task of pointing out the ways in which the national wealth may be most safely invested, and the objects on which the national labor may be profitably expended, is usually assigned to a committee of Blatherskites, selected with rigid disregard of their mode of managing their own funds when they had any, and usually with more regard for their rhetorical powers than for anything else.

WHY WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN PROHIBITION.

A CORRESPONDENT asks us, on another page, for a confession of faith as to the possibility, or, if possible, the expediency of preventing the sale of alcoholic drinks, being prompted to do so by having perceived what he considers indications of hopelessness about it on our part, and by the increasing zeal of the prohibitionists in his own neighborhood. We supposed that our opinions on this point were pretty well known to such of our readers as cared anything about them, and were much interested in the question. We have not only, however, no objection to saying out fully all we have to say on the subject, but are glad to be furnished with an excuse for saying it.

We are opposed to prohibitory legislation, and consider all time spent in agitating for it almost wasted, first and foremost, because we believe no such legislation can be effective. In a certain sense, of course, this may be said of all legislation. No law is ever completely enforced; but a law prohibiting the sale of alcoholic liquors would, we believe, be disobeyed and evaded to an extraordinary degree, and by a large number of persons of good character who usually do obey the law faithfully; and, as a consequence of this, the proportion borne by the violations of it to the penalties inflicted for violating it would be so large as to weary the officers rapidly, and consign it to total desuetude. All laws in every country require a fair amount of support from public opinion to ensure their execution. This is true even of laws which affect matters in which only a small portion of the community has any personal interest. It is doubly true of a law like this, which would be highly inquisitorial in its operation, and involve incessant interference with the habits and inclinations of persons of ordinarily good repute. Suppose seven against five to represent the majority whose support is necessary to ensure the enforcement of a piece of ordinary legislation, and it is safe to say that a prohibitory liquor law would need the support of a majority of eleven to one. If you could count on such a majority, however, liquor-selling would be so thoroughly disreputable that either no legislation would be necessary for its suppression or there would be no opposition to it, and, therefore, none of the incessant discussion of its expediency which now goes on. The traffic would be given up to justice as readily as brothels and gambling-houses are, and the only debates to which it would give rise would be debates about the discipline and efficiency of the police.

If you ask the reason of the great difficulty which its advocates experience in procuring this legislation, the answer is, strange as it may seem, that the mass of mankind, including some of the best and purest of the race, do not believe the drinking of alcoholic liquor to be wrong; in fact, a vast body of them, in all countries, truly and sincerely believe it to be beneficial. The great majority have from the earliest ages been, in fact, moderate drinkers. No race or nation has yet been lighted on of which the great body of the males do not take stimulants in some form or other, not only without shame or fear, but with great gusto; indeed, the taking of stimulants is associated in their minds with the happiest moments of their lives, with births, with weddings, with the meeting of friends, and so on. The "drinking customs of society," to use the teetotaler's phrase, are, in short, apparently as old as the race itself, and may be almost said to have worked themselves into the very constitution of human society. We do not

say that this is a thing to be rejoiced over, or a thing not to be deplored. We simply say that an attempt to eradicate such a habit suddenly by legislation would, in *any* country, be hopeless enough to make it seem ludicrous. No habit so deeply rooted has ever been eradicated except by the influence of an accepted and revered prophet. Mahomet is the only prohibitory legislator who has ever succeeded, but he succeeded not as a prohibitionist, but as the founder of a new religion among a barbarous people. We could imagine liquor-dealing and liquor-drinking being swept away, here, by an outburst of religious or moral enthusiasm, in the nature of "a revival," if it were not that no communities are ever swept by storms of this kind which are not homogeneous. The American community is now anything but homogeneous. It is scored in every direction by differences of origin, religion, temperament, antecedents, and habits, and though you might light your fire very successfully among native Americans, and especially New Englanders, and make it blaze fiercely here and there, it would speedily be arrested by German and Irish patches, on which the flames of great "moral ideas" would find nothing to feed them. Moreover, there is little or no doubt that, for other reasons than this, "great uprisings" on moral or social questions will never again be seen. The intense publicity and intense activity of modern life, and the incessant criticism which results from publicity, have made them impossible, except where there is within reach some such sudden and energetic mode of expressing feeling as taking up arms. The work of reform, like the work of charity, is done more and more every day in cold blood, with books of statistics on the table. There are, however, features in American society and manners which make prohibitory legislation here seem more objectionable than in any other country within our knowledge. The manners and traditions of the people make all police interference with their habits peculiarly odious and offensive. They are not broken into it as Europeans are, and, though the custom of drinking in bar-rooms, which prevails here to an extent unknown in Europe, makes it apparently very easy to put a stop to liquor-dealing by merely closing the bar-rooms, we must remember that bar-rooms exist because they are convenient and lawful; close them, and the habit of secret drinking in houses will at once spring up, and has sprung up wherever they have been closed, as in Maine and Massachusetts; or, in other words, our drinking customs will be, to some extent, assimilated to those of the Old World, and our police would then find itself face to face with a more serious problem than any with which a European police has to deal.

But here, again, we come upon the greatest difficulty of all. We have no police, or anything worthy of the name of a police, and worse still, or better still, if you will, we have not the means of making one. A good police, by which we mean a force of vigilant, exact, methodical, shrewd, cunning, unscrupulous, and disciplined men, is hardly possible in the United States at present. Partly owing to the condition of the public mind with regard to the service of the state—or, to use the term most in vogue, the civil service—no man can be got to give himself up to this service with the thoroughness and self-abnegation of a European. All the habits and antecedents and social surroundings of an American unfit him for it, and he is not supported by public opinion in attempting it. There is a very good side to this American peculiarity, but it is fatal to the suppression of the liquor traffic. A force fit to put it down in any State of this Union would have to contain an amount of probity, self-sacrifice, devotion, and discipline which those who undertake the business of hunting up rum in other people's drawers have not as yet displayed on this continent, and are not likely to display. We do not need to enumerate here the objections to a law which cannot be enforced, especially in a community whose order and happiness are dependent so largely on the popular respect for law, and, above all, on the popular loyalty and *honesty* in obeying the law, as this is. This opens up a very wide field, which, however, anybody can explore for himself.

We are far from believing, however, that nothing can be done by law for the diminution of drunkenness. The liquor traffic cannot be abolished, and, in saying this, we do not take into account the spasmodic cases in which a town here and a county there has spilt a great deal of liquor, and stopped drinking for two or three weeks. But the traffic can be regulated, we believe, even with the machinery at our disposal, so as greatly to lessen the temptation to drink, and thus lessen the amount of crime caused by drinking, which, after all allowance has been made for the exaggerations and misrepresentations to which temperance advocates are, for some inscrutable reason, very prone, is undoubtedly large. In fact, all that the advocates of prohibition claim for their experiment, wherever it has been made, is that it does regulate and diminish drinking, not that it stops it; but this is dearly purchased by the creation of a habit of contempt for the law which illicit drinking surely creates. The great difficulty in the way of this regulation is everywhere in the Union to be found in the habits and character of the political class, which are too low to make effective dealing with so corrupting a question possible. Political reform, including reform of the civil service, lies at the back of temperance reform, and we believe we shall never see the liquor question reached in a rational and scientific manner except through a purification of the official class, both State and Federal.

What, then, "Truth-seeker" may ask, do we look forward to as the final solution of the temperance problem? Do we really think that the world is fated to remain as drunken as it is now? Nothing of the kind. We believe the time will come when drunkards will be as rare as thieves or swindlers, and as disreputable, not because the decent people of the world will be all teetotalers, but because those who drink at all will be "moderate drinkers." We think the notion that men will ever give up wine and beer as a great moral duty, is as wild a dream as has ever entered the brains of an agitator. We know that intemperance has greatly diminished under the influence of education and other moral and social agencies; we believe it will continue so to diminish, under the same influence, until drunkenness is as rare as is every other form of indulgence; and to strengthen the moral and social agencies which do notoriously diminish drunkenness, is the temperance man's first duty. Everybody who asks himself why the custom of getting drunk after dinner has disappeared from among the upper classes in Europe; why ministers do not go and guzzle in their idle hours at taverns, as many workingmen do; why a German artisan can confine himself to drinking beer through an evening at a public garden with his wife, instead of getting madly drunk on whiskey, as the Irishman does, will, if he tries to answer his own questions, get a great deal of light on the subject.

All that has been done for temperance in the world as yet, has been done by persuading men not to drink, or giving them better things than drinking to do; nobody really believes legislation could ever have done as much. When you get into a man's head and heart, you hold his will, which the policeman can never do, and it is through this will that drunkenness is to be conquered. The present movement in favor of prohibition we look on as one of those outbursts of impatience with objectionable practices in which the good people of the world have indulged every now and then ever since governments were set up. Nothing is harder than to refuse to use the powers of government to stop people's doing what you don't like, when you think those powers are within your reach. This is a feeling which has been at the bottom of all that legislation in aid of morals and religion from which the world has suffered so greatly, so much of which is now recognized as barbarous and inhuman, and so much of which we laugh over as silly. It has taken fifteen hundred years of experiment to satisfy us that men cannot be made pious by law; it is not wonderful, therefore, that in many places the faith should prevail that by law they will eventually be made sober.

There is nothing, however, in the lessons of history, or in what we see of the tendencies of society in our day, to warrant this conclusion. There have been three great attempts made in Christendom to police men into personal purity—Calvin's, at Geneva; that of the Puritans in England and America; and that of the Papacy at Rome. They have all failed, and failed hopelessly, and there is no chance of their ever being repeated. Moreover, the tendency of the day is against all coercion in aid of personal morality, or for the suppression of what Bentham calls the self-regarding vices. This is remarkably shown in the total change of views which has taken place with regard to the

education of children, from which the infliction of physical penalties may now be said to have almost disappeared. In other words, self-restraint has begun to play a part in practical education which, much as has been preached about it, it was in old times never called on to play.

Lastly, there is nothing in history or human nature to warrant the conclusion that it will ever be possible to incorporate in popular morals a prohibition of acts in themselves harmless, based simply on the fact that excess in the commission of them is hurtful, and that some persons are guilty of this excess.

There is no precedent or parallel for anything of the kind in civilized legislation. I may be, and often am, forbidden to do things which, though harmless in my case, would work mischief if *all* did them; but I am not prohibited from doing things which, if all did them, would still be perfectly harmless, lest some persons should do them in hurtful excess; and I am not likely to be. Whether, under the rules of Christian morality, I am my brother's keeper to the extent of being bound to refrain from acts of which his imitation may prove injurious to him, and, in other words, *not only to set him a good example, but to practise asceticism on his account*, and for his good, is doubtless a weighty question, but it is one which must be left to the individual conscience. No such theory of responsibility could be introduced into jurisprudence, without either making its application so sweeping as to be utterly intolerable, or surrounding it with so many modifications, and allowances, and restrictions as to make it farcical. Should a man, for instance, be prohibited from setting up a carriage, or living in a fine house, because the desire of luxury brings so many traders and cashiers to frauds and defalcations? Should the police see that a pretty woman wears sad raiment and goes veiled lest the plain ones should be made envious or driven into vice? Should a man who is industrious take no vacation, lest his example should demoralize the indolent and idle? The subject, in short, has hardly as yet been discussed at all, owing to the extraordinary heat with which nearly all those who are seriously interested in it approach it.

PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE CORPORATION OF YALE COLLEGE.

YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN, May 20.

THE interest in the Corporation of Yale College which has arisen from the probable retirement of President Woolsey from the leadership of that body at the next Commencement has been quickened during the past week by two noteworthy publications—the annual message of the Governor of Connecticut, and a contribution of President Woolsey to the columns of the Boston *Congregationalist*. Both these papers refer to the office of Trustee.

President Woolsey deals with the subject abstractly, showing what relations should subsist in any higher institution of learning between the Governing Board or Corporation on the one hand, and the Teaching Board or Faculty on the other. Governor Jewell takes up the subject concretely, and proposes a change in the Corporation of Yale College by which the graduates may be allowed to participate in the management of the institution. His words are as follows:

"The connection of the commonwealth and Yale College is of increasing importance. The whole State will share in its prosperity or suffer by its failure to maintain the high rank which it holds among the great universities of the world. The Corporation now consists of eleven gentlemen, who fill vacancies in their own number, and the governor, lieutenant-governor, and six senators of the State. While the interest and representation of the State in this venerable college is very large, its official connection with it is, in fact, almost nominal, as it is rarely the case that any of the six senators attend meetings of the Corporation. The great body of the graduates, who have a deep interest in the college, and, being scattered throughout every State, can wield the strongest influence for its welfare, have no direct voice in its management. I therefore suggest whether it would not be well for the State, the college, and the alumni at large to surrender to the latter one-half of the State representation in its Board of Corporation—the new members to be elected by the alumni to serve for four years; one to go out each year. I do not know how this can be done, if at all, nor am I aware whether it would be agreeable to any of the parties concerned, but if it can be accomplished, I think the effect would be good."

We propose to make these official utterances, one of them emanating from the chief clerical member of the Corporation of Yale College, and the other from the chief civilian in that body, the occasion of some remarks on the possibility of effecting a change in the government of the institution.

An early decision of the question is inevitable. If the opportunity now presented is lost, many years may elaspe before it again occurs. Probably before the summer has passed, a favorable or an unfavorable conclusion will be reached. It is not the graduates of Yale College alone, but all its benefactors and patrons, and all who regard it as one of the most important educational foundations of the country, who are concerned in a wise and speedy solution of the problem.

The principles which should guide a conclusion may be stated, as it seems to us, under the following heads:

1. The government of a college or university should chiefly rest in the hands of permanent resident professors. They are the men whose lives, labors, and reputations are bound up with the institution. Being devoted exclusively to instruction and study, they are best acquainted with the relative importance and influence of different branches of learning, with the difficulties of college government, and with the requirements, deficiencies, and capacities of young scholars. The recognition of this principle has given dignity, permanence, and success to the universities of Germany and England. Heretofore, likewise, it has been a distinctive characteristic of Yale College that it has been governed by the resident officers. They have secured the endowments, determined the courses of study, established the interior regulations, and nominated most, if not all, of the professors. It is believed that their wishes have not been disregarded by the Corporation in any important particular, when once fairly expressed. It is this which has made Yale College, in spite of its poverty, so great a success. The offers of lucrative and honorable positions in other colleges have rarely, if ever, been potent enough to take away a professor from New Haven. The faculty have been willing to stay, plan, teach, and study, with manifold duties, incessant engagements, and the most meagre pecuniary return, simply because they encountered few obstacles. Whatever else it may have been, Yale College has been to the professors a place of personal and official freedom. Now, any modification of the Board of Trustees which should substitute outside interference for inside conclusions, would unquestionably be harmful in its tendency. Whether that interference should come from church or state, from benefactors or graduates, from friends or rivals, it would be dangerous. No advocate of sound learning should expect to benefit Yale College by substituting the indeterminate and illogical government of an outside authority for the definite, harmonious, and consistent administration of the inside workers.

2. It is, however, obvious that there must be a Board of Trustees apart from and superior to the teaching body. These Trustees should hold, solicit, invest, and expend the funds; they should be a support to the professors; and, at the same time, a protection to the public. Slow to originate any measure, they should be quick to help on whatever is clearly for the advancement of learning. Especially should they be wise counsellors in respect to the investment of gifts, the sale and purchase of real estate, the maintenance of the college credit, the protection of college property. But they should be very slow to impose on the professors fetters in the shape of formal laws or petty injunctions; they should regard the wishes of the faculties in the election of new professors and officers, unless there is the clearest reason for the contrary action. At the same time, in case the resident professors forfeit the confidence of the public, do wrong, or prove to be incompetent, the Trustees should be ready to interpose their final authority. The views which President Woolsey has expressed, after being for twenty-five years the presiding officer among the Trustees of Yale College, are an important exhibition of how much and how little the Corporation may attempt. It may be questioned, however, with all due respect to him, whether he has sufficiently stated what a service the Board of Trustees might render by communicating more freely with the public in respect to the progress of the college, its requirements, embarrassments, and encouragements. In all the efforts which have been made to secure new endowments for the different departments of Yale College, the efforts of the Corporation have, to say the least, not been conspicuous; nor can those who are most familiar with college publications recall any recent statement in respect to the college emanating from the Trustees more comprehensive and satisfactory than the annual catalogue. Even the Treasurer's statement, which is annually printed, and which might be a serviceable guide to those who are interested in the college finances, is not so widely circulated as to be readily referred to. But a corporation which should be the organ of communication between the professors on the one hand, and the friends and graduates on the other, might be of equal service to both. Certainly Yale College now suffers

more from the ignorance of the public respecting what it is and what it may be, than it does from rivalry or indifference. An open, confiding, frequent, and official statement of its condition, in terms of enthusiasm and hope, could not fail to awaken the generous responses of the friends of learning. Here, it seems to us, there is a legitimate field for the Corporation to act, and which no other body can suitably occupy.

3. The constitution of the Trustees of Yale College is theoretically absurd, although, for the reasons already stated, it has hitherto in many respects worked well. Like the British Constitution, it is an historic growth, more easily explained than defended, and requiring, from time to time, with the advancement of society, important modifications. Eleven Congregational ministers, resident in Connecticut, selected for life, and eight of the State officers of Connecticut, elected for a year, are the sole managers and trustees in law for all the group of institutions which now constitute Yale College. They hold all funds, appoint all officers, decide all ultimate questions, and do not even admit to their deliberations the professors and graduates of the college, or publish to the world any account of their most responsible trust, excepting a brief financial statement annually presented in manuscript to the Legislature of Connecticut, and placed on file in the archives of the State. It is true that the Corporation has been careful, honest, and wise, and that no official or personal reproaches are ever uttered against the members of the body individually or collectively. They are regarded with gratitude by many, with respect by all.

As a register of the wishes of the faculty, it was possibly all that could be desired so long as the faculty consisted of "Dr. Dwight and his three professors;" but, now that those three professors have become fifty, and the little collegiate school has become the nucleus of a university, it is clear that the trusteeship is far from being as well organized as it might be. It is now not merely "non-interfering," it is "non-co-operative." If it does not harm, neither does it help. Sometimes, from the very magnitude of its responsibilities, it fails to speak and act when its voice and energy would be powerful for good.

Moreover, it must be admitted that the Corporation has lost the moral support of large numbers of the graduates, who are clamorous for a change. These graduates are not the younger graduates only. Some of the best men in the land are among the number. Nor should it be forgotten that it was the President of the college himself, ripe in experience, conservative by nature and by habit, and devoted to the promotion of the college, who first proposed the reconstruction of the Corporation. This he did several years ago in his famous *New Englander* article. His views, which were met at first with distrust, dissent, and opposition, have at last been very generally accepted by the friends and graduates of the institution, and his administration seems likely to close with the achievement of this crowning glory.

Any one can see that some change must soon take place, or the present Corporation will fail to receive the support of the graduates; so far, at least, as this—that future gifts will be made under such restrictions and limitations as to leave the trustees but the slightest amount of discretion in respect to their management.

4. There are several ways in which a change can be effected.

For example, the eleven clerical members, now all of them Congregational ministers, resident in Connecticut, can, as vacancies arise, elect other persons than Congregational ministers to the empty fellowships. Whether or not they can admit laymen may be questioned, but there is no shadow of doubt that, if they choose to substitute other ministers of the Gospel for those of the Congregational body, they can do so. We are not claiming that they should be urged to take this step, but simply point out one of the possible changes, though, in our view, the least probable.

Or, secondly, the State of Connecticut can give up the right to be represented, as now, by eight civilians. It would be undesirable that the State should entirely yield its right of counsel and control, and all parties would doubtless prefer that the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor should henceforward, as now, hold their seats in the board. But for the six senators annually elected by the people and annually retired from their magisterial office, a substitution of the graduates, as recommended by Governor Jewell, would be quite feasible. Doubtless, the senators themselves, conscious of the awkward position in which they are placed by being nominally, for one meeting, members of a corporation so dignified and important as Yale College, would prefer, if they were consulted, to be released from their embarrassing responsibility.

Or, thirdly, without any nominal change in the present board of trustees, either by the clerical or the legislative action, there is another way in which a real change may be effected in the management of Yale College. Future givers of funds can bestow them on special boards of trustees, to maintain this or that department of learning. For example, if a classical scholar desires to provide for the perpetuity of philological instruction, by giving a farm like Bishop Berkeley, or a library and a professorship like Professor Salisbury, he can bestow his gift upon a special body of trustees, requiring them to make a connection more or less close, as may be mutually agreed upon, with the president and fellows of Yale College. While this method would be objectionable for gifts of small amounts for any purpose, and would *be more than* questionable for large gifts intended for the old or academic department of the College, it might be advantageous for new or unendowed branches of the university. It is working well for the Peabody Museum; it is supposed to have been adopted for the astronomical observatory; it would unquestionably be well for the Law School or Medical School. Indeed, respecting the last two institutions, it is not easy to see how they can be maintained without the formation of a board of trustees, jurists on the one hand, and physicians on the other, to advocate and uphold these special interests. Another way of accomplishing a similar end, without any nominal change in the Corporation, is by an act of the Corporation itself, inviting certain fit persons to attend and deliberate in the meetings of that body. There would be legal objections to conferring upon such persons a power to vote, but none which would prevent the president and fellows from seeking the advice as counsellors, or *adsessores*, of for example one or more of the professors, or some prominent graduates, a good lawyer, or a man of financial experience, like the college treasurer, and so on. If the alumni of the college could even in this way have a voice in the deliberations of the Corporation, it would, doubtless, promote the efficiency of the college.

5. The only one of these considerations which requires an early decision is in respect to the message of Governor Jewell. So far as it now appears, his suggestion has been received with great favor, both in the college and out of it. It is certainly an unusual conjunction of circumstances, that the president of the Corporation should suggest, and that a governor of Connecticut should formally recommend, a measure to which "Young Yale" can offer no objections, and for which "Old Yale" should be supremely grateful. The only remaining point now to be considered, is what details should be included in the modification thus proposed. As a basis for discussion, the following suggestions are made:

Yale College should be regarded as a society of scholars. To be admitted to the society, the candidate must receive a degree, either at the conclusion of a course of study, or in recognition of his merits by the bestowal of an honorary title. All such persons as have thus been graduated by the president and fellows of Yale College should be electors of the graduate fellows, and should be eligible to fellowships, with this proviso, that bachelors should be of five years' standing before beginning to exercise the privilege. The term for which a fellowship may be held should be of considerable duration—say a period of six years, and the details of arrangements in respect to the methods of nomination and election should be left to the president and fellows, who may be trusted to act in good faith.

D. C. Gilman.

ENGLAND.

London, May 12, 1871.

I wonder how many of your readers who have paid a visit to London have ever included Epping Forest in the list of sights to be inspected. The number will be small, indeed, if the proportion of foreign visitors who extend their travels so far is no greater than that of native Londoners who make the excursion from the West End. It has, however, great beauties, though of a kind very ill adapted for American tastes. In short, it is the one bit of wild unenclosed forest-land which can be reached with in a day's journey from the metropolis. There is a hill covered with really grand old trees and tangled underwood—a fragment of English scenery of the old type, which would form a suitable background to legends of Rufus or Robin Hood. It is within a few miles of the miserable back lanes of the East End, to which flows all the most hopeless poverty of London. On Sundays and holidays the population of that district pours out by thousands to enjoy a breath of fresh air and to refresh itself—not, it is to be feared, exclusively by the sight of real trees, and grass, and sky. Indeed, it is a curious fact that the weavers of Spitalfields maintain some flourishing entomological societies which have their collecting ground in Epping Forest. Some of them, it is said, have really acquired a remarkable knowledge of the subject, and have their houses filled from top to bottom with the insects collected by themselves. Something like

3,500 acres are still unenclosed, and the value of such a playground to the crowded population of a district generally pervaded by the quintessence of London fog and coal-smoke may be easily imagined. Hitherto the forest has been kept open because the crown possessed certain rights, originally enforced for the sake of the game, which has long been extinct. The deer having vanished, it occurred to the Government of some twenty years back that the forest was useless, and they accordingly proceeded to sell the rights to neighboring landowners. The forest was partly enclosed, and suburban residences began to cover the previously wild tract. The House of Commons, however, was very properly indignant at this mode of throwing away for a trifle a natural park, which, once destroyed, could never be replaced, and passed a vote that no rights should be sold in future. Hereupon the Government judiciously discovered that, though they were no longer to sell their rights, it would not pay to enforce them. An action at law would cost a good deal, whereas the pecuniary value of the crown rights was next to nothing. Accordingly, the landowners enclosed without paying, and the forest was in greater danger than ever. This objectionable policy was simply the result of the red-tape traditions of a Government department, which did not consider itself entitled to regard anything more than the immediate question of pounds, shillings, and pence; and, on an agitation being raised to preserve the remnant of the forest, Mr. Gladstone promised that a more liberal system should be adopted in future.

This preface is perhaps necessary to explain what took place just after my last letter to you. Mr. Cowper Temple had introduced a motion calling upon the Government to give effect to their good intentions. A measure which they had introduced last session had been abandoned as unsatisfactory, and they were asked to take more effectual measures for securing the public enjoyment of the forest. Now, Mr. Lowe had just produced great excitement in the East End by his proposed tax on matches. Here was an opportunity, it might be supposed, for gaining a little popularity: the sincere desire to preserve the forest for popular recreation would have been some set-off against the indifference to popular interests supposed to be manifested in the match tax. What, moreover, could be a worthier object for a Government whose greatest claim to favor is its presumed regard for the interests of the lower classes? Nobody, one might have thought, would be more anxious than Mr. Gladstone to show the warmth of his sympathy with the poor East Enders, and there could hardly be a time at which it was more important to show that his sympathy was sincere. And yet, for some reason or other, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe opposed the motion with even unusual eagerness. They raised all kinds of difficulties, and did their best to argue that the proposed action would produce no possible effect. The result was that the strongest Government of this generation was ignominiously defeated to the general satisfaction by a majority of 101, and defeated in an attempt to obstruct a popular measure, approved by men of all parties. It is scarcely possible to imagine a more infelicitous proceeding altogether, and it has led to the most decided rebuff that Government has hitherto received.

I have dwelt upon this incident because it supplies some answer to a question over which the *Spectator* has puzzled its brains not a little. Why, it asks, has Mr. Gladstone's Government become unpopular? What popularity, it might be asked in turn, could stand such extraordinary freaks as these? Mr. Gladstone came in as the representative of the Liberal party, but he has not the instinct of a Liberal leader. His mind, it may be, is too much given to intricate experiments, or he has not the necessary strength of will to govern his own colleagues, or he has tried to be clever in reconciling different parties; but, whatever the cause, he is incapable of taking up a decided policy and sticking to it. He has alienated the Radicals and excited the contempt of the Conservatives; and if an election were to be held to-morrow, the cry of Gladstone for ever! which rallied the majority on the last occasion, would be changed for a studied avoidance of Mr. Gladstone's name. It is a real misfortune that so great a power has been frittered away, and that the majority, which was at first so compact and imposing, has become an aggregate of discordant atoms, which (it is hardly too much to say) agrees in nothing but distrust of its official leader. The budget, as you know, has utterly broken down. The present proposal of an additional twopence in the income-tax was little more popular than Mr. Lowe's previous proposals. The Government succeeded in carrying it by a strict party vote, to obtain which they had to strain their influence to the uttermost. They managed to carry their supporters with them, for a reason which was very candidly explained by one of the members thus coerced. He quoted the well-known saying of Charles II. to his brother: "Nobody, James, will kill me to get you put in my place;" and, on the same principle, Liberals would not turn out Mr. Gladstone to give a chance to Mr. Disraeli. But, though this very cogent motive preserved a majority for ministers, those who voted for them generally relieve their minds by private denunciations. Party discipline triumphed, but it was at the expense of party zeal; and if anybody wishes to hear Mr. Gladstone heartily abused, he cannot do better than talk to many of the members whose votes keep Mr. Gladstone in office. The Liberal party now resembles an army which fights because it feels that its own safety depends upon victory, but which has lost all enthusiasm, and dislikes its own generals fully as much as the leaders of the hostile army.

What the effect of this state of things will be upon the future of the session remains to be proved. Probably it will result in a great obstruction to business. Government will still be able to command a majority on critical occasions, but reluctant followers cannot be driven fast, and the opposition will be able to make a longer and more doubtful fight. Mr. Gladstone has already been obliged to commence the process known as the Massacre of the Innocents at an unusually early period. Two complicated measures, one of them for imposing additional restrictions on the sale of spirits, the other for effecting certain reforms in local administration, have been thrown overboard, with few lamentations over their fate. The Army Bill still drags its slow length along. At the present moment, it is trying to get into committee, and though volumes of talk have been expended upon it, there are still many volumes to come. In some form or other, it will probably get through Parliament, in a mutilated condition. The purchase system will be abolished, but no other very sensible change will be produced. It seems likely, too, that the Ballot Bill will be passed, and the bill for abolishing tests at the universities has a fair chance of success, though Lord Salisbury succeeded in engrafting certain amendments upon it by a very small majority. There can be no doubt that they will be thrown out in the House of Commons, and the Lords will scarcely have the courage to maintain them; but it does not seem probable that any other measure of importance will be carried during the session, and I fear that the net result will be a considerable disappointment to enthusiastic Liberals. Of that, however, it will be time to speak hereafter.

Meanwhile, I would remark that the advocates of women's rights have had their usual field-day. The bill for granting them the franchise was thrown out by 220 to 151, whereas last year it was carried by a small majority through the same stage. I still, however, hold that their cause is rather improving than otherwise. Mr. Gladstone made a speech chiefly in favor of the measure, although he voted against it. He showed that kind of vacillation which may be held to precede a conversion. Unfavorable critics will explain his partial change of opinion by the fact that some of the Conservative leaders, including Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Ward Hunt (late Chancellor of the Exchequer), and Lord J. Manners, have taken up the ladies' cause. It may be supposed that Mr. Gladstone does not wish to see his cards trumped, and his opponents making such a bid for the votes of his supporters. I would rather believe that Mr. Gladstone is yielding in his usual fashion to a current of opinion with which he does not quite sympathize, and that very little more would be wanted to induce him to fall into line. If so, the bill would probably be carried through the House of Commons, if he were still leader. The only symptom on the other side is that the expression of dislike to the change has become rather more open than before; and that, as the question passes from theory to practice, there is a probability of a more serious opposition. Certainly, however, the ladies may cherish hopes which would have sounded chimerical enough two or three years ago, and may congratulate themselves as having passed the stage at which simple ridicule is considered to be argument. Whatever may be the blessings of enjoying a vote—and I need not argue the point at this moment—there is a fair chance that they will be granted to Englishwomen within the next few years. If so, we shall be trying an experiment of a very novel kind; and the only thing that need be said just now, is that the complacency or indifference with which a change so great and till recently so startling is contemplated, is a curious illustration of the rapidity with which some revolutionary ideas have been recently making their way in English society. There is, it would sometimes seem, scarcely any institution strong enough to resist a lively agitation, and the chief difficulty is that our legislative machinery works so slowly and stiffly that a long time passes before changes which everybody knows to be inevitable get themselves carried out in practice.

Correspondence.

THE FISHERIES IN THE TREATIES.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Will you give to a constant reader of your excellent journal the privilege of saying a word or two in regard to the state of our treaty arrangements with Great Britain touching the fisheries?

1. In the reciprocity treaty of June 5, 1854, "it is agreed by the high contracting parties that, *in addition to the liberty secured to the United States fishermen by the above convention of October* 20, 1818," etc., this treaty could be terminated after ten years. Of course, on its expiration, that treaty or convention remained in force to which it was an addition.

2. The convention of Oct. 20, 1818, contains the following words: "And the United States hereby renounce, for ever, any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors of his Britannic dominions in America, not included within the above-mentioned limits"—to which it is directly added that American fishermen may enter such bays or harbors for the purposes of shelter, wood, or water, but "for no other purposes whatsoever."

Does it not follow from this perpetual renunciation that the treaty of 1783, even if there had been no war to dissolve it, was to be of no avail as far as the fisheries were concerned?

Mr. J. Q. Adams, at the time of the treaty of Ghent, made an argument—which is given in its leading points by Dr. Wheaton in his "Elements"—to show that the right, or liberty rather, as the treaty of 1783 has it, of fishing along certain coasts belonging to Great Britain, was not dissolved by the war of 1812. We must profess our conviction that his argument will not stand in international law. But this is really a question of no practical importance. The renunciation of 1818, above-mentioned, put an extinguisher on such claims *for ever*.

The result of all this is, that on the expiration of the reciprocity treaty, the treaty of 1818, to which it was only an addition, remained in force, and no other treaty on this matter had any validity. And the point we wish to make is this: that the recent admirable treaty is a great enlargement of liberties of fishing beyond anything we had a right to before.

New Haven, May 15. W.

PROHIBITIONIST LEGISLATION.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In the notice which appeared in the *Nation*, No. 305, of Dr. Dio Lewis's "Our Girls," while speaking hopefully of "cure" for the evils which that book attacks, and while, apparently, concluding that the physical and mental renovation of *young women* is immediately practicable, and a matter the consideration of and action in which demand "our clearest thought and best strength," your reviewer says: "We all know in our hearts that human nature must undergo a radical change before the temperance reform will amount to more than a superficial agitation; . . we confess with weary impatience that certain sins we shall rid ourselves of only by a slow process of growth." Among which sins your reviewer evidently places the use of "bad language and bad whiskey" by *Our Boys*.

I make this citation without any intention of criticising your critic—although I confess he appears to me to have taken herein a sufficiently assailable position—but because it contains the most recent expression of the *Nation's* very hopeless attitude in relation to the "temperance question," and because I am anxious to obtain more light upon, and a fuller presentation of, your view of what I may term the Politico-Temperance Movement. You are perhaps aware that a movement has been recently inaugurated in this State—backed by the authority and sustained by the entire clerical force of the M. E. Church, and at least sanctioned by the governing powers of one or more of the other churches—the avowed object of which is the procurement of prohibitory liquor laws for the State, and, if I mistake not, for the United States. Now, I dare say I speak the mind of hundreds of your readers when I say that the *Nation* has been to me for several years as "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land" of political literature; tempering the fierce blaze of the "abstract truth" of the radical reformers, and affording shelter from the dust and muddy rain of the "party" fire-companies. It is a very comfortable thing for one who is "yoked to a daily experience in life incompatible with any considerable"—independent study if not—"elevation of thought," to rest in such a shadow, but when the reformers surround one and begin to adjust their grand solar reflectors at short range, is it surprising if one grows a little anxious and looks up enquiringly for reassurance that it is indeed a rock that overshadows him, and that it will not melt or topple over? In short, is it too much to ask of you that you make one connected statement (as full as circumstances permit) of the argument against prohibition by law of the liquor traffic, disposing of the charge made by prohibitionists that this "traffic" is the chief source of intemperance in alcoholic drink, and the "direct cause of a vast proportion of all the crimes and evils against which we *do* legislate;" giving also the "Lessons of History" upon the subject, or such references as will enable a tolerably preoccupied man to discover them. By so doing, you will materially increase the national debt—to you-ward—always provided that your argument is sound and helpful to a

Truth-seeker.

Rushford, Minn., May 14, 1871.

PRESIDENT BARNARD AND "UNIVERSOLOGY."

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Your amusing notice of "The Primary Synopsis of Universology and Alwato," by Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews, seems to call for a word or two from me. As I never heard of "Alwato" before, I have nothing to say about that.

It is now some months since Mr. Andrews did me the honor to call upon me, for the purpose, as he said, of stating to me the outlines of a plan of his own, for the classification of human knowledge in such a manner as to exhibit clearly the affiliation and interdependence of all the sciences. As this subject is one which has much occupied the deepest thinkers of all time, from Aristotle down to Herbert Spencer, it ought to have, and perhaps has, a certain degree of "importance." For myself, if I have a special weakness, it is for logical methods, and this may account for the fact that I was interested in the scheme of Mr. Andrews.

In conversation Mr. Andrews does not speak in Alwato, nor (always) in the jargon of which your article furnishes so amusing examples. In explaining his system to me, he used very good American, and made himself, I venture to affirm, very nearly intelligible, an assertion which I should hardly dare to make of Comte, and which no one, I think, who regards his reputation for truthfulness, would dare to make of Hegel or Oken, upon the same subject. As I have heard nothing of "descending wings," or elements "upward and frontwise tending," or other elements "pointing downward and behind," I wish to say that I hardly admit myself to have been guilty of that "culpable amiability" for which you lament the want of a name. Very respectfully, etc.,

F. A. P. Barnard.

Columbia College, May 20, 1871.

Notes.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Sons publish immediately "The Young Mechanic," a book intended to teach boys, and not improbably adults, the use of tools and the construction of mechanical models, together with the art of turning in wood and metal; also, "Till the Doctor Comes," a manual of directions in cases of accident; and, by arrangement with the London publishers, "Thoughts on Health," by James Hinton, M.D.

—A quarterly periodical, called the *School Laboratory of Physical Science*, edited by Professor Gustavus Hinrichs, formerly the scientific editor of the Iowa *School Journal*, is published at Iowa City by Griggs, Watson & Day, at one dollar per annum. Its aim is very concisely set forth in its motto: "Let us hasten the day when an experimentative table, with physical apparatus and specimens, shall be as indispensable an appurtenance of the smallest school-house as a blackboard is now; and when every town of a thousand inhabitants shall possess a good school laboratory, wherein twenty-five pupils can experiment at the same time." The March number is mainly made up of original and selected arguments in favor of laying the foundations of scientific knowledge in the common schools. A few pages are given (presumably, not so many as hereafter) of "Practical Laboratory Notes," describing various instruments by reference to another work of the editor's; "Laboratory News," chiefly relating to Iowa; and brief reviews. This publication may serve to awaken a proper interest in the subject, but its end is to be reached, if at all, by enlarged facilities for the training of teachers—such, for example, as those afforded by the Boston Institute of Technology. It is mortifying to think what sums have been wasted in supplying schools with philo-

sophical apparatus which the teachers did not know how to use, and with libraries of which the scholars had no need.

—The late Mr. George Ticknor's bequest of Spanish works to the Boston Public Library has been ascertained to consist of 3,760 printed volumes, 14 bound manuscript volumes, 598 pamphlets, and several unbound manuscripts. It is stated that no single library in Spain possesses all the books of this collection, while the only collections of equal value are the Spanish Library in the British Museum and the private library of Lord Holland. The choiceness of it, indeed, may be judged from the fact that it was substantially gathered together between the years 1817 and 1838—the interval having been spent in completing rather than in merely adding to it; and as Mr. Ticknor spared no expense to procure the works he desired, it is quite credible, as is asserted, that he raised the prices of Spanish books in all the principal markets. This eminent scholar also bequeathed to the city the sum of four thousand dollars for investment, from the income of which he directed that his collection should be enlarged by the outlay of at least one thousand dollars every five years, for twenty-five years; but in order that its quality might be maintained, he expressed a wish that only such books should be purchased as had been published in some one edition at least five years—"books of permanent value and authority, and neither newspapers, periodicals, nor other popular publications not likely to be of lasting consideration." At the end of the twenty-five years, the income of the fund may be devoted to the purchase of solid books in other than the Spanish and Portuguese languages, if thought advisable. The collection is to be kept together, like the Bates, Bowditch, and Parker collections.

—"Mr. E. P. Knowles's 'Matchless Truth,' a bust in Carrara marble," is thus described by a Wisconsin critic—what it is, and what it "does." We had no idea before of the capacities of American art:

"Truth, carved in marble, must be an intensified composure; an impassioned equanimity; an all-alive repose; a consciousness gathering to itself every separate human consciousness, each in completest subjection to all others. Mr. Knowles's work so does this that a genial awe rises in the beholder while passing from the impressive whole of the face out to the skilful blending which make it up, each feature and line touched with the one vital concept—TRUTH. The bisecting, facial line falls enough to the left, to rest in the anatomical heart, thus happily coupling the seat of the affections with the grandly enthroned moral and intellectual natures above it. The mouth and chin, very critical points in the work, have firmness enough to exclude all *equivocal* conditions of character; but not so much as to suggest combative or incorrigible soul-posture; the right segment of the mouth shows a slight love curve in the lips; the left portion, more the sanctity of assured rectitude. The moulding of the chin is more of grace than of strength; and if pressed to name a fault in the work, we should query, at least, if there is strength enough here to sustain the royal dignity and grace above it."

—Mr. Lowe's mistake in proposing a match-tax lay not in his borrowing the idea from the United States, but in overlooking the widely opposite conditions of the manufacture in the two countries. The almost exclusive use of machinery for that purpose with us renders the tax one of the soundest and least unpopular of all our ways of raising what we call the internal revenue. It is not on that side, certainly, that we merit the sarcasm which Mr. Lowe's opponents have visited upon us for our financial absurdities. We have even come to be envied a contrivance which we ourselves regard as a necessary nuisance—nothing less than our fractional, postage, or "shinplaster" currency. The London *Bookseller* for May complains that the new Postmaster-General, Mr. Monsell, has cut off an indispensable privilege of the British public—the redemption, namely, of postage-stamps at the post-office itself, or any of its branches. Heretofore, persons wishing to transmit small sums by mail without the trouble and expense of procuring a money-order, have been in the habit (as is common enough with us) of enclosing postage-stamps:

"So universal has this practice become," says the *Bookseller*, "that not a day passes without some reaching us. In our own case, we contrive to use nearly all that come to hand; but, had we any wish to do so, could dispose of them at a neighboring post-office. Now this privilege is to be done away with, and stamps will no longer be salable. What we require is a series of small currency notes, such as may easily be placed in letters; these may be of the value of sixpence, one shilling, and upwards, and pass from hand to hand at full value, or be cashed at any post-office at a small percentage. They would be in general request, and might be made to produce even a greater revenue than the new scheme of the post-office orders."

—In the same number of the *Bookseller* we find the following item confirmatory of its recent exposure of the reckless habits of the English editor and his reviewers:

"A publisher informs us that a few months ago, he on Saturday sent out some review copies of an 8vo volume which, on the following Monday he subscribed [put out to the trade?]; and that when he reached the Strand, a bookseller to whom he offered the volume, showed him a copy which he had purchased on Saturday evening. Not a single leaf had been cut open; it was stamped 'presented by the publishers;' and, as the bookseller said, therefore could not have been stolen; and, being uncut, produced a higher price than if it had been cut open. Stamping books is, therefore, a useless disfigurement. It will be better to cut them open, so that needy 'critics' may have no pecuniary interest in not reading the books they profess to review."

—The most noticeable recent and forthcoming English publications are as follows: The fourth volume of Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest;" "Russia in 1870," by Herbert Barry, in which some attentions are paid to Mr. Hepworth Dixon's romancing; "The New Slavery: an Account of the Indian and Chinese Immigrants in British Guiana," by Joseph Beaumont; "Kidnapping in the South Seas," by Captain Palmer, R.N.; "A New Sea and an Old Land," some rather fresh descriptions of Egypt in connection with the opening of the Suez Canal, by W. G. Stanley; "The Desert of the Exodus: or, Journeys on Foot in the Wilderness of the Forty Years," by E. H. Palmer; "A Land Journey from Asia to Europe," by Wm. Athenry Whyte, who travelled by camel and sledge from Canton to St. Petersburg, through the plains of Mongolia and Siberia; and Col. Henry Yule's new version of the "Book of Sir Marco Polo, the Venetian." Tourists will do well to examine Captain J. R. Campbell's "How to see Norway" (Longmans); and "Saturday Afternoon Rambles round London, Rural and Geological," a series of articles by Henry Walker, first printed in the *City Press* (Hodder & Stoughton). Mr. Murray publishes "Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries: their Age and Uses," by James Fergusson, F.R.S.; and a "History of British Commerce from the Conclusion of the Seven Years' War to the Present Time," by Professor Leone Levi, F.S.A. From Macmillan & Co. we are to have "A Treatise on the Origin, Nature, and Use of Wine" by J. W. L. Thudichum and Auguste Dupré; and "Principles of Political Economy," by W. Stanley Jevons. In biography, we have, following close upon Miss Wedgwood's "John Wesley," three works upon the same subject: "Wesley his own Biographer," with an introduction by Geo. Stringer Rowe; "Wesley, his Life and Work," from the French of Rev. Matthew Lelièvre; and "Life and Times of Wesley" (Vol. III.), by Rev. L. Tyerman. In social science, William Logan's "The Great Social Evil: its Causes, Extent, Results, and Remedies," may be recommended as a useful and suggestive work, by a person of large observation. The last edition of John Henry Newman's "Arians" having grown very rare, a new one, almost completely rewritten, is to be published shortly. A volume of poems by a young man named Marston, who is blind, is looked for with some interest, owing to the warm terms of commendation with which his friends speak of his productions.

—The collection of books belonging to Baron Kirkup, of Florence, about to be broken up in London, contains, besides the codices of Dante noticed before, a Petrarch of the fifteenth century, beautifully illuminated in the school of Mentagna, the drawings on dark vellum in gold and silver ink; a MS. Lancelot of the Lake, early fifteenth century, with water-color illumination; a printed Dante on vellum, for which over 1,000 frs. were paid; a beautiful Horæ Beatæ Virginis, printed on vellum, with the woodcuts worked over in water-color; a copy of the second edition of Vespucci's Voyages, with the title: "Paesi novamente ritrovati per la navigazione de Spagna in Calicut et da Albertutio Vesputio Fiorentino intitulati Mondo Novo, etc." There is also a MS. Dante of 1417 with illuminated initials. Inside the cover of one of the little Italian books is Kirkup's drawing of Giotto's portrait of Dante, discovered by Kirkup in 1848 on the walls of the Bargello prison, now the Museo Nazionale. The copy is a facsimile of the original in the state in which it was found. There is also a copy of Lord Vernon's edition of Dante in three volumes, presented by him only to members of the English nobility whose libraries were supposed to be entailed, Baron Kirkup being probably the only exception to the rule. There is also a most curious collection of antique books on astrology and necromancy, and a miscellaneous lot of ancient and rare modern books, superb bindings, missals, etc., which cannot be described except by catalogue. They will be sold under the direction of Ellis in July. It is more than doubtful if the catalogues will be ready to be sent to America in time to be of any use to our collectors, so that our note may be some guide to the latter.

—There will be a sale of choice impressions of Dürer's copperplates in London, in July. This will include all the most important plates, with some examples of rare excellence. Such a lot, according to the connoisseurs, has not been offered for many years, if ever. Ellis is publishing a

set of our compatriot Whistler's etchings, of Thames River subjects. In England, Whistler is considered the greatest genius amongst the painters of America, and his etchings as the best contemporary work of their class. The Thames furnishes perhaps the most picturesque material of all the rivers of the Old World, and amongst the decaying wharves and decrepit buildings along its banks Whistler has labored diligently. Most of his plates have been destroyed by want of care or by intention, but those from which this series are printed have been rescued almost *malgré lui* by his friends and admirers. Amongst them "St. George's Wharf," with a charming composition of river craft; the "Eagle Wharf," with a mass of old stores, which Hogarth may have painted much in their present state, and which Whistler has rendered with a delicacy of drawing quite unsurpassabie; "Wapping Wharf," an especially picturesque subject, with shipping stranded at low tide, are as choice examples of what etching can do as any man since Rembrandt has produced. Some of the plates are evidently far from finished, but on the whole they are a valuable lesson in etching and an acquisition to any collector of works in line. There are in all 16 plates, of which one is a curiously Rembrandtesque portrait of the artist, published at £12 12s. the set, only an edition of 100 being printed.

—May brings round the annual picture sales in London, at which the capitalists who invest in pictures turn their money over and clear out for another lot. The profits of picture-dealing in England are for wise investments quite extraordinary. A picture in the last year's Academy exhibition which was sold at the opening for £800, resold before the close for £1,500; and pictures which have been favorably noticed by an influential critic have quadrupled the money they were sold for on opening-day. The picture business in London resembles the tulip-mania in Holland in the days when Dutch merchants had more money than they could invest in rational ways. A Millais, a Rossetti, or a Mason passes from buyer to buyer, rising in value as it goes, until, in some cases, a picture has realized for the last seller during the life of the painter ten times the price he got for painting it, and a remarkably fine example of a popular English painter rises to the scale of prices paid for the greatest of the old masters.

—One of the best of the foreign correspondents of a Boston paper speaks of "the attempt to establish the mediæval commune in Paris." It is natural that in regard to so distant and obscure times knowledge should be vague and inaccurate, and that some of the glory of the mediæval commune should be reflected upon its spurious namesake. But, in point of fact, the two institutions have nothing in common but the name, and a certain fact of community; the nature of the community is entirely different. The Commune of the present day, as we have already shown, aims at a community of *property;* if they had their way, the insurgents would like to abolish private property as well as all social distinctions. The historical commune, on the other hand, implies merely a community of *interests*, and a banding together to protect them. Its origin was the guild; that is to say, it was essentially a *brotherhood*, a personal and purely voluntary relation. It was called *communia jurata*, "sworn commune," an expression which shows that it rested upon an oath taken individually by each member; and this oath bound the members (*jurati*) among other things to the duty of mutual aid and defence. Nothing was further from the thoughts of these men than modern communism, or any interference with established institutions or vested interests, further than was required for the establishment of their local self-government. The commune of the twelfth century was simply one of the many forms of municipal republics that sprang up at that time, using the principle of private association, or brotherhood under oath, as the basis of municipal organization.

—The more or less lamented Gustave Flourens published a few days before his death a work "for the benefit of mankind," called "Paris Livré"—a sort of history of the city from Sedan to the surrender in February. The reading of it will dispose the fair-minded to think better of this Revolutionist than they may have done heretofore. We have only space for one or two extracts, premising that the author always speaks of himself in the third person. The first is sheer lunacy, but reveals the curious history of the man:

"Meanwhile, Flourens, constantly planning how to liberate his friends who had been condemned by the Imperial tribunal at Blois, tried to provoke an insurrection at Athens. His old comrades of the Cretan revolt, the best sub-lieutenants of the Hellenic army, were enthusiastically bent on proclaiming the Republic in Greece. Flourens expected to overthrow without difficulty the feeble bastard government, and then to embark from the shores of Attica sufficient troops for upsetting the authorities at Marseilles, and marching on Paris, if the Empire should not fall before that time. But events followed in such rapid succession that he had scarcely made his arrangements, when he received the news of the French defeats. He left Athens at once, his heart full of grief, but at the same time abounding in hopeful anticipations. Landing at Trieste," etc., he arrived, after many adventures, in Paris, Sept. 8.

—In the following there is, *per contra*, an amount of sense of which, a few months ago, the ablest Frenchman seemed incapable; and it furnishes, as Karl Blind has pointed out in a letter to the London *Times*, a complete justification of Germany's conduct after Sedan:

"Two reasonable and manly solutions of the all-absorbing question were possible on the fourth of September, the American and the French solutions. The *American* solution, which was proposed and sustained by practical people, consisted in immediately concluding peace with Prussia, and in ceding to this power what it claimed and what it had a right to claim; for Prussia was victorious, and had been attacked unjustly by France. In the losses we had experienced we could see only the effects of the Imperial system, not those of the Republic; for the Republic could not be made responsible for the crimes, follies, and rapacity of its murderer. The Empire had become bankrupt; its balance closed with a gigantic deficit. It behooved the new Republic not to assume this miserable burden, but to liquidate as soon as possible. . . .

"The second or *French* mode of solving the question originated among political enthusiasts, and consisted in the continuation of the fight. This way of getting rid of the invaders involved a war to the knife—stripping the country of all its resources, and hurling all its men and strength against the enemy with the fury of despair. The country could be victorious only by its own ruin.

"Each of these solutions possessed its peculiar advantages, and each of them might, if well applied, have saved France. Certainly, no third way of saving the country existed in the minds of reasonable men, nor could there be any compromise between these two alternatives. Yet it was just this third, hybrid policy which was adopted by the Committee of National Defence. The men composing that body continued the war according to the Imperial system, allowing the generals of the Empire to retain their charge. Such measures were of course equivalent to inevitable defeat."

When we add that Flourens does not waste breath in abusing the Germans as barbarians, and that he ridicules the barricade system of his friend Rochefort, we shall have given enough of the contents of his book to prove it worthy of examination.

CULTURE AND RELIGION.*

This little volume, which has excited, and deservedly excited, a great deal of interest both here and in England, consists of a series of five lectures, delivered by Principal Shairp to the students of the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, last winter, in which he attempts to show that there can be no real culture in which religion does not play the leading part. He takes up the two theories of culture—the scientific, as propounded by Huxley, and the literary, as propounded by Matthew Arnold—and endeavors to prove that the former is false, owing to the total exclusion of religion, and the latter defective, owing to the subordinate position assigned to religion in the composition of the ideal on which it rests. The Huxley theory of culture may be gathered from this gentleman's definition of a truly well-educated man. "That man," he says, "has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear cold logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam-engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of nature, and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will—the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of science or art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself." Elsewhere he explains his view of the part played by man in this world by the striking and well-known figure of the game of chess, played on one side by man himself, and, on the other, by a "calm, strong angel," hidden from mortal sight, and who, though "his play is always fair, just, and patient, and though he would rather lose than win," "never overlooks a mistake, or makes the smallest allowance for ignorance." The aim of man in cultivating himself, therefore, should be, he holds, to learn the rules of this mighty game, or, in other words, to find out what are the laws of nature, and to bring his whole being, as far as he can, into harmony with them. In this theory of culture, as is easily seen, religion, in the ordinary accep-

* "Culture and Religion in Some of their Relations. By J. C. Shairp, Principal of the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, St. Andrews." (Reprinted from the Edinburgh edition.) New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1871.

tation of the term, holds no place whatever. The sphere in which the religious sentiment finds its food is shut out from us by an impenetrable veil.

According to the literary and æsthetic theory of culture, on the other hand, the aim of culture is, says Mr. Arnold, "to make reason and the kingdom of God prevail." As a means to this end, it seeks the perfection of human nature on all sides and in all its capacities; and, in order to discover in what this perfection consists, it seeks aid from science, poetry, philosophy, history, and religion, but from religion in no greater degree than from the others. Religion is an instrument of culture, but only one of many. The Hebrew (or Puritan) training is defective, because religion plays too large a part in it; the Hellenic, because in it religion does not play a part large enough. The aims of culture, however, coincide with the aims of religion, for it places perfection in an internal condition of soul, and makes a progressiveness, or "a growing and becoming," and not "a having and resting," its great characteristic, and maintains that true perfection must not be self-contained, but must embrace the good of others equally with our own.

Principal Shairp's objections to the scientific theory of culture might be readily guessed. The first is, that it divides all possible objects of thought into two classes of phenomena—"sensuous objects, and our unsensuous ideas of them;" whereas, there is, to the religious man, a third class of objects of thought—"the unsensuous percipients, or spirits, which each of us is conscious that he himself is." The second objection is, that this theory wants a lever, or adequate source of whatever is good in it Where does it get "the tender conscience," and the respect for others, which it holds to be so important, if man lives solely under the operation of fixed laws? A mere study of these laws would not supply them. Moreover—and this seems to us the strongest and certainly the most impressive of Mr. Shairp's points against it—the great game of life has two sides, a side which is visible and tangible, and a side which is moral and invisible. According to all outward appearance, a man may be losing at every move, through ignorance or mistake. Pain, sorrow, poverty, death, and all other woes of this life, if other woes there be, may come upon him in spite of what Professor Huxley pronounces the proper training, and yet he may be on the moral side, winning all the while, and may close victorious, with every prize he set before himself firmly in his grasp. To the literary theory of culture, Mr. Shairp objects that it makes primary what ought to be secondary, and secondary what ought to be supreme; that is, Mr. Arnold errs in treating religion as only one of many means of culture. Religion is, Mr. Shairp holds, however, an end in itself, to which culture is but a means; a good in itself, to be pursued for its own sake, or not at all; and, in support and illustration of this view, he cites the remarkable law of ethics which Dr. Newman has expressed so happily that it has been proposed to name it "Newman's law." "All virtue and goodness tend to make men powerful in this world, but they who aim at the power have not the virtue. Again: Virtue is its own reward, and brings with it the truest and highest pleasures; but they who cultivate it for the pleasure's sake are selfish, not religious, and will never gain the pleasure, because they never can have the virtue." Applying this law to the relations of religion and culture, Mr. Shairp maintains that, if we seek religion as a means of culture, we can never have the religion; it cannot play any real part in shaping our lives. If, on the other hand, we start with some sense of God, and our relations to him, and go on from this centre, we shall attain the highest culture—that is, something which ceases to be culture merely, and becomes religion itself—the idea, in short, which is expressed in Christ's saying, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all other things will be added unto you."

His second objection to the literary theory of culture is, that the consciousness of the effort after perfection which it prescribes must make the attainment of that perfection impossible, because all such efforts must involve constant self-reference, a thought of self, which is entirely incompatible with perfection. Lastly, he maintains Mr. Arnold's culture could hardly ever prove a bond of brotherhood, because the great mass of mankind must be for ever incapable of laying hold of it. Those who achieve it, therefore, must always find themselves in the position of a fastidious and exclusive class.

It can be readily gathered from the foregoing what Principal Shairp's own theory of culture is, though we recommend a careful reading of the lecture on the "Combination of Religion and Culture" as essential to a complete understanding of his position. Religion, in other words, a constant sense of God's presence and power, a constant reference to his will, as the great source of light and life, and a constant striving after "oneness" with him, or, in plainer English, harmony with his will, are in Mr. Shairp's mind, not only the great and only means of culture, but, finally, culture itself. Nothing can be sweeter, simpler, clearer, than his exposition of his views, and he has the still rarer merit of clearly understanding his opponents' position, and strives earnestly and successfully to do them full justice. In short, there has of late been no contribution so valuable to a discussion which grows in interest and importance from year to year, and which every thoughtful man now follows with real anxiety. All those of us who have risen above the gratification of the mere animal wants—that is, all that portion of mankind which is making contributions to the work of civilization—live in pursuit of an ideal of some kind; and the character of both individuals and nations undoubtedly depends on the nature of this ideal, and on the earnestness and persistence with which it is pursued. Ideals, of course, differ; but all that portion of society which occupies itself with ideals at all, has been of late divided in its worship between the three which Mr. Shairp sketches. The religious ideal has for many ages had the world to itself; it now finds formidable rivals in the scientific and literary ideal. The two latter now win over every year greater and greater numbers of those who call themselves "men of culture," or who value culture. The religious ideal, too, has lost much of its hold on the minds of those who make no pretensions to culture, owing to the changed part which theology has of late played in the regulation of life. When it furnished rules of conduct for practical use, it had for a great number of minds of coarse fibre all the attraction of a useful body of law; and when it threatened the masses with future and easily pictured penalties for present transgressions, it secured an attention which is always paid to a means of protection against a much threatened danger. But we confess that, considering the actual condition of men's minds, it is impossible to rise from Principal Shairp's account of it, and of the means by which he still proposes to enable it to retain its supremacy over human life, without a painful sense of disappointment; without feeling that, if this be the only mode of bringing religion and culture into harmony, and furnishing the race with that strongest of all bonds of brotherhood, a common and lofty conception of the ends of living and doing, we are still far from the end of the existing anarchy. There is, as it seems to us, this defect in the means to which he and many religious men look for the grand reconciliation of conflicting aims and creeds. He withdraws his theory of culture totally and completely from the examination of the intellect. He will not suffer it to be tested by the scientific method. He says it must be apprehended by the "spiritual sense," an inner light, lying behind the mind, and illuminating it, and informing it, and furnishing the simplest and humblest with means of laying hold of religious truth—that is, the highest truth—the knowledge of God's character. Of the existence of this truth in the mind there is, however, no test whatever to which any two persons can appeal. We cannot judge of its existence by results or "fruits," as displayed in external conduct, for they may, to our eye, be precisely similar in a Huxleyite or Arnoldite and in a Spiritualist. Religious culture is thus reduced to a matter of individual experience, which may differ in every different person, and which it would be, as we indeed know it to be, useless to attempt to treat as the basis of a common ideal. Spiritual truth, as Professor Shairp describes it, and apprehended as he says it can alone be apprehended, produces phenomena so widely separated as Spurgeon, John Henry Newman, and Theodore Parker, Loyola, Torquemada, and Miss Jones, who died a real martyr as a nurse in a Liverpool workhouse, and whose eulogy Florence Nightingale has written. The true kingdom of God on earth must, however, whenever it comes, be surely the result of a general unison not simply of feelings, but of ideas about the great problems of life.

There is an enormous class of minds for which Mr. Shairp's system really makes no provision—minds which are prevented by their very constitution from wandering on the dimly-lighted border-land which men of a saintlier or more mystic turn so dearly love, who must see clearly or not at all, and must apprehend through the intellect, or remain totally ignorant. It is useless to tell them that they can if they will. They have been hearing this for two thousand years, and are no nearer spiritual culture, as Mr. Shairp describes it, than ever. Nay, they are daily going off in larger and larger numbers, and framing theories of culture and duty adapted to their special needs, but which, whatever their scientific claims to attention may be, there is no denying, have as yet done little to supply any solid rule of conduct, or give as yet but little sign of shedding on the latter stages of the way appointed for all living the tender radiance of the older beliefs.

A Medico-Legal Treatise on Malpractice and Medical Evidence. Comprising the Elements of Medical Jurisprudence. By John J. Elwell, M.D., Member of the Cleveland Bar, etc. Third edition, revised and enlarged. (New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co.)—The number and importance of American contributions to the literature of medical jurisprudence are noteworthy facts. Since Professor Beck first brought his ponderous book into the world, there have been several laborers in the same field who are entitled to rank in the first class; notably Wharton and Stillé, whose admirable philosophical treatise is as attractive to the student as it is useful to the practitioner; and, in one department, Dr. Ray. This book of Dr. Elwell's, though limited in scope and unpretentious in its claims, will, perhaps, be oftener taken from its shelf in a working library than some of its bigger predecessors. Its special value is in two points: 1st. Regarding malpractice, the law of which gets, in twelve chapters, a more satisfactory and convenient statement than we know of elsewhere, with copious citations of adjudicated cases; and, 2d, Concerning the judicial bearings of insanity. Although the author treats this subject at less length than the first-mentioned, yet his views of it are so judiciously conceived and so clearly expressed as to give particular value to this part of his book. The doctrine of momentary moral insanity finds scant favor at his hands. It is singular that we have as yet no convenient name for this disease, latterly of almost epidemic prevalence in America, and which, besides sometimes involving its subjects in considerable temporary inconvenience, threatens to place our social order at their mercy. The disorder which the eye-doctors, with that passion for Greek roots which is a part of their very being, now love to call dyschromatopsia, and which is known to the vulgar as color-blindness, went for a while under the name of Daltonism, in commemoration of the great chemist who offered an eminent example of it in his own person. Dr. Elwell's citation of the well-known case of one of the early sufferers from this unnamed mental disease (since happily restored to great usefulness as a warrior and statesman) suggests that the name "Sicklesism" might fill the nosological hiatus that we deplore. Disputed claims for life-insurance and for indemnity for bodily injuries against railways are so frequent nowadays that somebody will have to make a book on the subject. There is a little book by Mr. Erichsen, a distinguished London surgeon, which we believe is regarded with extreme disfavor by respondent railways and accident insurance companies, but it treats of such injuries merely from the surgical point of view, and something of wider scope is required. Dr. Elwell has done so well and so practically in some of his chapters, that we regret that he did not amplify his third edition in this direction. The need of some such authority is illustrated by the statement lately made to us by the claim-adjuster of a company whose specialty is insurance against injury and death by accident: "I have found $200,000 worth of 'dead men' for my company;" his latest *coup* in this line having been to produce in open Court a $5,000 "dead man," walking between two constables, and then and there to restore him to the more or less reluctant bosom of his stricken but litigant heirs. Of course, where we have fictitious deaths occurring with such frequency, we must expect fictitious injuries in due proportion, and the investigation of either is often a perplexing puzzle.

This being the third edition of Dr. E.'s book, it would not be captious to ask a more immaculate typography than it has to show. The Ohio printers have had their wicked will with some of the law Latin and hard names; they send forth two standard chemists, Reinsch and Scheele, disguised as Wrensch and Sheilds. It is hard, too, that even so exemplary a criminal as James Stephens should have been *sus. per coll.* in New York in 1859, just after the first edition, and yet in 1871 be kept *in gremio legis* by having his case "still before the Court of Appeals, on important questions of law."

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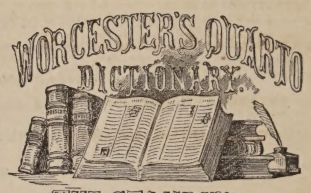

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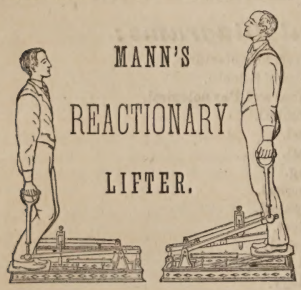

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 1871.

The Week.

THE Senate has ended its session most ingloriously by voting the discharge of the imprisoned correspondents, which showed no great magnanimity or good sense, however, as they would have been discharged in any case on *habeas corpus* immediately after the adjournment. The enquiry has grown mainly out of the desire of Mr. Conkling to prove Mr. Fenton guilty of giving or conniving at giving illicit news to the correspondent of the *Tribune*, or, in other words, was simply a prolongation of the long-standing quarrel about "offices" which rages in this State between these two gentlemen, and which is every now and then declared to be ruining the Republican party in New York, and which leads to periodical attempts on the part of the President to set up the party by taking "offices" away from Fenton men and giving them to Conkling men, or *vice versâ*—an abstruse process of statecraft which the party papers watch with intense interest, and from which they usually predict the happiest results as likely to flow, both for the party and for humanity. In this instance, however, fortune seems to have favored neither side. It appeared clearly from the evidence that nobody connected with the Senate, and nobody in the Senate chamber or in the rooms attached to the chamber, gave the treaty to the *Tribune*. This ascertained, the Senate ceased to have any jurisdiction of the matter; where else the *Tribune* got it was none of its business, any more than the source from which the *Tribune* procures its editorial articles; but it kept up the enquiry to the last, kept the correspondents in prison to the last, was noisy, silly, and ridiculous to the last, and kept two nations waiting for it to attend to its proper business for nearly ten days.

We must observe, however, that the *Tribune* is estopped from making the solemn protest it has made against the Senate's claim to the right to seize telegraphic dispatches. That right was impudently asserted by the House in favor of Gen. Butler's Committee, when that statesman was engaged in trying to find out whether Messrs. Trumbull and Fessenden were not as bad as himself, and no protest against it came from the *Tribune* or most other Republican papers. To have these iniquitous precedents turned against their authors and supporters must, therefore, give satisfaction to every friend of good government. Some skulls are so thick that it seems impossible to make their owners sensible of the danger and folly of bad precedents without subjecting them to personal experience of their operation, though the great use of human memory and judgment is to enable people to see by inference what a course of conduct will lead to, without working the whole thing out every time a certain state of facts comes up.

Governor Hoffman has vetoed the Code Amendment Bill, and one hundred and fifty others of various degrees of rascality, or mischief, or negligence, which, it must be said, shows that he at least is attending to his business, and doing it honestly; but what are we to think of a Legislature, almost half of which is Republican, which gives him so much of this sort of work to do? The guilty Winans, as he blushes and weeps over the wages of his infamy in his degraded home, must certainly find a good deal of comfort as he surveys the stuff which the Governor has rejected, and which his sixty-three immaculate associates either voted for or allowed to pass, without letting the public know what was going on. If there is going to be any praying in churches over Winans, as one of his denouncers predicted, we hope a word or two will be put in for the incorruptibles who let the Code Amendment Bill, empowering Barnard to muzzle the press of the State, pass without a sign that they knew anything about it. Winans, we perceive, and much as we expected, has just been presented with a $1,000 gold watch by his admirers.

Mr. Vallandigham's programme for the national Democracy has not been universally accepted by the party, and perhaps is not destined to be; but already the weight of opinion is with it, and, speaking broadly, it may be said the ablest Democratic journals of the North, and especially those which are the breath of life to the country press in all points of doctrine and policy, have given in their adhesion. In Ohio itself, there is naturally a division of feeling on account of local differences and jealousy, Mr. Vallandigham being strongly suspected of having an eye to the main chance, and of hoping to acquire a decisive influence in electing the next governor of Ohio. The Montgomery County resolutions, as his are called, have accordingly been offset by the Butler County resolutions, for which Mr. Lewis D. Campbell stood sponsor. These latter propose no "new departure," and advocate no burying of dead issues; and admit the validity of the Constitutional amendments and reconstruction acts only until they can be set aside. There can be no doubt that Mr. Vallandigham has loosed the tongues of a great number of sensible but party-bound Democrats, and those of them who happen to be editors are taking a huge delight in putting off restraint. In a comically solemn way they go about explaining that Democrats have always been in favor of "the Constitution as it is," and that they mean to be no less true to the present one than to that other "which has fallen never to rise again." Southern journals are of course longer in making up their minds. The Memphis *Avalanche* professes to have been before Vallandigham in urging the turning over of a new leaf; the Mobile *Register*, on the other hand, repudiates the movement except as concerns submission to the thirteenth amendment, which abolishes slavery. All other Radical legislation it pronounces, in the language of the New York Convention of 1868, "unconstitutional, revolutionary, null, and void."

Mr. George Ticknor Curtis has done a very discreditable thing, which we were very desirous not to notice, but which we are forced to notice by the publicity given to it by himself and his ill-advised friends. He has taken a fee from one of the parties in the Barlow-Field controversy for an opinion on its merits—a transaction to which there is no sort of objection. Nor is there any objection to his going to work, as he has done, and examining the case strictly *ex parte*, and under the influence of the bias in favor of one of the parties which an advocate naturally feels towards the persons who pay and employ him. But when he places the opinion thus formed before the world as the *judicial* finding of an old and experienced lawyer and philosopher upon a matter of great public interest, he does something which honest men would not forgive a very young and foolish lawyer for doing, and which, in Mr. Curtis's case, merits more reprobation than we fear it will receive. The controversy which Mr. Curtis has given judgment on turns almost entirely on the question whether Judge George G. Barnard is a corrupt judge, and whether Messrs. D. D. Field and T. G. Shearman know or believe him to be corrupt. They *do* believe him to be corrupt, and have both done good service in trying to expose and bring him to justice; and their opinion is shared, and Mr. George Ticknor Curtis knows it is shared, by the great majority of the bar of New York. Nevertheless, in the pamphlet before us he has the audacity—we cannot use a milder word—to pretend that Barnard's corruption is not a thing to be even imagined, an assumption not to be entertained or even enquired into. Upon the point *where* Judge Barnard signed the shameless *ex-parte* order, appointing James Fisk, the most notorious rogue in the State, receiver of the property of a great corporation, which the Judge left his mother's death-bed to sign (on the request of Coleman, the man whom he afterwards, on Fisk's motion, appointed receiver of the stolen shares of Heath and Raphael)—and which there is good reason to believe he signed either in the house of Fisk's mistress or did not sign at all—where does the reader suppose Mr. Curtis went for information? Why, to Judge George G. Barnard himself. And where does the reader suppose the learned judge told the innocent lawyer he signed it? Why, in a "real-estate office," near which he

happened to meet Mr. Field's clerk in the street, after ten o'clock at night. Mr. Curtis's opinion—as we shall show more at length when we get time, especially if there are not speedy signs that he feels thoroughly ashamed of it—is, in fact, one of the least reputable pieces of whitewashing we have seen for some time; and we find a fitting sequel to it, which may serve to explain to country readers the system by which the stream of justice in this city is befouled, and the bar debauched and muzzled, in the following from the law reports of the New York *Transcript*, the official paper of the city government, of May 24:

"*Before* BARNARD, J.—Johnston *vs.* the Kansas Pacific R. R. Co. Referred to Hon. George T. Curtis, to hear and determine."

We find we understated the effects of Judge Mullin's observations about the conduct of counsel in the Susquehanna case, in delivering the judgment of the General Term, to which we referred last week. The report from which we quoted made the Judge say he had seen nothing unbecoming in their conduct "in these proceedings and the action," meaning, as we thought, in the case of the *People agt. the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad Co.*, in which nobody ever said their conduct had been unbecoming. The correct report of the Judge's language shows we were right. He said: "in the proceedings in the action"—that is, the action in which he was giving judgment, and not the proceedings about which Judge Darwin E. Smith expressed himself so unpleasantly.

Probably the severest blow prize-fighting has ever received was dealt against it in this city last week, when the two principals in a hard-fought "mill" were sent to the penitentiary for one year, with the addition of a heavy fine, and the wretched umpire for six months. We believe no such penalty has ever before been inflicted for this offence, and it has cast a gloom over hundreds, if not thousands, of ugly "mugs." The two culprits are Englishmen, and their counsel urged in extenuation, and not without some foundation, that their art was held in favor by good society in their native country, but he put it a little too strong when he said the ring was patronized by Lord Palmerston and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lord Palmerston had the sneaking admiration of the sport with which men of his generation grew up. Probably few things in literature read more strangely than the entries in his diary, in the midst of searching observations on the condition of his own heart, criticisms on his own conduct, and observations on art and literature, showing rare culture and acumen, which the delicate, fastidious, high-minded, and scholarly Windham makes about the "mills" he attended. But no prelate has, we believe, ever witnessed a "stand-up fight," and we doubt very much whether either the present or late Archbishop of Canterbury ever even took or gave odds on any match, either between the light or heavy weights. Even if he had appeared at the ropes, it would not serve the interests of pugilism to mention it in open court.

Trade during the past week has been reasonably active. The imports continue liberal, the exports of cotton fair, and of grains large. The unfavorable weather for cotton growing, and the persistent reports of a declining acreage planted, have caused a further advance in the price of this important staple, while a remarkably unanimous account of mediocre crop prospects in all parts of the world has in a similar manner advanced the prices of breadstuffs in Europe, and prevented the generally anticipated decline here. Here, too, the weather in large parts of the country has, until within the last few days, been unfavorable to the growing cereals, and nothing but the conviction that there are large stores still in the country has prevented a further advance in price. The rise in cotton has resulted in some failures of no great importance, and one or two large failures are reported in other branches of business, but generally collections and payments are better than they have been for a long time. The foreign exchanges continue unfavorable, and the specie shipments, though somewhat less heavy, are uninterrupted.

Money remains cheap and abundant. The upward speculation on the Stock Exchange has been resumed; fresh consolidations, combinations, and stock dividends are talked of. Large amounts of railroad bonds are reported daily as bought for European account, and prices of this description of security have largely advanced. Government bonds are dull and almost stationary, gold scarcely ever fluctuates, and the funding, in spite of various rather incredible rumors, appears to have come to a complete stop. Mr. Boutwell's announcement that he will only buy four millions of bonds, but sell seven millions of gold, foreshadows a decline of revenue which may somewhat retard the progress of debt reduction during the summer months. Real estate, under the impetus of superabundant funds seeking employment, has become active, and everything appears to be shaping for one more burst of speculative inflation in everything. There is no end to new railroad enterprises, new mining, manufacturing, banking, and other financial corporations, all of which seem to be readily accepted by a public once more under the influence of the growing speculative tendency.

We have endeavored to explain on another page some of the difficulties of M. Thiers's position. There is no doubt they will be enormously increased by the sanguinary way in which he has had to suppress the rebellion in Paris. The slowness with which he did it, and which, we believe, was largely due, as the leaving Paris in the hands of the National Guard at the outset showed, to a foolish hope that he would be able to accomplish his object without much bloodshed, has brought on him the reproach of weakness and incapacity among the Conservatives; the enormous loss of life and property which has attended it, besides bringing on him the bitter hatred of the Reds, has probably at least lost him his popularity with the Parisian bourgeoisie. In fact, the fate has probably overtaken him which every attentive observer of French politics might have predicted, *à priori*, three months ago, would overtake him. Anybody who undertakes to govern Paris, if he refuses to adopt harsh or oppressive measures, like Louis Philippe, is driven out and despised as an imbecile; if he puts down disorder with a strong hand and hard heart, like Louis Napoleon and Thiers, he is pronounced a tyrant and a butcher, and this by the very men—the Communists, for instance—who in his place would have acted in a like manner. The way in which this last insurrection has been suppressed has been horrible, but any man who condemns it is bound to ask himself what he would have done in presence of the same problem. The most merciful man cannot be merciful to a foe who will not surrender, but fights on like a wild beast to the last. It is very unfair to compare Thiers's course to ours in dealing with the rebels of the late war. The Southerners were soldiers and politicians who fought under the rules of civilized warfare, and like rational beings laid down their arms when fighting was plainly useless. In judging him, we must ask ourselves how we should feel towards, and deal with, a mob like that of 1863, which, while holding New York for three months against the State troops, and finding themselves hard pressed, should set fire to the upper part of the city, and the wharfs, and the shipping, and the public buildings, and seize on the Protestant ministers and hang them, and open groggeries and faro-banks in the principal churches, and then, rejecting all terms, should get into holes and corners and deal out murder on every soldier and policeman who came near the spot. We doubt if, under these circumstances, the State militia and the decent men would behave like sages or saints. We may add, however, that our admiration for the horror of other people's wars which we see growing in every direction, fills our breasts with hope and rejoicing.

What Thiers will do now, it is difficult to guess. His main difficulty, since February, has been, it is said, the growing fierceness and implacability and royalism of the Assembly. The probabilities are that the eagerness for a monarchy has now become almost too strong to be controllable, and that he has sense enough to recognize the folly of setting up such a monarchy as the Assembly would desire to see, but feels too weak to control that body, if any attempt at forming a regular government should now be made. He will accordingly, per-

haps, try to compromise matters, and hold his own by getting rid of his radical surroundings, such as Favre and Picard, and then stave off a decision on the question of the form of the government, as Prim did in Spain, for a year, until the country grows calm, and industry has resumed its course, in the meantime reorganizing the army and holding the great towns with a strong hand.

The most horrible incident of the struggle has been the massacre of the Archbishop and the priests. This was worthy of Greek brigands or Feejee Islanders. Indeed, it was worse than the brigands, for they only massacre their hostages to prevent their threats being treated as empty the next time they hold anybody for ransom; but in this case, the slaughter was committed apparently in pure deviltry, when all hope of success was gone. The fact, too, that it was committed by men who have charged themselves in all seriousness with the task of reorganizing society on a juster and more humane basis, furnishes one of those horrible glimpses we get every now and then of the thinness of the crust which we call our civilization, and of the fierce fires which burn below it. Montalembert, however, distinctly foretold, five years ago, that at the next outbreak the church and the priests would be the great objects of hostility to the French Reds, owing to the unfortunate alliance into which, in 1851, they entered with the Empire. If ever there was a man whom it ought to have been impossible for a church to endorse, it was the hero of the Second of December, and the enthusiastic adherence of the clergy to him opened a moral abyss in the great cities such as will not soon or easily be filled up. Archbishop Darboy was an excellent old man, and, indeed, one may say of the whole French Catholic clergy that, in spite of much narrowness and bigotry, they are not surpassed in charity, in devotion, in self-denial. They pay freely with their person in all times of danger, necessity, and tribulation. This is the second Archbishop of Paris who has fallen before Red balls within twenty-three years.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the bloody overthrow of the Commune in Paris makes an end of the ideas on which the Commune rested. These, we may be sure, will live and grow. They have grown greatly since 1848, and they are spreading all over Europe; and they will, in our opinion, not cease to spread until they have made one great attempt for the conquest of modern society, and have in that attempt shaken our present civilization to its foundation. Our present civilization is based on contract—that is, on the theory that each individual is and should be free to make such use of his faculties as seems best to him, and is or should be bound to accept and be content with such rewards as they bring him. The Commune theory, in its real, though not generally confessed, meaning, allows contract no place whatever, but goes back to status, and seeks to treat every man as the agent or slave of society, working under its orders, and carrying his earnings to its store, and perpetuating the species, not through the family, but through simple pairing, like the animals; and this doctrine is raising up in its support fanatics who not only face death freely on the battle-field, but would face it in the flames or among the beasts in the arena. People who are interested in sociology would do well to consider this, and all itinerant Tongues would do well to have a little thinking about it done for them before they go wagging round the country about "labor and capital."

In the afternoon of the 23d, shortly after the capture of Montmartre, General Vinoy occupied the Ministry of War; Clinchant moved, by the Rue de Clichy, on the New Opera House, and Ladmirault's troops held the stations of the Northern and Eastern Railroads. The insurgents, however, continued to defend their main central positions on both sides of the Seine, including the Place Vendôme, the Tuileries, the Prefecture of Police, and the Hôtel de Ville. Their batteries on the Boulevard Haussmann, the Place Vendôme, and in the garden of the Tuileries, still presented a formidable front towards the west and northwest; but their right and rear were threatened by the flanking movements of General Ladmirault, against which they were not sufficiently guarded. This seems to have chiefly compelled their retreat in the night, or on the following morning, towards the eastern faubourgs, the beginning of which was accompanied by the setting on fire of the Tuileries and Louvre, and of the Palaces of the Legion of Honor and of the Council of State on the opposite bank of the river. The conflagration was exceedingly violent, so that of the four palaces only a portion of the Louvre could be saved, including its main treasure, the collection of art, while its library became a prey to the flames. But this act of vandalism was not to be the foulest stain on the memory of the Commune; for, in the same night, scores of so-called hostages were slain by its executioners in their prison, and among them Darboy, the Archbishop of Paris—the Abbés Susa and Duguerry, a large number of other priests, according to Minister Washburne, not less than sixty-seven—and the noted banker, Jecker.

The Place Vendôme was occupied on Wednesday morning; the insurgents made a strong stand at the Rue St. Honoré, and, on retiring, fired the Palais Royal; the Palace of Finance, the Barracks on the Quay d'Orsay, the Court of Accounts, the Prefecture of Police, and the Mont de Piété blazing up about the same time with petroleum. The Hôtel de Ville came next. The centre of Paris, on both sides of the Seine, was thus enveloped with flames and smoke, which spread towards the extremities. Still the fighting continued fierce. The Versailles troops, having carried the barricades in the Boulevards Bonne-Nouvelle and Poissonière, and some adjoining positions, which were stubbornly contested, finally became undisputed masters of the centre. The Quartier du Temple was the next theatre of the carnage, which was merciless on both sides. Women and children shared both in the fiendish fight and the pitiless retribution. From the Buttes Chaumont the insurgents bombarded the city with petroleum shells. Numberless insurgents caught with arms in their hands were shot; others were drawn from their hiding-places to share the same fate. The same was the aspect of affairs in the eastern half of Paris on Thursday, during which day the insurgents, after having blown up or evacuated all their positions south of the Seine, including the forts of Bicêtre and Ivry, still held Bercy, Charonne, the Père la Chaise, Ménilmontant, Belleville, the Buttes Chaumont, La Villette, La Chapelle, and the environs of the Place de la Bastille.

On Friday, the Government troops attacked both Belleville—upon which batteries of marine guns erected at Montmartre poured a terrible fire—and the Place de la Bastille. The fighting at both places was very severe, and was soon extended over the adjoining districts. The havoc among the insurgents became frightful. Several thousand surrendered, others fled beyond the *enceinte*, where they were disarmed and arrested by the Prussians. On the following day, Picard announced in the Assembly that "Generals Vinoy and Douai, after capturing the Place de la Bastille, had occupied the Faubourg St. Antoine as far as the Barrière du Tr ne, and that Generals Clinchant and Ladmirault had advanced to the foot of the Buttes Chaumont." This announcement probably summed up the results of the operations of Friday, which were completed on Saturday, the 27th, by the capture of the Buttes Chaumont and Ménilmontant by Ladmirault, and of the Cemetery of Père la Chaise by Vinoy. The fighting at all these places is described as desperate in the extreme, the Versailles troops, after a last summons by Marshal MacMahon, having ceased to give quarter—"to man, woman, or child," says the report—and men, women, and children were fighting. Remnants of various bands, hunted up in their last place of refuge, the Bois de Vincennes, surrendered on Sunday. General La Cecilia surrendered the Castle of Vincennes shortly after. The Commune had been stifled in the blood of tens of thousands. Most of its leading members had been slain, some fighting, others as prisoners. Among the captured and shot are mentioned Dombrowski, Vallès, Brunel, Amouroux, Rigault, and Billioray—the last, Minister of War, the "Brittiorari" of our late despatches; his predecessor, Delescluze, was found dead; Courbet, the painter, who presided at the demolition of the Vendôme Column, is reported to have taken poison. Some reports announce the execution of Cluseret, Okolowicz, Millière, and Rochefort. Assy and numberless others await trial. The extradition of the fugitives to foreign countries is urged by the French Government.

THE NEW RULES OF NEUTRALITY.

As the treaty of Washington has been ratified by the Senate of the United States, and as its ratification by the British Crown is certain, we may assume that the two great maritime and commercial nations have in the most formal manner adopted three new rules to govern their interstate relations, and that these rules will, through their example and influence, become parts of the code acknowledged by all civilized peoples. The importance of this action demands for it a more special examination than we were able to give it while describing the treaty at large in a recent article. It is plain that the effect of these rules is to limit neutral rights, and to define neutral duties. Do they abridge these rights and enlarge these duties? If so, they are opposed to the traditional and uniform policy of our own Government down to the time when the civil war placed us in the condition of a belligerent; for, while the United States, both through the executive and the judicial departments, has been firm and consistent in preserving and enforcing neutral duties, it has been equally firm—indeed, has been a leader among nations—in upholding neutral rights. Let us, then, compare these three rules with the municipal legislation of the United States and of Great Britain.

The *first* requires due diligence on the part of a neutral to prevent the equipping, fitting out, or arming within its jurisdiction, or the departure therefrom, of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war against a power with which it is at peace. The *second* forbids the use of neutral ports or waters as the base of naval operations by either belligerent, and the augmentation of military supplies or arms therein. The *third* simply holds the neutral responsible for the exercise of due diligence in enforcing the two former ones.

An act of Congress, passed April 20, 1818, provides in § 3 that "if any person shall, within the limits of the United States, fit out and arm, . . . or shall knowingly be concerned in the furnishing, fitting out, or arming of any vessel, with the intent that such vessel shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, to cruise or commit hostilities against the subjects of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace," he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, shall be liable to fine and imprisonment, and the vessel shall be forfeited; and in § 5 that, "if any person shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, increase or augment . . . the force of any ship of war . . . which, at the time of her arrival within the United States, was a ship of war . . . in the service of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, . . . the same being at war with any foreign prince or state, or with any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, by adding to the number of guns of such vessel, . . . or by the addition thereto of any equipment solely applicable to war, every person so offending" shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be liable to fine and imprisonment. These sections are identical with those of an act passed in 1817, which was superseded by the later statute. Prior to 1817, an act passed in 1794 was in operation, the provisions of which were substantially the same as those already quoted in forbidding the arming or equipping, or the augmentation of the force of vessels in the service, or intended to be used in the service of any "foreign prince or state," and differed therefore only in omitting all reference to "any colony, district, or people." In the year 1819, the British Parliament passed a statute almost identical in language, and absolutely the same in meaning, with the American act of 1818. It provides in § 7 that, "if any person within any part of the United Kingdom shall equip, furnish, fit out, or arm . . . any vessel, with the intent that such vessel shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince or state, or persons assembling to exercise government," etc. (proceeding substantially as in the American statute), such person shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and the vessel shall be forfeited; and in § 8 that "any person who shall, within any part of the United Kingdom, by adding to the number of guns of such vessels, or by adding other equipments, increase or augment the warlike force of any vessel of war," etc. (as in American statute), shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. The recent legislation of the British Parliament need not be referred to, because it does not affect the question we are discussing.

It is plain that the new rules of the treaty of Washington do not enlarge or add to the legal responsibilities of citizens of the United States, or of subjects of Great Britain, or of persons within the jurisdiction of either country. The statutes cited forbid all the acts described in the treaty, and apply the penalties to individual offenders. The language of the treaty is not more comprehensive than that of the statutes; and although the phrase, "such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use," found in the first rule, was doubtless intended to prevent a too narrow construction of the words "fitting out" and "equipping," yet the two rules plainly apply to no case not fully covered by the municipal legislation of both countries. The United States has not, therefore, subjected its citizens, and persons within its jurisdiction, to any legal restrictions or penalties which have not existed since 1794.

But those statutes are addressed by the Government of each country to private individuals. They create personal duties, and impose personal punishments; they do not assume to create a national obligation, or to provide for any national reparation or indemnity as for a breach of international law. Has the Government by the treaty raised any such national obligation which it did not recognize as existing before? Our own political history answers this question in the negative, so far as the United States is concerned. The judicial department, in a series of solemn judgments, has adopted the principles expressed in the three rules of the treaty, and treated them as parts of the international law, which the Government is bound to observe independently of statutes, and which the court must enforce by all the sanctions within its power. We will only refer to the celebrated case of the *Santissima Trinidad* (7 Wheaton, 283). Stripped of all unnecessary detail, the facts of the case were: the *Independencia*, a public man-of-war belonging to Buenos Ayres, in the year 1816, came into Baltimore, and her force was there augmented. She afterwards captured the Spanish vessel, *Santissima Trinidad;* and a part of the cargo thus captured having been brought within the United States, it was libelled in admiralty by the original owner. The statute of 1794 was then in force. It was urged, in support of the capture, that the statute did not apply to the case, because it only imposed personal penalties, and did not provide for the international duty of restoration. The position was correct. The proceeding did not fall within the statute, and if there had been no violation of international duty, independent of the statute, the Spanish owner would have been remediless. In pronouncing the judgment of the court, Mr. Justice Story said: "As to capture made during the same cruise, the doctrine of this court has long been established, that such illegal augmentation is a violation of the laws of nations, as well as of our own municipal laws, and, as a violation of our neutrality, by analogy to other cases, it infects the captures subsequently made with the character of torts, and justifies and requires a restitution to the parties who have been injured by such misconduct." This case—and there are several others to the same effect—covers the whole ground; for if augmentation of force in a neutral port is a violation of international law, imposing upon the neutral the international duty of making restitution under the circumstances described in this case, *a fortiori* must the equipping, fitting out, or arming in a neutral port a vessel intended to cruise against a friendly power be a violation of the same code, imposing a heavier duty to make reparation for the injurious consequences.

In the same opinion, Judge Story said that the sending the vessel (the *Independencia*) fully armed and ready for use in war, under American colors, papers, and command, to Buenos Ayres, for a bona-fide purpose of offering her there for sale in the market as a commercial enterprise, though it subjected her to capture as contraband, would not be a violation of our national neutrality. As is well known, the British Government relied upon this portion of Judge Story's decision as an answer to our demands respecting the Confederate cruisers. Mr. Dana, in his—as it seems to us—anxiety to sustain the American claims, declares in his notes to Wheaton that this was a dictum of Judge Story's, unnecessary to the decision made by the court. We venture to differ with him. This passage was no dictum; it was based upon the exact facts of the case, and disposed of a position most strongly advocated by the counsel for the owner. Above all, it

expresses a neutral right which our statutes did not give up, and which, in our opinion, the treaty has not given up. For it must be noticed that, when the case of *Santissima Trinidad* arose, the statute of 1794 was in force, which forbade the arming or equipping of vessels intended to cruise against a friendly power, by language as comprehensive and as direct as that contained in the first rule. Notwithstanding this, the Supreme Court held that a purely commercial enterprise, as described above, was not covered by the statute, nor by the inhibitions of the law of nations, any further than the contraband character impressed upon it. We cannot suggest any reason why the same construction may not be put upon the treaty. We believe, therefore, that the three rules have stated our international obligations exactly as they have been understood by the Government throughout our whole history, and have not abridged the commercial activities of our citizens by subjecting their purely contraband commerce to any restrictions or penalties except the ordinary risk of capture.

In the legislation of the British Parliament, we find provisions almost identical in terms with those contained in our own statutes, and beyond doubt the same in meaning. The operative words are "equip, furnish, fit out, or arm." And yet, in the celebrated case of the *Alexandra*, the English courts gave to this language an interpretation which made its evasion a matter of the utmost ease, and which indeed destroyed all the preventive and penal character of the statute. The judicial proceedings were commenced before the vessel was completed, and of course before anything had been done in the way of arming her. The prosecution showed the purpose and design for which she was built, and that in her construction she was adapted solely to warlike and not to commercial uses, and the Crown officers were obliged to rely mainly upon the descriptive word "equip" found in the statute. Chief Baron Pollock, who presided at the trial, expressed an opinion during its progress that "equipping" *ex vi termini* must include "arming." In his charge to the jury, he did not say in so many words that there could be no equipping without arming, but he told them that in order to be "equipped," "furnished," or "fitted out," so that the prohibitions and penalties of the statute could attach, the vessel must be in such a condition as to be substantially capable of hostile operations. As this was not the fact with the *Alexandra*, the jury could only find for the defendants. In the well-known correspondence which preceded and followed this decision, the British Government assumed two positions which it has maintained until their abandonment by the Treaty of Washington. These were, first: that Great Britain was not responsible to any foreign country for the condition of her own purely municipal law, for any defects in its provisions, or in its administration, and this whether that municipal law related to matters exclusively internal and private, or to matters external and public; and, second, that the statute in question was not declaratory of the international law, but was additional thereto, and that consequently no international obligation had ever rested upon the British Government to prevent the fitting out, equipping, or arming of the Confederate cruisers, or their escape from British ports. The three rules of the treaty are, therefore in every sense new to the British Government; they involve a complete abandonment by it of the positions before occupied, and an adoption of the principles and doctrines upheld by the executive and judicial departments of the United States.

If we examine the language of the rules more closely, we shall find that most of their operative terms were copied from the statutes which have been described. There are, however, some additions which produce distinctness and accuracy of meaning, but which do not, as we believe, extend the effect of the rules beyond that invariably given by the United States to its own legislation. "Preventing the departure" of a vessel is not found in the act of Congress, but is plainly included in the duty to prevent the "equipping, furnishing, or arming." We have already remarked that the phrase, "such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use," was probably inserted in order to prevent any such narrow construction of the words "fit out" and "equip" as that given by Chief Baron Pollock. The British courts would doubtless hold that it enlarged the neutral duties of their Government and citizens, by prohibiting what was not forbidden before. In the second rule, the provisions in reference to illegal augmentation are plainly taken from the statutes. The prohibition upon the use of neutral ports or waters as a base of naval operations by belligerent parties is not found in the municipal legislation to which we have referred, but it is certainly a familiar doctrine of international law. Finally, neither country is made an insurer against the unlawful and clandestine acts of its own citizens or of persons within its jurisdiction. The requisite of "due diligence" on the part of each nation makes it responsible for the negligence of its own officers in enforcing the rules, and for their complicity with those who may be engaged in the acts made unlawful by the treaty.

THE ASSEMBLY AND THE COMMUNE.

We are not admirers of M. Thiers, and, as our readers may remember, expected nothing very remarkable from him in the way of statesmanship when he was put into his present position. Nor have we at any time had a very exalted notion of the political capacity of the persons who were sent up to form the Assembly now sitting at Versailles. They were elected when the country was laboring under mortal anxiety, caused in part by the horrors and disasters of the war, and in part by the follies of M. Gambetta and his prefects, and while it was in large part occupied by the enemy, and without time for discussion or the interchange of opinion. They had then set before them the most painful task that has ever fallen to the lot of a deliberative body. It did not call for statesmanship, but it did require a great deal of courage. They had not to choose between different lines of policy, for the Germans were complete masters of the situation. The precise service which the Assembly and its president, M. Thiers, were called upon to render to France was to be the body of persons to bear the odium and disgrace which, as everybody knew, were sure to be heaped upon those who made a treaty which would not only humiliate France in the dust, but dismember her. Everybody shrank from rendering the country this service as long as possible, and it was freely predicted that any single man who made himself prominent in the performance of it, would have either to retire into private life or go abroad. The Assembly, however, did not shrink, though we doubt if it could have screwed its courage up to the sticking point if Gambetta had not been operating in its rear. But as soon as it went to work, it seemed to ordinary eyes to act very sensibly. It elected as chief executive officer the man who, whatever his faults, was acknowledged universally to be the foremost French politician of the day, both as regarded talents, character, and experience, and it ratified the treaty—with groans and tears to be sure, but still it ratified it. The terms were hard, but the Germans stood ready with 400,000 men to ravage France down to the shores of the Mediterranean in case they were rejected.

The result that everybody expected followed. The news was received by the Republicans with howls of execration, and as Paris was the headquarters of Republicanism, and the place which had suffered most from the war, the members of the Assembly were given to understand plainly they need not show their faces there. This was no empty menace, inasmuch as, by an extraordinary provision of the treaty, while the troops of the line were all disarmed and held as prisoners, and the Garde Mobile disarmed and sent home, the National Guard of Paris, which contained a large force of Reds, was left in possession of the city. The Assembly consequently, having the fate of several of its predecessors before its eyes, went meekly to Versailles—that is, as near Paris as it dared—and opened its proceedings there. This, however, was far from appeasing its enemies. In fact, in their eyes it only deepened its guilt. It had now not only sold the country to the Prussians, but it had "insulted" Paris and "the people" by refusing to come to the capital. This was bad enough; but worse remained. Before it had begun its deliberations, it was accused of designing to establish a monarchy. Moreover, it was charged with having been elected by the votes of an "ignorant majority," and sent up to rule over the enlightened inhabitants of the great towns; and this ignorance of the peasantry was spoken of with the most comical wrath, as if it was something which was found out after the election had taken place, and which ought of right to vitiate the returns. The rule of the majority, too, began to

be denounced savagely, as if it was a monarchical device suddenly contrived for the destruction of the Republic, as if Republicans had never heard of it, and as if the restriction of the suffrage by the Assembly of 1851 had done nothing to reconcile the Reds to the *coup d'état*. Accordingly, a new government was set up in Paris, the ministers of the Assembly put to flight, two of its generals murdered, and the public offices seized on; and, to crown the joke, an army was organized and began its march on Versailles to break up the organization which thirty-eight millions of Frenchmen had just created, and which was the only government they had. It was the arrest of this march by the fire of Fort Valérien which began the civil war. Up to that moment the new government had done everything it could to soothe Parisian susceptibilities, except sit in Paris, and had done nothing but what the country had elected it to do. It had signed the only attainable treaty of peace, and by that treaty it had exacted from a reluctant enemy the surrender of Paris and about 400 cannon to the armed National Guard of the city; it had refrained from sitting in Paris, in deference to the apprehensions, widely and reasonably felt, that if it did, it would be dispersed by a *coup d'état*, and the country plunged into the turmoil of another revolution. It had not uttered a single word indicating any intention to deal with the form of the government without a fresh appeal to the country.

M. Thiers now found himself charged with a fresh and horrible duty. He had to retake Paris, and he had no army to do it with. He had 30,000 or 40,000 men at Versailles, but there was not a regiment amongst them which he felt sure of, and they were all in a state of disorganization. So he had to wait for men, officers, supplies, and artillery, and moral support from the provinces. In the meantime, the 25,000 or 30,000 "men of order" in the city, who had at first stood by the Assembly, finding they were receiving neither succor nor orders from without, dissolved or joined the Commune. By the time he began the siege in earnest, however, he and the Assembly had become an object of more widespread execration than ever. They were abused by the well-to-do classes for not attacking the city sooner; then, when they did begin to attack it, they were abused for doing it so slowly, and also for destroying property by the bombardment. The Communists proper, of course, abused them still more fiercely, first for resisting the army which marched out to capture or disperse them; secondly, for killing people who were defending the city; and, thirdly, for wanting to rule Paris by the votes of the majority of Frenchmen.

To this tide of home denunciation was soon added a strong affluent from abroad. The London Comtists, headed by Mr. Frederick Harrison, can hardly find words to express their contempt and abhorrence of the "Versaillists" and their admiration for the sages of the Commune. They—and especially Mr. Harrison—display so much heat in their criticisms, however, as not only to deprive one of all respect for their judgment, but to suggest a resemblance to M. Veuillot's outpourings in the *Univers*, and to recall forcibly Professor Huxley's happy *mot* about the new religion, "that it was Catholicism with Christianity left out." The doctrine of these philosophers is, that the Communists were a parcel of sages and patriots, laboring to deliver the Holy City from the dominion of ignorant peasants and conceited literary men, from which it had suffered so much, and secure for it municipal independence; and that although they committed many mistakes, which was not unnatural, their general aim and intentions were good, and such as should secure them the sympathy of foreign liberals. Unfortunately this theory, plausible as it is, derives no support from the facts, and is in reality an afterthought. The men who were at the head of the Communist movement throughout—the Duvals, Bergerets, Courbets, Pyats, Blanquis, and Assys—were either common adventurers in search of a living, and for whom all forms of government which give them power and notoriety possess equal attractions, or else enthusiasts who, long ago, repudiated all regard for political forms which had not some new mode of distributing property as their end. The political arrangements which have for their object the protection of the rights of minorities, and the proper distribution of functions among different classes of officers, which occupy so much of the attention of the old school of politicians, have not, and have not had for many years, the slightest interest for the class of men who led the French Communists. They care nothing about "checks and balances," about the independence of the judiciary, the freedom of the press, the protection of personal or local self-government, personal liberty, or any of the other great questions over which the Western world has so long contended. They care nothing even about a republican form of government, as Americans understand it. Municipal independence, too, such as American cities and towns enjoy, in which property and liberty are shielded by the Constitution as expounded by the courts, from the attacks of the majority for the time being, would excite in their minds nothing but ridicule and contempt. The Republic they ask for is what Louis Blanc called in 1848 the "république appliquée"—that is, not a government providing certain modes of choosing officers or imposing certain restrictions on their authority—but a government which should actively superintend the work of production, and the division of the results of production among the workers. No machinery of administration and no distribution of the powers of government which do not serve as a means to this end, possesses the slightest value in their eyes, and anybody in America who fancies that what the Communists have been fighting for is that power of managing their own local concerns which is enjoyed by the inhabitants of an American city or town, only does so because he is ignorant of the history of the French Socialist. The attempts which some Englishmen and Americans have made to give their performances a purely political complexion, have been of about the same degree of intellectual respectability as the attempts made early in the war to persuade people that a republic had been set up in Paris, and, at a later period, that the Prussians were going to be driven out by a popular rising.

We have described the objects of "the Commune," however, a great deal too mildly. What we have said of them is what might have been said, and was said, in 1848. Since then, the doctrines of the leaders have made progress that may truly, in the light of recent events, be called frightful. The pretence that they have during the last two months been fighting for autonomy was only set up when they found that they would have to fight, and that the Versailles Government was not going to be swept away by a series of "fraternizations" on the part of the regular troops. Their real creed, which was temporarily kept in the background to avoid creating too great a panic in the city, and on which the Communal Government in Paris was to be based, in case they had triumphed, included the total denial of the existence of God and of a future life, the prevention of any religious observances, and the treatment of priests and ministers as impostors; the abolition of marriage, and the substitution of temporary connections, based on the inclination of either of the parties; the rearing and education of children by the Commune as in a vast foundling hospital; the outlawry of all persons not living by the labor of their hands, or, in other words, the creation of an aristocracy of *ouvriers;* the expulsion of the literary or educated class from all places of trust or dignity; the substitution of "natural justice" in the courts of law for all artificial systems of jurisprudence; the appropriation of all property to public use, and the provision of labor for all persons able to labor, and support for those who were not able, out of the public purse. If they could not have all this, they would have nothing, and were ready to go to any extremes in the attempt to get it. One of the most remarkable features in the history of the Commune is, that much stress as its champions and sympathizers have laid on the ignorance of the peasantry as a reason why there should be a political separation between town and country, not one word has there come from them about the possibility of building up a better state of things, and uniting them both once more in a happy, prosperous, and intelligent France, by *educating* the peasantry. Of the thirty-eight millions of honest, industrious, simple-minded people who till the fields of France, fight her battles, fill her treasury with gold, and, in the long run, pay the cost of all the faults and follies of the capital, neither Communists nor Comtists have, during all the recent discussions, ever spoken, except with hatred and contempt. Of the desirableness of enlightening them and elevating them, of any sense of responsibility for them or community of interest with them, we venture to say there is not to be found in their speeches or writings a single mention. And yet no intelligent man can doubt that in the peasantry, great as their

faults may be, the hopes of France for the future must rest. What of honor, of loyalty, of self-sacrifice, of patriotism, of love of home and industry, there is left in the country is to be found amongst them, and not among the crazy and unclean charlatans, loafers, and apes who make revolutions in Paris and Lyons. It was the peasants who, undrilled, and unofficered, and unorganized, faced the Prussian batteries all over France last winter, when the Parisian patriots were giving tongue in the clubs, and guzzling under the ramparts, and cursing Bismarck at long range. The peasant marched and fought, it is true often blindly, but he gave all he had to the country. George Sand says finely and truly, in speaking in a recently published diary of his share in the war: "I cannot, without pain, listen to abuse of the poor in spirit who marched to their death on the battle-field—what is worse, to their death of cold, and hunger, and misery in the snow and mud of the camps. If Jesus came back to the world, he would write with our blood on the dust of our highways, 'Verily, I say unto you, who marches with you without knowing why, is the best of you all.'"

In fact, it would be difficult to produce from history an expression of selfishness narrower or more material, more short-sighted and more devilish in its intensity, than the organization which has just perished in the flames of Paris, and we do not know anything more repulsive in its accompaniments than the apologies made for it, and the eulogies lavished on it, by the prophets and apostles of the "Religion of Humanity."

WHAT YALE COLLEGE NEEDS.

NEW HAVEN, May 20, 1871.

YALE COLLEGE has reason for gratulation in its benefactors, those of the alumni, and those—a noble band—not of the alumni. Only last year, Farnam Hall, containing 49 study-rooms and 80 bed-rooms, was erected—thanks to Henry Farnam, Esq., of New Haven. During the present year, by the liberality of Mr. B. M. C. Durfee, for a while a member of the class of 1867, Durfee Hall, containing apartments for 80 students, has been so far completed that it will be ready for occupation by next September. The late Aug. Russell Street, Esq., of the class of 1812, but a few years since endowed the Professorship of Modern Languages; S. B. Chittenden, Esq., the office of College Pastor; and an anonymous donor, in part, the professorship of History. The College has also nearly $50,000 toward a new chapel, mainly the gift of Joseph Battell, Esq., of New York. By the will of Philip Marett, Esq., of New Haven, one-fifth of his estate is devised to the College after the termination of certain life estates; and the estimated amount which will be received from this source is $120,000. Other legacies, the payment of which is dependent on the duration of one or more lives, are already vested by the death of the testators. These larger gifts amount to about $365,000; and, adding the smaller received during the twelve years past, they make a total of $440,000.

In addition, Mr. Street, but six years since, erected, upon a site on College ground, the Art Building, at an expense of $170,000—his own outlay, not that of the College—and he further endowed the department. Besides, a full salary for the Professor of Painting has been provided through the agency of Mrs. A. R. Street.

Five years ago, George Peabody, Esq., gave $150,000 to the Museum of Natural History, and land was set apart for it on the College square, the terms of the gift requiring that a site should be furnished free of cost to the museum. Again, very recently, Professor Edward E. Salisbury liberally endowed the department of philology.

Besides these, other departments of the university have, within twelve years, had large benefactions—the Sheffield Scientific School (or Sheffield College) nearly $300,000 (all from New Haven but $30,000), besides from the State the annual interest on $135,000; the Theological School, $271,000; and the public papers just now announce, though with some errors of statement, that a large endowment, with lands, for a first-class observatory, is soon to be given by O. F. Winchester, Esq., of New Haven.

But needs, not possessions, are a measure of poverty. Yale College is still poor—far beyond the knowledge of its friends. This poverty is due partly to prosperity, or the increase in the number of students; partly to the demands of the age as regards education; partly to a natural outgrowing of its old clothes, and not a little also to the cost of produce in the market. Whatever the source, it is real and reaches deep, and unless properly met by the Corporation and those who can give help, Yale College cannot keep up to its mark. Believing that the facts must be appreciated before relief can be expected, we propose to make a free exhibit of its poverty.

It is to be noted that Yale has necessarily few opulent alumni and friends in our small city of New Haven and its vicinity, and hence we have good reason for this appeal to a wider public. It is to be said about little New Haven, however, that her citizens have contributed to the different departments of the university within the past twelve years an aggregate of $900,000; and certainly the many friends of the university over the land should give at least four times the sum received from the few at New Haven. Such an amount would place all departments of the university in a good condition as regards instructors, books, buildings, scholarships, and beneficiary funds, and would not be too large for this end. The demand of the alumni, that Yale shall keep in the front rank of American institutions, if it be not followed by the required supplies, is but asking for bricks without supplying the straw.

But we seek now to mention only the *more urgent* needs of Yale College, such as are indispensable to its present life and position. They are the following:

1. *A Professor of English Language.* The age requires the establishment of such a professorship. It is desirable to divide the present chair of Rhetoric and English Literature, which, as the occupant has declared, is more than one man can properly fill, and make the new professorship that of English Language and Literature.

2. *A Professor of Physics.* Astronomy, Meteorology, Mechanics, and Physics are now represented by a single professor, and he is aided by a tutor. The professor, we understand, asks for a division of his professorship. Temporary instructors or tutors cannot well fill out what is deficient in the department of Physics—the department that has been vastly and wonderfully advanced within a few years, and demands eminently apparatus and experimental illustration. The new professor would take the place of one of the tutors.

3. *A Professor of German.* One professorship of modern languages, taking *both* the French and German, has been established. But Latin has its three instructors, and Greek three, and it is not possible that one man should satisfactorily perform the labor of teaching two modern languages to five hundred students. In fact, a second teacher has already been employed during one term of the year for an optional class, and the students required to *pay extra* for the instruction, which is a very objectionable means of eking out the system of education. A division of this chair is needed, and, if the present professor should take French, the new professorship would be that of German.

4. *A Professorship of Political Science, including Political Economy, Civil Polity, and International Law.* The duties of this professorship have been performed by the President; and on his retiring, the new chair will be demanded, since his successor cannot be expected to have his range of learning, or to perform the same amount of College duty.

5. *A Professor of Elocution.* At present the College has the services of an instructor in elocution about two months in the year. This is a very meagre allowance of time for so important a branch of education. Training in elocution should begin with the College course and end with its last exercise. Double the present outlay would suffice for a new professorship.

6. *A completion of the endowment of the Professorship of History.* This important professorship, established a few years since, has still only a half foundation.

7. *Three or four Assistant Professors,* to take the place of as many temporary instructors or tutors. The number of tutors now employed for the five hundred students is seven; and should the number of students increase, as is expected from the opening of a new régime, and thirty or forty be added to the Freshman class, two or three more tutors would be required. The accession to the faculty of a few recent graduates every year is a benefit to the College, as they are in a sense representatives in the faculty of the students, bringing with them an understanding of existing student life. But such officers remain for only one, two, or three years, often because they can get better salaries elsewhere; and to give the temporary officers any considerable portion of the instruction is obviously undesirable. It is needed that the more successful of the tutors should be raised, as may be required, to the office of Assistant Professor. This would have the effect to retain valuable instructors on the ground and prepare them for full professorships, either in this or some other col-

lege. Substituting three assistant professors for as many of the temporary officers, would require for additional salaries $500 each.

It would be still better if, at once, instead of an assistant professor, a full professor could be added to the departments of Latin and Mathematics, so as to make the number of professors two in each, as now it is in Greek. This could be done by an addition to the tutors' salaries of $1,500, or $3,000 for the two.

8. *Three additional Instructors.* The three divisions of the Junior class the present year average forty-five students each; and the four divisions of the Freshman class ordinarily contain forty students, and those of the Sophomore class but little less. The number of students in each is very much too large for satisfactory instruction by recitations, as it renders it difficult to do justice to each student and ensure a preparation for each exercise. Three additional instructors, temporary or permanent, for these classes, are therefore very desirable.

9. *New Buildings for Recitation and Lecture Rooms.* The rooms now used for these purposes are mostly too small, and, with few exceptions, are without proper ventilation. The president's lecture-room is not only no exception, but is one of the worst. The Athenæum, by a reducing of its three stories to two, and its rooms to four, has been improved, and these rooms will answer their purpose as long as the old building stands. Thirteen recitation and lecture-rooms are used at the same hour two or three times a day, and at least nine of them should be abandoned for something better: six or seven of the nine should be large enough to hold 50 students, and two or three, 200. One or two large buildings would therefore be required.

10. *A new building for Chemistry and Physics.* The old chemical laboratory still stands. Its destruction has long been desired, as it is unfit for its purpose, and poor every way, as well as a blot to the College square. Physics is also very inadequately provided for, and, with a new professor, the present arrangements would be altogether insufficient. Moreover, there should be connected with the structure a tower for a teaching astronomical observatory with a good telescope, to take the place of the present Athenæum observatory tower. Such an observatory for the instruction of students is a wholly different thing from a *working* observatory; to the latter, students should not have access except upon some special occasion.

11. *A new Chapel.* A death-warrant was years since passed on the old structure, when Mr. Battell made his generous gift toward a new one. But the amount on hand for the purpose is still insufficient. At least $35,000 more are needed. If the College had funds that could be spared to advance the interests of theological training in the university, they could not be better spent than on the chapel, as the College furnishes the larger part of the students of the Theological School.

12. *Additional funds for Beneficiary Purposes and Scholarships.* The existing funds enable the College to dispense only $8,000 toward needy students and scholarships; and, when the Ellsworth fund becomes available (to be used solely for those intending to study for the ministry), the amount will then not exceed $11,000. Harvard, we learn, is enabled to give away annually to its students $21,000. The papers have said, the past year or two, that Yale is falling behind Harvard in the number of its students. Although this is not true to the extent stated, there is in the fact just mentioned abundant reason for such a result. To put Yale on an equal footing with Harvard, which no Yale alumnus will consider too good a condition, would require an accession to the present fund of $150,000. Liberal benefactions tend greatly to bring worthy students to the College.

We now recapitulate the objects mentioned in the preceding statements, and add the amount of additional funds demanded to secure them. The salary of a professor is reckoned at $3,000 (the present rate, and about two-thirds of what he requires for a living if he has a family), and that is the interest, at six per cent., on $50,000. The average of tutors' salaries in the College is, at present, $1,350.

1. Professor of English Language and Literature	$50,000
2. Professor of Physics, to take the place of a Tutor	28,000
3. Professor of the German Language and Literature	50,000
4. Professor of Political Science	50,000
5. Professor of Elocution	25,000
6. Professor of History	25,000
7. Professor of Latin, in place of a Tutor	28,000
Professor of Mathematics, in place of a Tutor	28,000
Two Assistant Professors, in place of a Tutor	19,000
8. Three temporary instructors or Tutors	67,000
9. New buildings for recitation and lecture-room	130,000
10. A new building for Chemistry, Physics, and Astronomy	100,000
11. For the new Chapel	35,000
12. Additional beneficiary and scholarship funds	150,000
Total	$785,000

The above-mentioned needs are not the promptings of mere love of progress. Far from this; the College cannot retain its high position before the public with *no* professorship of the English languge for its five hundred undergraduates—and but one professor of the modern languages—and but one professor for the departments of astronomy, meteorology, mechanics, and physics—and also but one each for Latin and mathematics; with so large a part of its instruction devolving on temporary officers; with only two months of instruction in elocution a year; further, with no better lecture and recitation rooms; so poor accommodations for teaching chemistry, physics, and astronomy; so unsatisfactory a chapel; and with so small means for the aid of needy and deserving students.

It may be supposed that the College has some surplus funds. On this point we state that, for the current year, instead of a surplus, there will be, according to the estimates of the treasurer, *a deficit of five thousand dollars.*

The College has unproductive funds and bequests on which something will hereafter be realized. But expenses will rapidly roll up if the College flourishes and increases in number of students (as will certainly happen if optionals are further introduced into the system of instruction); so that such funds will certainly not be more than are needed to enable the institution to hold its own.

Less than forty years ago, the salaries of the professors in Yale College were only $1,140, and in 1831 the whole income from vested funds was $2,300. Even in 1854 the salaries were but $1,340. They were then raised to $1,800, which, considering prices, was better than $3,000 now. The sum of $3,000 was reached only this current year, after a period of $2,400 and $2,600. Yale College has *always* been poor; and it has made the money entrusted to it go greatly further in the way of education than the public had any right to expect. And yet the question is sometimes asked, Why has it not also lifted to prosperity the associated professional schools?—which means: why, after getting all it could by begging, and then only a half provision for its instructors and its necessities, did it (professors, president, or the corporation) not beg for enough more to lift the other sides of the institution, instead of leaving it for each faculty to lift its own side? or else, why did it not share with them its crust?

In this connection we may allude to some *university* wants that are of special interest to the College.

1. *A University Fund.* The Yale College funds now meet an annual expense of $9,000 for the library, treasurer's department, College catalogue, and some other expenditures of a strictly university character. The expenses, now so large, were but $450 in 1831. Only a small part of the funds of the College were contributed for university purposes; in fact, not a third of the sum of $150,000 represented by the $9,000 of outlay. A university fund of $100,000 would liberate from university uses money which belongs to the College proper. If, moreover, the fund could be increased to $200,000, university or post-graduate instruction might be carried forward in a manner that would more nearly meet the expectations of the alumni, now unreasonable in view of existing means.

2. *An adequate Library Fund.* The fund for the purchase of books for the University library yields annually, at the present time, only $1,800, while it should afford at least $10,000 a year, if the professors of the College are to keep up with the progress of science in their several departments. To make the income even $10,000 would require an addition to the fund of $135,000.

We might speak also of the needs of the Sheffield College, or Scientific Department—a branch of the university co-ordinate with the Academic, developed in obedience to the call for a liberal education on a scientific basis, as well as for special scientific training; and which, while going forward with great success, could make out another long list of real needs. But we leave it for others to present its claims and necessities, as well as those of the Theological, Law, and Medical departments.

JAMES D. DANA.

Correspondence.

PROHIBITION IN ENGLAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As you have introduced the subject of prohibitory legislation, may I direct your attention to the state of opinion in England, as exibited in the discussion excited by Mr. Bruce's Licensing Bill, now before Parliament? I quote for your consideration from the London *Times* of May 4:

"The British Medical Association, through its parliamentary committee, has had under consideration Mr. Bruce's measure, and at a meeting held in its rooms, Greek Street, Soho, Dr. Ramsey in the chair, it was agreed, on the motion of Mr. Ernest Hart, seconded by Mr. Benson Baker, to petition Parliament to pass speedily into law those clauses of Mr. Bruce's Bill which provide for the regulation by the ratepayers of the number of public-houses, for the diminution of the facilities for tippling in those houses which remain, and for detecting and punishing the adulteration of alcoholic liquors."

Taking the first and last of these classes in connection, are they likely to conflict unnecessarily with the liberty of the subject? Can the most radical of political theorists object to such legislation as shall confer upon a majority of taxpayers the power to protect themselves against the directly injurious effect of the uncontrolled sale of liquor? Does not the point of adulteration come fairly within the province of the law, inasmuch as it immediately affects the physical welfare of the public? and, on that ground, is it not practicable for communities to limit and control the liquor trade without collision with any of the "first principles" of legislation?

The report quoted above closes as follows:

"The opinion was unanimously expressed that a very large part of the disease and misery among the poorer classes, calling for medical intervention, is due to the effects of drink, and that measures are imperatively called for to diminish the facilities for and temptation to tippling."

If it is permissible to regulate by law the drainage of towns, the arrangement of slaughter-houses, factories, and other establishments which are potential nuisances, why, then, may not this nuisance of drink, which, on the excellent authority of the British Medical Association, is so prolific a cause of disease, be also abated by legal means? And is not the American law in regard to adulteration in most of the States sufficiently strong and comprehensive to afford, when properly applied, a valuable defence against the difficulties arising from the common sale of liquor, and, more important still, a defence of which the tenderest political conscience need not fear to take advantage?

An American Woman.

MORAL INSANITY.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In the able criticism of Dr. Ray's work on the "Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity" which appeared in the *Nation* of May 11, with much that is true and pertinent, there is some lack of clearness. The fundamental distinction between insanity which ought, and insanity which ought not, to excuse criminal acts, is not, it seems to me, made sufficiently plain. To the cultivated reader or to the medical student, the difference between insanity which merely confuses the moral notions, and that which perverts the reason and overpowers the will, may be well marked; but the ordinary reader and the average juryman will require something more tangible—some test more easily applied. This will be found, I think, if we will consider for a moment the object of punishment.

Mill, in his "Examination of the Philosophy of Sir Wm. Hamilton," v. 2, chap. xxvi., has produced an elaborate and exhaustive argument to reconcile punishment with the necessarian theory. Incidentally, he brings out very clearly the purpose for which alone punishment is or ought to be inflicted. "If any one thinks," he says, page 294, "that there is justice in the infliction of purposeless suffering; that there is a natural affinity between the two ideas of guilt and punishment, which makes it intrinsically fitting that, wherever there has been guilt, pain should be inflicted by way of retribution, I acknowledge that I can find no argument to justify punishment inflicted on this principle." The good of the offender and the protection of society are the only grounds that will justify punishment; or, so far as our public tribunals are concerned, the latter only. If society has a right to exist, it has a right to the means necessary to its protection; and the only question pertinent to ask, when the facts of the crime and its author are established, is, Will the punishment of this offender tend to prevent a repetition of the act? If it will, let him suffer; if not, his punishment is useless cruelty. With the moral guilt or innocence of the man society has nothing to do. Its object is self-protection; its justification is the accomplishment of its purpose. The only plea is utility; the only defence, uselessness. The latter is the only just reason why lunatics are not held accountable. If punishment had any effect in restraining their crimes, it would be perfectly right to inflict it. If the opprobrium of society possessed any influence over their minds, they would deserve and receive the same measure of praise and blame that is meted out to others. It is because punishment is useless that humanity pronounces it cruel; it is because praise and blame are alike without effect, that society ceases to criticise, and contents itself with confining what it cannot otherwise control.

The only question, therefore, proper for a jury to consider in a case of insanity is, whether the certainty of punishment could influence the will. Would the knowledge or belief that immediate and certain punishment would follow the commission of a certain act tend to prevent the lunatic from doing the act? If it would, he is sufficiently sane to be held legally responsible for his conduct; if it would not, his punishment would be useless cruelty, and he should merely be placed beyond the power of further injury. S.

Dayton, O., May 17.

VERONESE OR RUNAWAYS.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: I was much struck with your correspondent's proposed reading of *Veronese* for *runaways*, in the famous passage of "Romeo and Juliet," which he aptly describes as "that stumbling-block of the commentators." The suggestion is, at least, very ingenious and very plausible. I am not sure but it is something better than that. Still, I am quite confident that *runaways* is Shakespeare's true word, though I am far from satisfied with any of the explanations of it that I remember to have seen. Permit me to offer another.

I must note, in the first place, that the language involves the figure of speech which used to be called *Prolepsis*. It is upon this, I think, that the difficulty has mainly turned which editors have found in the passage. Shakespeare has the same figure repeatedly, though not always in the same form, as in this instance. Thus, in "Macbeth," act i. scene 6: "The air nimbly and sweetly recommends itself unto our gentle senses;" that is, the air *sweetens* our senses *into gentleness*, or *makes* them gentle, by its purity and pleasantness. So, again, in act iii. scene 4: "Ere humane statute purg'd the gentle weal;" which means, apparently, ere humane statutes *made* the commonwealth gentle by purging or cleansing it from the wrongs and pollutions of barbarism. Also, in act v. scene 4: "Let our just censures attend the true event;" meaning, no doubt, let our judgments wait for the actual result, the issue of the contest, *in order that they may be* just.

Now for the particular case in hand. Here the first question is, What does *runaway* refer to? the word being so general and indefinite that its special meaning, if it has any, is to be gathered from the context. I am satisfied that it is used as a descriptive epithet of Phœbus, the sun, or day. Juliet has just been urging the "fiery-footed steeds" of day to hasten towards their master's *lodging*, and give "cloudy night" possession of the world. She now proceeds to repeat the same thought in language and imagery still more intense. And she addresses night as the mistress and keeper of the bed where nimble-footed day is to sleep, that, in the silence and darkness of his sleep, Romeo may come to her "untalked-of and unseen." The verb to *wink* was often used thus for to *sleep*. Juliet *wishes* day to speed his course with fiery haste; and therefore she calls him *runaway*. In other words, she longs to have him play the runaway, and for this cause she would have night prepare his couch at once, that so his prying eyes and babbling tongue may be quickly bound up in sleep.

The poet elsewhere has a like use of *runaway*. Thus, in "The Merchant of Venice," act ii. scene 6, where the nocturnal theft and elopement of Jessica take place, Lorenzo urges her to make haste, because "the close night doth play the *runaway*." The difference of the two cases is that Lorenzo *fears* the night will run away too fast for his purpose, while Juliet is impatient to have day rush off into the arms of night forthwith. But this does not touch either the sense or the aptness of the image. I must add that only the first four lines of the speech are found in the copy of 1597. And it is a noteworthy point that, in the enlarged text, the poet changed *mansion* to *lodging*, as if on purpose to make that part of the speech cohere more semblably with the added imagery. "Phœbus' *lodging*" suits better with the idea of day's *sleeping-place;* all which, I think, accords smoothly with the explanation here given.

H. N. Hudson.

Boston.

Notes.

A new map of Jerusalem, 27x38, folded to book size, from the ordnance survey made under the direction of Col. Sir Henry James, R.E., and with over eighty references to historic localities, will be published by Messrs. A. D. F. Randolph & Co., of this city. They also announce "Aunt Jane's

Hero," by the author of "Stepping Heavenward;" "Belle Lovell," a tale for grown-up girls; a new edition of Mr. Da Costa's interesting "Guide to Lake George," and a handy edition of the same author's "Mount Desert," both well illustrated.——Messrs. Pott & Amery announce: "The Purchas Judgment," a letter of acknowledgment to the Rt. Hon. Sir J. T. Coleridge, by H. P. Liddon, D.D.; with a letter to the writer by the Rev. Dr. Pusey.

—No one can doubt the convenience of such a combination of dictionaries as is "Zell's Popular Encyclopædia," just completed in two volumes; but it would be too much to expect any one of its parts to be equal to the special work condensed in it—equal in fulness or in accuracy. The biographical portion, for example, could not be justly compared with the admirable dictionary of Dr. Thomas (also published in Philadelphia), of which, by the way, the mechanical execution is much superior to that of "Zell's Encyclopædia." One could not consult the latter with the same degree of confidence as the former, and not only because in the one case the editor has been tested by previous work, but because the greater the extent of field embraced the less possible is it for one man or corps of men to make a dictionary which shall be thorough and trustworthy in every particular. All works of reference, however, have a usefulness despite their liability to error. They serve, perhaps, as often to rub up and confirm old knowledge as to impart new; and for this purpose it is no little economy to have substituted two for twenty volumes, more or less. Used in this sense, and not as a final authority, "Zell's Encyclopædia" will not disappoint the purchaser. It has a merit which comes of being the last publication of the kind—that is, freshness; though it is a little noticeable that while the surrender at Sedan is mentioned in its proper place, and Thiers's barren mission to the European courts after that overthrow is also recorded, neither in the latter article nor under *Versailles* is any allusion made to the siege of Paris. But that is readily accounted for. There are copious illustrations which, oftener than not, were worth inserting; and the catch-words are easy to be seen on the printed page. Substantially bound, the two volumes occupy less than twice the room of Webster or of Worcester, or of Lippincott's Gazetteer; and of course far less than the New American Cyclopædia. The work may not be found superfluous in libraries already furnished with all of these.

—We shall be glad to see the Illinois Legislature, when it meets in November, pass a bill which was read once at the recent session, and is not calculated to excite opposition. This was House Bill No. 563, authorizing cities to establish and maintain free public libraries and reading rooms. It was made applicable to each incorporated city, and seems to have been carefully drawn to ensure a faithful and prudent execution of its trusts. It agrees in scope with the Free Public Libraries Act of England. It requires any city council, that shall have decided to establish a free public library and reading-room, to appoint a board of nine directors, "chosen from the citizens at large, with reference to their fitness for such office," only one of whom may be a member of the council, and of whom a third shall go out of office each year. This seems to us a case in which a popular election by the Hare system, or some other, of contingent representation naturally suggests itself; and as Illinois has been foremost in adopting this experiment, it would be well to seize every opportunity of putting it to the test. We are persuaded that it will never be extensively introduced into our politics until after its merits have been proved in elections with which politics have, or should have, nothing to do.

—Few countries, if any, offer better opportunities of applying and developing the science of hydrology than the United States. The Bonnet Carre crevasse on the Mississippi is an illustration of the neglect which this science has received; and it is safe to say that its professors are very far from being either so numerous or so skilled as the country needs to guard the land against encroachments and overflow, to drain its swamps and irrigate its plains, keep its rivers navigable, connect neighboring water-systems by canals, and in general to foster a public sense of the importance of this branch of physical economy. On all these subjects we may learn something from the Italian engineers, one of whom, Elia Lombardini, distinguished for his writings and long experience, having been for twenty years engaged upon the most variable arm of the river Po, has published a very thorough treatise with this title: "Guide to the Study of Fluvial Hydrology and Practical Hydraulics" (Milan). Besides the topics enumerated above, this work embraces the water-supply of cities, sewage and the utilization of it, and water-power as applied to machinery. Its examples are drawn from all parts of the world.

—Italy can teach us also in regard to the silk culture, an industry which seems destined to a great extension on the Pacific coast, with the aid of our brethren from Japan. Italian periodicals devoted to this specialty are already numerous. We may name the *Industria serica* of Turin, the *Rivista settimanale di Bachicultura*, and the *Sericultura Austriaca* of Goritz. To these is now added the *Selezione Microscopica*, a quarterly review, devoted, as the title indicates, to the microscopic examination of the eggs of the silk-worm, in quest of parasites. The first number appeared last month in Milan.

—No. 30 of the Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin closes the fifth volume of this valuable publication. It is more than twice the size of the ordinary issue, and is divided in its contents between a review of the progress of the geographical sciences since 1867, and a classified list of geographical works (including articles in periodicals, as well as maps and plans) published during the year ending November 30, 1870. The latter embraces not far from 2,000 titles; of which 44 relate to the Suez Canal, and are mostly of separate works, and 118 are of maps of France and of the seat of war. The review of progress is by many hands, and covers not only travels and discoveries, but the advances in zoölogy, botany, geognosy, and physical geography, and devotes a chapter to the volcanic phenomena of 1868 and 1869. Nowhere else, probably, could one obtain such compendious information on the latest contributions to our knowledge of the earth and its creatures. No. 31 of the same journal gives a full and official account of the second German expedition to the North Pole, but the map to accompany it will be found in No. 32. Statistics of Sweden, given on p. 89, from the census of December 31, 1869, show a decrease of population, in the course of twelve months, amounting to more than 14,000. But this is a gain when compared with the census of 1868, which showed a falling-off of nearly 23,000. We observe that on the opposite page, in a note on the population of Cuba, on the authority of the *Revue des Cours Scientifiques*, Port-au-Prince is referred to as "the second city of importance on the island"—a curious error to meet with in this journal.

— An influential German magazine, the *Grenzboten*, whose editor, the son of the celebrated Robert Blum, is tolerably notorious for his political eccentricities, proposes the following efficacious mode of punishing the Swiss people for their open sympathy with France in the late war:

"The flourishing city of Zurich possesses two famous scientific institutions, a university and a polytechnic school. The greater part of the professors are of course Germans, and a professorship at Zurich is now considered by German scientists as a very desirable position. But Germany has just acquired two new territories, Alsace and Lorraine, for whose intellectual improvement she is bound to provide, in order to counteract effectively the consequences of the prevailing ignorance and French levity. Alsace has a prosperous industry, whose largest customer has hitherto been the French capital. This province already possesses a university, and it would be very appropriate to found at Strasburg a polytechnic institute, richly endowed, which would soon render Alsatian enterprise wholly independent of neighboring France. The best plan to obtain world-renowned teachers for the new institution would be to call thither such men as Culmann and Zeuner, with the other celebrated Zurich professors. Formerly Aix-la-Chapelle and Munich made exertions to secure these two men, and no doubt they would now gladly return to the Germanic Empire, their situations in Switzerland having become too precarious on account of the permanent and active hostility to German nationality. By this peaceful conquest, Germany would at the same time create elements of incontestable superiority for the new institution, and bestow a well-deserved reward on the French sympathies of the Swiss nation."

This advice, considered merely in the light of expediency, can hardly be judged sound, for several reasons. One is, that a polytechnic school at Strasburg would seriously impair the *German* polytechnic school at Karlsruhe, close by; while another and fatal objection is, that if this plan were carried out, since Germany abounds in technologists and scientists as competent as those now teaching in Zurich, and lacking only a position to become as distinguished, the Swiss Federal Council would have not the slightest trouble in supplying the places of the seceders.

—"Science has acted a great and terrible part in the defeats which we have just undergone. The discoveries of Ampère, the works of our military engineers have been cruelly used against us; and even the liberal organization of the German universities has been placed at the service of the hateful passions directed against us. Hence it is said on all sides, and rightly, that it is by science that we have been vanquished." This rather childish utterance of M. Henri St. Clair Deville's, at the sitting of the Paris Academy of Science of March 6, introduced a motion that the Academy should "enlarge the circle of its communications and deliberations, and bring into them all questions of scientific instruction of whatever order and of whatever origin." The earnest debate which followed

was in favor of a radical reform in French education, both higher and lower. There was unanimous complaint of the evils which government regulation and interference had wrought in all branches of public instruction. M. Deville said, pithily: "The university, as now organized, would lead us to absolute ignorance. The professor is nothing; the administration everything." M. Dumas likewise declared: "It is *centralization* applied to the university that, by general consent, has killed the higher teaching." Gen. Morin said:

"When I travelled in Germany in 1864, I found there twenty polytechnic institutes, whose studies were of as high a grade as those of our Polytechnic School. In France, for thirty-four millions of people, we have the Polytechnic School and its branches, and the École Centrale—one school of science to sixteen millions of people. In Germany, they have one to every five millions; and every institute has its special classes of engineers, of architects, of industrial chemists, etc. How can we compare our institutions with this powerful scientific organization?"

M. Chasles complained that his was the only chair of the higher geometry in France. "In Germany, even in Italy, this science is cultivated with increasing success. We are still to-day where we were in 1813."

"For eighty years," further remarked M. Deville, whose motion was finally referred to a secret session, "in order to speak of public education, it has been necessary to be a minister, a delegate, or a chief of bureau. Well, the Academy should put an end to these ways, and should say distinctly: Here is the true method; see how they have succeeded in Germany, in England. Let us shake off the yoke, and know how to borrow from others what constitutes their strength and their superiority."

COUNT RUMFORD.*

The Americans who chanced to be in Paris during the last winter of the First Empire had all of them, probably, their attention attracted to a sight which arrested that of Frenchmen, natives to the Boulevards, themselves, even at that anxious crisis of their fate. It was a chariot, with emblazoned arms upon its panels, of the style of the time, with the exception of its wheels, which were broad as six of the delicate attachments on which the fashionable equipages of the metropolis rattled over those famous pavements. Within the carriage might have been seen its master, a man past middle age, or, "by'r lady, inclining to threescore," who was dressed entirely in white, even to his hat, who seemed unconscious or regardless of the laughter which his equipage and his attire provoked among the busy idlers of the *pavé*. It was then as now, or before the present calamities, a strange thing that could excite the notice of those thronging multitudes, even when set off by a spice of ridicule; but this eccentric phenomenon never failed of observation and of passing comment. An American who should have asked who the personage might be that was thus observed of those observers, would have learned that it was, perhaps, the one of his countrymen who enjoyed the widest European reputation, not excepting, during his lifetime, that of Franklin and Washington themselves. His fame has paled before theirs, through the lapse of six-and-fifty years, but as long as he lived, Count Rumford—for he it was—was the best known of his race to the greatest number of Europeans. And even yet he holds a high place in the estimation of the world of science, though he has passed away in a great measure out of the popular memory.

Sir Benjamin Thompson, Knt., Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Knight of the Orders of the White Eagle and of St. Stanislaus, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Member of the French Institute, and of almost every learned body in Europe and America, was drawing towards the close of his brilliant and beneficent career at the time just mentioned. His latter days were, unhappily, not his best days. A philosopher himself, he had married *en secondes noces* the widow of the illustrious philosopher Lavoisier, to whom the sanguinary Committee of Safety refused the few days' respite from the guillotine which he asked only for the completion of a chemical experiment. But though his bride brought him mature beauty and talent, and a large fortune, she did not bring with these gifts the happiness he had hoped from them, and he had parted from her several years before. His health was broken, and his temper soured, and his manners had lost the grace, and his conversation the charm, as well as his person the beauty, which had made him for years the chosen companion of nobles and philosophers, the friend of princes, the admired of men, and the loved of ladies. He lived at Auteuil very much the life of a hermit, in the house where Franklin used to visit Madame Helvetius, between whom and him the gossips of the period had made a match, and where, a couple of years ago, Pierre Bonaparte murdered Victor Noir—a crime not without its influence on the downfall of the Second Empire. There he lived, amusing himself with his studies and his flowers, varied by the innocent and not too exciting diversion of playing billiards against himself. His daughter, of whom presently, afforded him some society towards the end of his career, which terminated in August, 1814, after a short illness. He was buried at Auteuil, where a simple monument marks the spot, which the piety of his countrymen has kept in good condition and repair.

The career of Count Rumford, which had this melancholy ending, was a singularly romantic one, marked by striking contrasts of condition, diversified by many adventures, and crowned with much success and many honors, well earned by substantial services to mankind. Born in a New England farm-house, at Woburn, near Boston, and with only the education of a yeoman's son, excepting such as he gave himself, he found himself at six-and-twenty a Fellow of the Royal Society, and at twenty-seven an Under-Secretary of State, and a welcome guest in fashionable and learned circles. At twenty-eight he was a full colonel in the British army; and at thirty was knighted by George III. His political and military promotions he owed to his services against his country in her war for independence, and, had his public life ended at that point, he would have merited no admiration from his countrymen, and no more from the side he served than is usually the lot of tools that have failed to do the work expected of them. Justly, or unjustly, he had excited the suspicions of his patriotic neighbors at home, and failed to obtain a commission from Washington, and so he remained loyal to the king, and was rewarded for the intelligence and advice he could give with the advancement and distinctions just described. His only actual military service, though he afterwards held high rank on the Continent, was directed against his countrymen, and with sufficient success to recommend him to notice and promotion. All this naturally made him an object of contempt and execration in his native land at the time, and it was no mean proof of the value of his later services to mankind that these sentiments were changed in the breasts of his countrymen to feelings of respect and admiration, which led them to excuse and forget, if they could not fully pardon, his sins against them.

After the peace of 1783, Sir Benjamin Thompson obtained the royal permission to take service with the reigning Elector of Bavaria, whose discernment had marked his eminent qualities at a short visit made to the court of Munich just before. He was given high military rank, in which capacity he introduced most material reforms into the service, making the private an industrious husbandman and artisan, without diminishing his efficiency as a soldier. He also extended his reforms into civil life, absolutely abolishing for the time and for long afterwards the beggary by which the heart of Bavarian industry was eaten out, providing humanely for the really impotent, while compelling the able-bodied to earn the bread they ate, and his measures combined kindness with energy in such wise proportions that these very vagabonds whom he had robbed of their lazy leisure made processions and offered up prayers for his recovery at a time when he was dangerously ill. Whoever has been at Munich will remember the beautiful park, called the English Garden, which the magic of his taste and skill conjured out of a hopeless desert of swamps and ragged woodland. Lately, the King of Bavaria has gratefully erected a statue to its creator, in a conspicuous part of the grounds. In the autumn of 1796, when Bavaria was likely to be destroyed between the French on the one hand, and the Austrians on the other, Count Rumford, to whom the Elector had delegated absolute powers, by his spirited action and skilful preparation saved the electorate from being overrun for the time, and postponed its fate for a season. Six years before this, in 1790, the Elector, as vicar of the empire during the *inter imperium* between the death of Joseph II. and the election of Leopold II., raised his favorite minister to the rank of a count of the empire. Upon this elevation Sir Benjamin Thompson chose the name of Rumford, now Concord, N. H., as the style of his new dignity, deriving it from the town to which he traced the first beginnings of his success in life.

It was there that he married at nineteen, in 1772, a rich wife—as riches were then esteemed—the widow of Colonel Rolfe, fourteen years older than himself. It was through this connection that he obtained an introduction to Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, Governor Gage at Boston, and the Tory society of the day, which comprised much of the wealth and the cultivation of the period. Whether young Thompson was won over by the fascination of this society to the Royal side, or whether

* "Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford. With Notices of his Daughter. By George E. Ellis." Boston: 1871. Published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and to be had at their rooms, Athenæum Building, Beacon Street, and of Messrs. Little & Brown, Boston, and Messrs. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

the envy excited by his sudden elevation provoked unfounded suspicions to that effect, we cannot affirm. But he was driven from Concord by a mob, arrested and tried at Woburn, and, though acquitted, had the cold shoulder turned to him at Cambridge by the military authorities, and so shook off the dust of his feet against his country and proceeded to England, where he received the countenance and advancement of which we have spoken. He never returned to America, nor saw his wife again, who lived out her days at Concord and there died in 1792. They had one daughter, the Countess Sarah, who lived down to 1851, and is yet remembered about Boston as a stately old lady of foreign air and manner, acquired by long residence in Europe. We would say in passing that her portrait in the work of Dr. Ellis, to which we shall presently come, gives no just idea of her looks, as we remember her. She was the companion of her father in London, Munich, and Paris for several years at different times, and resided much abroad after his death. A very entertaining portion of Dr. Ellis's Life of the Count consists of large extracts from a narrative written in her old age, for the amusement of a friend, by the Countess Sarah, of her personal adventures and of court life and morals at Munich, as seen by a young American girl, whose life had been spent mainly at Concord and Woburn.

The mind of Count Rumford had a natural turn for science and an acquired bent for applying it to the practical uses and daily necessities of life. While in the service of the Elector, as we have seen, he brought scientific training to the solution of the problems of mendicity and pauperism with remarkable success. His earlier attempts had been in the direction of the improvement of artillery; but he turned his later attention to inventions for the comfort and happiness instead of the destruction of mankind. The economizing of heat in the warming of houses and the cooking of food, the curing of smoky chimneys, the construction of grates and fireplaces, improvements in cooking utensils, were among the many forms which his inventive benevolence took, and which really made revolutions in these domestic provinces, many of the benefits of which we still enjoy, often without knowing it. Heat and light, in the sense of lighting and heating, mainly were the objects of his study and experiment. And it was his success in the particulars of which we have spoken that gave him his great popular European reputation during his life. But while thus engaged in the investigation of these great elements of human existence, and especially of heat, for these domestic ends, he was led to discoveries which placed him in the first rank of scientific discoverers and made his name immortal. Into these, of course, we cannot enter at large. It is enough to say that his experiments overthrew the doctrine as to the nature of heat which had prevailed from the days of Aristotle and re-established it on the true basis from which all subsequent advances of science in that direction have proceeded, and without which they could never have been attempted. He first discovered and announced the truths which are known as the conservation and correlation of forces. Thus philanthropy conducted him to the heights of philosophy, and by aiming to be useful, he became illustrious.

In the year 1798, the elector appointed Count Rumford his Minister to St. James's, but George III. refused to receive him, on the ground that he was still his subject, and, as such, could not represent a foreign prince. He was deeply mortified at this repulse, but occupied himself in a much more important and durable service to England and the world, by organizing the Royal Institution for the Diffusion of Science and Useful Knowledge, and the Encouragement of Useful Inventions and Improvements. This institution has been of great benefit to science and its application to the arts of life, and if it had only been for the services of Davy—whom Rumford first discovered—and of Faraday, of which it was the scene, it would have amply justified the sagacity of its founder, even were it not still in full and beneficent operation. Earlier than this he had established a fund for the Rumford medals, to be awarded by the president and council of the Royal Society to the authors of the most useful discoveries as to light and heat. He also made what amends he could to his own country for his shortcomings towards her, by instituting a similar reward for the same services to mankind on this side, entrusted to the charge of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of which the seat is at Boston. He also made Harvard University his residuary legatee, for the purpose of founding a professorship to teach the application of science to the arts of life. This chair has been filled by men of the highest eminence from the time it was established to this day, and has abundantly answered the wise purposes of its founder.

It is to the foundation of the Rumford medals, of which the American Academy was entrusted with the dispensation, that we owe the valuable work which is the text of this discourse. The Academy have thought it due to Count Rumford that his works, all of which were out of print, and some of them almost impossible to be obtained, should be republished as the most fitting monument to his memory. Of this collection, the first volume has been printed. Besides this, it was thought right that a memoir of his life should be prepared, which has been done with great care, industry, and skill by the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis. It is absolutely exhaustive, and leaves nothing for any future biographer to do. A biographer could not wish for a life of more striking contrasts and varieties, of more curious adventures and more useful service to relate, and Dr. Ellis has done it excellent justice. It is one of the finest specimens of printing the American press has ever produced, and is profusely and elegantly illustrated. The great pains and long labor which this elaborate work must have cost has been freely bestowed, and generously offered as a gift to the Academy, and to the memory of Count Rumford, by the author. It is an honorable contribution to the biographical literature of the country and the language, and well merits a place in public and private libraries.

LAWYER AND CLIENT.*

This little volume is made up of a lecture delivered before the Law School of the University of the City of New York, with some additions. The lecture excited a good deal of attention from the public, owing, in part, to the fact that, at the time of its delivery, the questions which it treats had been brought before the world in a tangible shape by the controversies arising out of the Erie litigation. Mr. Butler accounts for the hostility to the profession which has for so many ages shown itself in literature, the most respectable as well as the catchpenny, by the fact that the worst lawyers have been popularly taken as representatives of the whole profession (though this is an explanation which itself requires to be explained), and by the fact that lawyers, in conducting litigation, are constantly and necessarily compelling men to do what they would rather not do—pay debts they would like to evade, or fulfil contracts they would like to break. This seems to us also inadequate. Every lawyer who makes a debtor his enemy renders a service to a creditor—and indeed, it would seem as if no matter how many enemies the profession may at any time have in its front, it must have a corresponding number of friends behind it. The true reason of the prevailing and ancient hostility to lawyers we take to be the badness of the procedure, in all countries and all ages; or, in other words, the enormous difficulty and cost of getting justice done under all judicial systems. Bad lawyers have always been able to avail themselves of this to indulge in chicane; while the very best lawyers are unable to bring their clients through even a successful suit without long delays, much vexation, much apparent sacrifice of substance to form, and, above all, without great expense. The most intelligent client, too, is not able entirely to dissociate in his memory the lawyer from the machinery he assists in working, and no man probably who has ever gone to law has ever ceased to think of attorneys without more or less dread or bitterness, whether he won or lost his cause. Whether it is possible to make justice—genuine justice—cheap and speedy, is a large question, which we do not need to discuss here. The fact is, that thus far the race has never been treated to anything of the kind, and this alone will account for the popular hostility to the profession, and for the sorry figure it cuts in literature, and especially in English literature.

Mr. Butler's summing up of the rules which should govern practice at the bar is very clear and simple, and almost unimpeachable. A lawyer must be faithful to his client in all ways—that is, must in all cases tell him the truth plainly, as well as defend his interests zealously; he must not be a promoter of litigation either directly or indirectly; he must dissuade his client from going to law when he thinks he has no case; he must not aid him in doing an illegal act, in such manner as to evade the law or escape its consequences; he must "not make himself an accessory before the fact to crime or injustice;" the character of his client need not concern him, as a general rule, but Mr. Butler says, very properly, and he might have said it more strongly, that as lawyers do pick and choose among the cases offered them, either for the gratification of their own taste or for their own convenience—most of them, for instance, refusing criminal cases altogether—it is not too much for us to ask of lawyers to refuse to take up the cause of "parties so notoriously in league against the general interests of society as to make them common enemies." The lawyer has nothing to do, also, as a general rule, with the justice of his cause—that is the affair of the judge; but he must not be a cheat in the client's inter-

* "Lawyer and Client. Their Relation, Rights, and Duties. By William Allen Butler." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1871.

est in court, or do anything else which the client might not lawfully do for himself. We wish Mr. Butler had, on this point, indulged in a little practical application. Is it, for instance, right for a lawyer to apply for the appointment of a man of notoriously bad character as receiver of a valuable piece of property, such as a railroad, even if the judge be willing to make it?

The question, To whom are lawyers responsible for the manner in which they practise their profession? is perhaps the only one which Mr. Butler does not deal with satisfactorily. They are responsible, he says, first of all to the courts before which they practise, but this check is of very little value, especially when the judiciary is elective. No matter how bad a lawyer is, the judge has, with reference to most species of misconduct, to wait till somebody arraigns the offender, and then the necessity of not making enemies is so constantly present to the mind of an elected judge that he is likely to be an indifferent disciplinarian. Secondly, the lawyer is responsible to public opinion; but public opinion "can only properly and finally pronounce upon what is undisputed, or established beyond any reasonable doubt, and accepted by common consent as a notorious fact." Further on, he says "that the public cannot proceed to judgment as long as the merits of the case are entangled in the meshes of a newspaper controversy." This is all rather too vague to be of much practical value. When is public opinion to know when a thing is "undisputed"? What is there in the shape of a charge against a member of the bar which the accused and a certain number of his friends will not always dispute? Here, for instance, during the past week, comes Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, and disputes the proposition that James Fisk, jr., is an improper person to be appointed, on motion of counsel, by a judge sitting in equity, receiver of the property of a great corporation. The same learned gentleman holds his hands up in horror over the popular belief that Mr. Justice Barnard is corrupt, and half-a-dozen newspapers concur with him. Is this "disputing" sufficient to cause honest men to hold their peace? Again, what is "reasonable doubt"? Who is to decide whether it exists? What is "common consent"? What is a "notorious fact"? What are "the meshes of a newspaper controversy"? If I say in a newspaper that James Fisk is a notorious rogue, and give divers reasons for so considering him, and James Fisk comes and says that he is not, and that I am a liar, is this a "newspaper controversy," and is the public to go about its business, and refuse to decide between us?

The lawyer's responsibility to his own conscience must of course, as Mr. Butler says, be the main check on misconduct, and the quality of a lawyer's conscience will always depend largely on the moral condition of the community in which he lives. Every man, therefore, who is just and fair in his dealings, and hates rogues, though he only sells pins and needles, helps to purify the law.

GUIZOT'S HISTORY OF FRANCE.*

ALTHOUGH the publication of "Guizot's History of France" was suspended when the siege of Paris commenced, still the period already reached —the reign of Charlemagne—is so distinct and important an epoch, that a very few pages more would give the work a certain completeness and unity, even if it never went any further. That is to say, it covers the early history of the territory of France, and that period of barbarian rule which was, in the true sense of the term, neither French nor German, but *Frankish*—or, it might be said, it was in an equal degree French and German. The author's expressions in regard to this empire are a little vague and inconsistent. He frequently uses the term "Gallo-Franco-Germanic monarchy," which is correct enough, even if a little clumsy. Generally, however, he says out-and-out "France" and "French"—the inaccuracy of which expressions, one would suppose, would have shown itself at once when he came to speak of general assemblies of the Franks at Worms and Paderborn, towns which are thoroughly German.

This history is "*racontée pour la jeunesse*"; but it must not be understood that the "rising generation" addressed by M. Guizot is that for which Scott, Dickens, and Hawthorne, or even Mr. Freeman, have written: he seems rather to have had in mind young people of some maturity. Even at this, however, we see no reason why it should have been addressed especially to the young, inasmuch as it is by no means peculiarly suited to them. For its kind, it cannot be pronounced a success. It is in great part philosophical and discursive; and even where it is merely narrative, it is not an easy, clearly-told story, but is heavy, confused, and full of digressions. Almost the only pieces of really good narration are the translations from Gregory of Tours, Frédégaire, and Eginhart. Even for the most mature and intelligent readers, who did not have a previous knowledge of leading events and relations, there are unaccountable omissions; as, for instance, we are nowhere told what became of the Visigoths after the wars of Clovis, nor what were the relations of the Lombards to the Exarchate which led to their dissensions with the Papal See, and through this to the intervention of the Franks in Italy. Again, too much is sometimes attempted. In the confused Merovingian period, for instance, there is a succession of brief stories, from which the reader would get nothing but an incoherent and lifeless impression. It would have been much better to have selected only one story, and told it with great minuteness; for, as the author remarks, the names and dates here are of no manner of importance in themselves, and all that is wanted is a vivid and accurate picture.

These are serious defects in a book written for the young. Of course the merits of the work are as great and manifest as its defects. It is something to have the history of a nation written by an historical authority of the rank of M. Guizot, for it embodies the results of the studies of his entire life. If the book is not very well adapted to give young people their first knowledge of French history, it cannot fail, on the other hand, to instruct those who already have some knowledge of that history. If it does not contain vivid pictures and animated narration, it abounds in just observations, and in the clear delineation of character and motives.

The translation is good, so far as idiom is concerned—the rock upon which translators from the French most commonly split. It is, however, neither perspicuous nor graceful, nor always elegant. Thus, p. 174, the Thuringians, Saxons, etc., are said to have been "frequently vanquished and subdued [by the Franks] to all appearance, but always ready to rise either for the recovery of their independence, or, again, under the pressure of that grand movement which, in the third century, had determined the general invasion by the barbarians of the Roman empire." Page 85: "Domitian alone [of the Flavian emperors] put in a short appearance," *i.e.*, visited Gaul. Page 218, at Roncesvalles, the Basques "descend and fall suddenly on the baggage-train and on the troops of the rear-guard, whose duty it was to cover all in their front, and precipitate them to the bottom of the valley"! There are also a good many single words, especially proper names, mistranslated. Thus, if the name *Placentia* is to be translated at all, it should be (in the English edition) into the Italian name *Piacenza*, not the French *Plaisance*. So with *Vercell* for *Vercellæ*. *J. Vindex* is no correct abbreviation of *Julius Vindex; Scylla* is neither the Latin *Sulla* nor its English form *Sylla*. *Frisons* is the French name of the Frisians. Perhaps it is excusable to use the French names of Mentz and Aachen—*Mayence* and *Aix-la-Chapelle*; but what excuse is there for *Ratisbonne?* We do not like the word *peoplet*, used incessantly for *peuplade*. Nero's "Golden House" is called a "palace of gold."

In the author's own work, we are surprised that he should lay down as an unquestioned fact that the Umbrians were of Celtic race, while all authorities upon the linguistics of Ancient Italy are agreed as to the essential unity of race of the Umbrians, Sabellians, and Latins. It is true that there are some arguments on linguistic grounds for inferring a near relationship of *all these* to the Celts, and that one or two ancient writers obscurely assign a Celtic origin to the Umbrians in particular; but even assuming that this gave the weight of probability to this theory, it is far from giving it the certainty that so categorical a statement ought to have. Again, the dates are curiously confused. At first, they are given *Before Christ*, and then, without any intimation of a change, the founding of the city Rome is taken as the standard; and then again the years after Christ.

The book is very handsomely printed, and illustrated with fine engravings; we do not believe, however, that it will be possible to get the entire work into twenty-four parts, judging from the ground covered by those already published.

Essays on Natural History.—By Charles Waterton. Edited, with a Life of the Author, by Norman Moore, B.A. With portrait and illustrations. (London: Frederick Warne & Co. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.)—This plump volume, besides upwards of sixty essays on various topics of natural history, contains in the Life the larger part of the autobiography which Waterton prefixed to his Essays in the editions of 1837,

* "The History of France from the earliest times to the year 1789. Related for the rising generation by M. Guizot, author of 'The History of Civilization in Europe,' etc., etc. Translated from the French by Robert Black, M.A., etc. To be completed in about twenty-four monthly parts, each of which will be illustrated by at least four very beautiful full-page woodcuts, and many smaller ones, after designs by A. de Neuville." London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston. 1870. 3½ parts, 8vo, pp. 224.

and 1857; and as it also offers in the appendix a number of private letters hitherto unpublished, the reader is enabled to get a very just idea of the singular and pleasing character of the famous "Wanderer," whose alligator ride is his smallest title to immortality. Waterton's style, with its thick interlarding of quotations from the Latin poets, its familiarity of tone, and conversational discursiveness, was as different from that now used by the most popular scientific teachers, as his Catholic faith in miracles from the common notion of a truly scientific spirit. "I here state," he says, of a special reason for visiting Naples, "in the most unqualified manner, my firm conviction that the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius is miraculous beyond the shadow of a doubt. Were I to conceal this my conviction from the public eye, I should question the soundness of both my head and heart, and charge my pen with arrant cowardice. Nothing in the whole course of my life has struck me so forcibly as this occurrence." At Loretto, he says of the Santa Casa, the pretended house of the Virgin Mary in Nazareth: "There are authentic proofs of its miraculous transition; but the belief of it is optional with every Catholic, as the Church has pronounced nothing on the subject. . . . I believe in the miracle." So a medal of the Blessed Virgin worn about his neck saved him from drowning at Dover, and a consultation with a bone-setter, who afterwards restored his stiffened arm, providentially took place on "Lady-day," or March 25.

A mind thus subject to superstition was naturally strongly opposed to that tendency of modern science represented by Darwinism; and, at a time when comparative zoölogists are endeavoring to ascertain which ape is the nearest ancestor of man, this sentence from the essay on the gorilla seems to jangle out of tune: "In habits and propensities, they [the apes of Borneo and of Western Africa] perfectly agree. In anatomy they differ somewhat; but this difference can only interest those who find gratification in splitting a hair, and in producing words hard enough to set one's teeth on an edge." In fact, Waterton's statement (not to call it boast, for he was truly modest, though very combative) that he had dissected great numbers of other animals, and more than 5,000 birds, will not secure for him the reputation of a great anatomist. As an observer, he may be credited in all he professes to have seen, but his disputes with other naturalists show that he gave far too much weight to his non-experience in convicting his adversaries of invention and falsehood. With this caution, it is true, as the editor remarks, that "most of the essays might be read with profit, even in village schools. They would open the eyes of the children to the treasures of the fields, and would teach them humanity to bird, beast, and reptile."

Humanity was, indeed, a distinguishing trait of the gentle and hospitable old man, and we shall quote here two instances of it—to beasts and men—which leave a fragrant memory of the writer:

"I had long looked for the arrival of the day in which the Roman beasts of burden receive a public benediction. Notwithstanding the ridicule thrown upon this annual ceremony by many a thoughtless and censorious traveller, I had figured in my own mind a ceremony holy in itself and of no small importance to the people at large. '*Benedicite omnes bestias et pecora, Domine.*' I conceived that the blessing would ensure to these poor dumb animals a better treatment at the hands of man than they might otherwise receive; and the calling upon our kind Creator to give his benediction to a horse, which by one false step or an unruly movement might endanger the life of its rider, appeared to me an act replete with Christian prudence. I recalled to my mind the incessant and horrible curses which our village urchins vent against their hauling horses on the banks of the Barnsley canal. This aqueous line of commerce passes close by my porter's lodges; and as the first lock is only a short distance from them, the horrid din, of course, commences there, and is kept up by these young devils incarnate from week to week (Sundays not excepted) with the most perfect impunity."

The next scene is at Walton Hall, the home of Waterton, where all living creatures were made welcome, and no shot was heard the year round:

"In 1814, eight tailors and a tailor's boy left Wakefield on a Saturday night, to enjoy a fiddling party at a village called Himsworth, some six miles hence. In returning home on Sunday morning at three o'clock they were seized with a vehement desire of looking into my rookery. The keeper surprised them in the act of helping themselves, and as he knew personally the major part of them, they consented to appear before me. The fellow had a touch of a wag in him, and he introduced them thus: 'If you please, sir,' said he, 'I have catched eight tailors and a half stealing young rooks.' 'Well,' said I, 'after all this noise on Sunday morning you have not managed to bring me a full man' (for we all know in Yorkshire that it requires nine tailors to make a man); 'send them about their business; I can't think of prosecuting eight-ninths and a half of a man.'"

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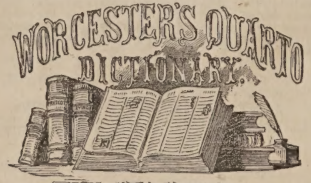

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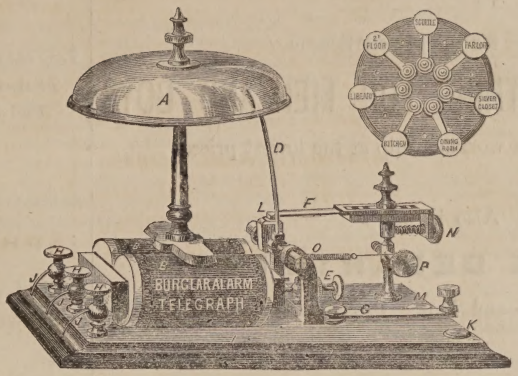

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1871.

The Week.

THE President has at last given evidence which nobody will gainsay that, when he recommended civil service reform, he really meant what he said. He has now been three years in office, and not the smallest step, so far as is known, has been taken at his instance to bring it about in any of the departments. Congress, at the close of the last session, and to the surprise of everybody, tacked on to the Appropriation Bill an authorization to the President to prescribe rules and regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service; but, as three months have elapsed since then, and the abuses in the civil service have continued very actively, and nothing was heard of any action on the President's part, the public began to fear that nothing would be done. He has, however, at last moved, and moved to such good purpose as to leave no doubt of his sincerity, by appointing a Commission to draw up the rules and regulations in question, composed of Messrs. G. W. Curtis, of New York; Alexander G. Cattell, of New Jersey; D. C. Cox, of the Department of the Interior; E. B. Elliott, of the Treasury Department; and Joseph H. Blackman, of the Post-Office Department. These appointments are all excellent, and Mr. Curtis's has the rare merit of giving a warm and able advocate of the reform a leading part in carrying it out. He made it the subject of his lecture the winter before last, besides strenuously supporting it in the press, and thus brought the subject to the notice and comprehension of thousands through the country districts who hardly knew what the phrase civil service reform meant. This was all the more meritorious, because we feel sure he might have lectured on "Caste," or on the "Millennium," with far more acceptance.

Jefferson Davis has made his appearance in public two or three times within the last fortnight, and, to the great disgust and embarrassment of the Vallandigham Democracy of the North, has been glorying in his past career, and professing his unshaken adhesion "to the lost cause." The *World* denounces him fiercely, and, indeed, makes it seem as if it would not be a bad plan for Republicans to pay him to stump the South during the coming winter. The Republican papers profess, of course, to regard his appearance as highly significant, and denounce him too, and treat his speeches as grave symptoms, so that, on the whole, a sickly old man, whose career has been a wretched failure, is being gradually drawn from his obscurity and elevated into the rank of an important political personage. Some of the Republican papers read him awful lectures on the impropriety of his conduct in showing himself again, but it seems to us there is something childish about these tirades against him. When he was let off without punishment, no pledges were exacted from him as to his future behavior; he never promised that he would never show himself in public again. To be sure, it is foolish and indecent for him to do so, but then those who now find fault with him have always maintained that nothing in the shape of good sense or good taste was to be expected from him. Whence, then, these tears?

The Republican organization in this city is still beset by troubles. It has long, as all the world knows, been divided into two factions, the cause of the division being, though disguised in various ways—offices. One faction always has possession of the Custom-house, and supports the Administration, and is profoundly impressed by the rapidity with which the public debt is being paid off, and with the extent to which "order and economy" have been infused into the collection of the revenue. The other is filled with horror of the Democrats, and is greatly concerned about "equal rights for all" and the three constitutional amendments; but it is always dissatisfied with the mode in which places in the Custom-house and in the United States Marshal's office are distributed. It takes consolation in State politics, and manages at Albany in such fashion as to pick up something. Last year it made a very good bargain with the Tammany Ring so as to get plenty of its men into City offices, who have since been known as "Tammany Republicans," and whose connection with Tammany does not hinder them from figuring prominently in the Republican organization, and this faction has had the wisdom to put Horace Greeley into their chair. After much fighting between the two, the State Committee interfered, and ordered a reorganization, which has been attempted under the superintendence of respectable and influential men; but the Greeleyites refuse to surrender, set the Custom-house at defiance, and say their organization is as "regular" as can be, and that they will not dissolve to please anybody. The Custom-house party has the State Committee under its control, and is said to be now using all its engines of war to secure the return of Grant delegates to the presidential convention. In the meantime, "the reform in the civil service" is going on in a wonderful manner in that institution. The last step in that direction has been an order emanating from Mr. Boutwell—who superintends the education of the young ministers and doctors in the Treasury at Washington—forbidding the publication of the changes made among officials in the Custom-house here; for the purpose, it is said, of covering up the bestowal of a sinecure on one Sam Maddox in the shape of a deputy-collectorship at large. It must be remembered that these operations are carried on by gentlemen who are horrified because Bill Tweed employs large bodies of laborers for whom he has little or nothing to do just before election day.

We have no doubt the *Tribune* has assailed the Senate for its late attempts to overhaul private telegrams and correspondence in good faith, and really believes what it has said in opposition to be sound and of general application. But it is nevertheless true, as we have pointed out, that the *Tribune*, by defending the conduct of the House in doing the same thing after the impeachment trial, did render itself incapable of making any effectual opposition to such conduct on the part of either House or Senate, at least for a good many years, and the moral which all editors ought to draw from its present position is that the establishment of precedents is dangerous work; that the first duty of a newspaper in "lively times" is to keep cool. It now defends itself (June 5) in the Butler matter in a way which can hardly be called ingenuous. It says that when Butler overhauled the barrel of telegrams under orders from the House, he was acting as the manager of the impeachment, or, in other words, as "the prosecuting officer" of a court. Now this is not true, and, if it were true, would be no answer. In the first place, the trial in which Butler was a prosecuting officer had already taken place, and been closed by a verdict of not guilty. Butler and his brother "managers" were therefore *functi officio;* the court in which they had acted had ceased to exist. They were absolutely without any judicial character whatever. In the second place, the enquiry in which the House permitted them to engage was scandalous and indecent, and without any color of right, because it was an enquiry by one House into the official conduct of the members of the other House, a proceeding unknown to parliamentary law; and, what was worse, it was conducted by the counsel of the defeated party, in a cause which had been fairly tried, for the purpose of fastening a charge of corruption on the judges who had decided against him; and, to crown all, it was conducted secretly and *ex-parte*. If ever there was an abuse of parliamentary powers against which the press ought to have thundered, it was this. One of the most discreditable passages in the history of journalism is that which tells that the political charlatan who got the enquiry up had the support of respectable papers in carrying it on, and had their approval of his violation of private correspondence and the seizure of the telegrams of private individuals

en masse, to be examined as he pleased, and without any specification of what he was looking for.

Mr. Wendell Phillips, in his recent discourse before the Boston Communists, while making a glowing eulogium on the brethren who have just come to grief in Paris, took occasion to say that "he felt nothing but disgust and rebuke for the vandal destruction of public and private property" which has taken place in that city. Now, we take the liberty of suggesting that he made a mistake in saying this. He ought to have defended the whole thing, destruction of property and all, because he would thus have made his speech far spicier, and would not have done anybody any harm. Let us add that he cuts a very sorry, commonplace figure as a rebuker of "vandalism"; any dolt could play that part. What we want from him is a good "silvery" justification of pillage and arson. Moreover, we do not approve of his talking of the people of Paris as "ignorant masses," who did not know what they were doing when they were burning and destroying the other day. In one of his great speeches delivered about a year ago, he laid it down that the best education a boy could receive was that which he acquired "in picking up a living." Now, this is just what Louis Napoleon and the priests thought, and this is all they let the French get, but we can't allow our philosopher to turn round now and say it was a bad one and did not fit them.

Mr. George T. Curtis has sent a defence of himself to the *World*, the sum and substance of which is that his "opinion" in the Field-Barlow controversy contained his real convictions, and that the fee did not influence him one way or the other. We are still left in the dark, however, as to the way in which an elderly lawyer came to the conclusion that, in conducting what he thought a judicial investigation, it was proper for him to get information freely from one side, and hold no communication whatever with the other side. We should like to know, also, why it was that, when he saw himself coming full tilt on the question of Barnard's corruption, he forbore to question Mr. Field or Mr. Shearman on that point. Had he done so, they would have informed him that, to their knowledge, Barnard was grossly and notoriously corrupt, and a disgrace to the bench and to the community which pays him and tolerates him. He would thus have been saved the scandal and disgrace and absurdity of rising up with his fee in his pocket to preach to men of honor, "in the name of all that is sacred," and so forth. There is one little test by which we can always ascertain whether an investigation is judicial in its character or not, with which Mr. Curtis is, of course, familiar, for it is as old as the art of judging, and which we are sorry he did not apply in this case; it consists simply in the question, Would the decision be rendered and published, no matter which way it went? If Mr. Curtis had asked himself this, and were given to candid self-examination, he would have had some painful moments before entering on his work.

Money is, according to the Wall Street phrase, a drug. Yet the great upward speculation in stocks appears to have come to a halt, and to be near culminating. Most classes of securities have declined during the week. Gold continues firm, owing to the unchanged unfavorable condition of our foreign exchanges, and the consequent steady export of coin. The funding appears to have ceased. The debt statement for the month shows a reduction of only $4,440,000, and no change of importance in the position of the debt. The receipts of the Treasury for the month of June are again, so far, extremely light, and the income tax, according to all accounts, will yield materially less than last year. Railroad and other negotiations, both here and abroad, still continue, but it is apparent that there is a decided lull in the public eagerness to invest in new enterprises.

☞ A movement of some significance seems to be springing up in Philadelphia, which, perhaps, our overburdened taxpayers might do well to watch. For years past, there has been a local quarrel there on the subject of building a new Court-House and City Hall. The site for the projected buildings has been fiercely contested, and while none of the rival locations has been strong enough to carry its point, each has had sufficient influence to prevent the success of its opponents. At length the Legislature was induced to intervene, and it did so a year ago by appointing a commission to erect the buildings. This commission was, perhaps, not quite so bad in principle as the one by which Messrs. Tweed, Sweeney, and Hall have obtained the control of New York, but as it authorized the commissioners to levy taxes without limit, and expend them without supervision; as there was no term of years defined for their tenure of office, and they were empowered to fill all vacancies in their own body, it will be seen that a comfortable little despotism was established in the city of Penn, which, by arts well understood among politicians, could speedily extend its control through all portions of the municipal organization. Our somewhat sluggish neighbors gradually awoke to a consciousness of this, and during last winter an agitation arose to urge the Legislature to abolish the commission. That body, however, has recently adjourned without granting the wished-for relief, and the disappointed agitators are turning upon the politicians, to whom they attribute their defeat. The movement is spreading, and there seems to be a disposition to strike at the cause as well as the effect. The programme appears to be to form associations without distinction of party, pledged to select the best candidates from both tickets for local officers, and, by wielding the balance of power, to compel the political managers to make good nominations. Parties in Philadelphia are so nearly equal that a comparatively small number of voters can turn the scale, and the scheme looks feasible enough if, as we are told is the case, it is in good hands. The problem of applying democratic institutions to the government of great cities is so intricate a one, and, withal, so important to the destinies of this country, that any attempt of this kind possesses more than a mere local interest.

The great majority of the Paris journals are reported to be in favor of the continuance of the Republic, and there can hardly be a doubt that this sentiment is the expression of public opinion, as it manifests itself not only in the reconquered capital, but in the large towns of France generally. Of this disposition of the majority of the urban population of France, the late municipal elections, which resulted in a decided triumph of the Moderate Republicans, in spite of the horrors of the civil war kindled by revolutionary folly, have given a sufficient evidence. The *Opinion*, *Bien Public*, *Politique*, *Siècle*, and *Constitutionnel* are mentioned as the most outspoken advocates of the Republic. The *Temps*, formerly the leading Radical paper, is reported as guarded in its expressions, which may be the consequence of prudence demanded by the exceptional circumstances. The position assumed by the *Journal des Débats* and the *Gaulois* is not clearly stated. The *Tricolore*—a new journal—and *Figaro* have hoisted the flag of monarchy. Émile de Girardin, in the *Liberté*, which appears to have resumed its place, in lieu of his late *Union Française*, urges the establishment of a federal republic. More moderate decentralization is urged by others, though the desire for the return of the Government to Paris is generally expressed by the metropolitan press—in which the promptings of self-interest may have a slight part. About the latest manifestations of the comparatively "rural" press, we are left in ignorance. We hear, however, that a clerical reaction is gaining ground among the strictly rural population, which is but too natural after the fiendish displays of anti-clerical rage exhibited by the revolutionists of Paris. Bonapartism, in favor of which Prince Napoleon calls for a new *plébiscite*, as yet nowhere lifts up its head. In the National Assembly it is entirely mute.

If a classification made a few weeks ago by a well-informed Versailles correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* be still in the main correct (and there is hardly any reason to expect a considerable change to have taken place since), the six hundred members of the National Assembly who occupy their seats—double elections and resignations accounting for so many vacant ones—form the following groups: The

Radical Left, the Republican Left, the Left Centre, the Liberal Conservatives, and the Extreme Right, besides about one hundred representatives who may be designated as "wild," that is, belonging to no party. The Radical Left, owing to resignations by the most extreme, like Hugo, Rochefort, Pyat, Blanqui, Millière, and Delescluze, consists of a very small band, almost all Parisians, among whom are: Louis Blanc, Quinet, Schoelcher, and Tolain. The Republican Left numbers about one hundred and thirty members, and its leading committee consists of Emanuel Arago, Grévy--who is said to be the coming man—Lefranc, Leblond, and Rolland. The Left Centre, about one hundred strong, and leaning towards Orleanism, embraces, among others, the long-known names of Barante, Lasteyrie, Malleville, Say, and Vitet. The Liberal Conservatives—number not stated—follow the lead of Saint-Marc Girardin, almost all being Orleanists, and among the most conspicuous of them: Decazes, D'Haussonville, Comte Duchâtel, Ségur, and Salvandy. The Extreme Right, which represents Legitimism and Clericalism, is the most numerous of the five groups, and numbers among its members the Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, and the Archbishop of Orléans, Dupanloup.

As regards the Government, so much is certain that it neither has any sympathy with the extreme wings—Radical Republicans and Clerico-Legitimists—nor meets with sympathy on their part. It has its main support in the Centre, but it is often quite readily sustained by the Republican Left, especially whenever M. Thiers yields to one of those outbursts of passion into which he is not infrequently drawn by the reactionary impatience of the Legitimists. It is also generally believed that he is decidedly hostile to the more or less secret schemes of the Orleanists, whether aiming at the re-establishment of the throne of July, which was broken in 1848, or at a fusion with the elder branch of the House of Bourbon, which was exiled in 1830, and the head of which, the Comte de Chambord—a refugee from his childhood—has just issued another of his pitiable appeals to "his country," offering himself as the most convenient saviour of French society and restorer of French grandeur; the peasantry, the priests, and the Pope aiding. Whether a fusion of the two branches of the royal family of France, which has been repeatedly attempted in vain, has now actually been consummated, as is again asserted, to the chagrin of the many admirers of the accomplished sons and grandsons of Louis Philippe—a fusion which would render the elder of the latter, the Comte de Paris, the "legitimate" heir to the prospective crown of Henry V. (Chambord)—must soon appear from the debates, to begin to-day, on the admission of the Orleans princes to their seats in the Assembly and on the abrogation of the proscriptive laws against the Bourbons in general.

The principal points by which the definitive treaty of peace between France and Germany, concluded at Frankfort, May 10—of which the authentic text is now before us—differs from the preliminaries of Versailles, of March 26, are the following: The *rayon* of the fortress of Belfort, which the Germans are to restore to France, is extended so as to embrace the whole of the cantons of Belfort, Delle, and Giromagny, and the western portion of Fontaine. In compensation for this retrocession of Alsatian territory, Germany receives an addition to its Lotharingian conquest between the western boundary of the cantons of Cattenom and Thionville, and a line drawn from near the southwest corner of Luxemburg to the southwest corner of the last-named canton. The retroceded territory is inhabited by French, the newly-acquired by Germans; in this respect, then, the exchange is favorable to Germany. From a military point of view, however, it is regarded as advantageous to France. The payment of the first one hundred million dollars of the war indemnity, to be paid by France, is delayed to the expiration of one month after the restoration of the authority of the French Government in Paris. Two hundred millions will be paid within the present year, and one hundred millions on the 1st of May, 1872, the last three instalments remaining due, as stipulated in the preliminaries, on the 2d of March, 1874. On the payment of the first hundred millions, the departments of Somme, Seine-Inférieure, and Eure are to be finally evacuated by the Germans. The evacuation of the departments of Oise, Seine-et-Marne, and Seine, as well as of the forts of Paris, will take place "as soon as the German Government will deem the re-establishment of order—both in France and Paris—sufficient to ensure the fulfilment of the engagements entered into by France;" in any case, however, it must follow the payment of the third hundred millions. The Germans will continue to send home the captives "in understanding with the French Government." The latter will discharge those of the returning whose term of service has expired, and send the rest behind the Loire. The legal authority having been re-established in Paris, the army of Paris and Versailles, down to the evacuation of the forts by the Germans, is not to exceed the number of eighty thousand men. Nor can the French Government till then execute any concentration of troops on the right bank of the Loire. All commercial treaties between the two countries are regarded as abrogated by the war, and they are henceforth to base their commercial relations on the principle of reciprocity, and "on the footing of the most favored nation," but only with regard to the following nations: England, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, and Russia. The expelled Germans are reinstated in all their rights of property, domicile, and citizenship. The original text of the treaty is in French, but signs of German dictation are visible throughout.

The greater interest of the war with Germany has prevented the insurrection which has been raging in Algeria for the last year from attracting much attention; but it has been serious and bloody, and it is only now that we begin to get much light on it. The French have ascribed it, at the outset, like most of their misfortunes, to the machinations of Bismarck; but it appears to have been due, in part, to the determination of the Khouans, a fanatical and warlike sect of Mussulmans, to take advantage of French misfortunes, and these found the Kabyls and Arabs discontented enough, for various reasons, to join them in arms, though the Kabyls have not gone over to the insurrection until recently. The atrocities and desolation wrought by the conflict have been dreadful. The villages have been burnt, the farms laid waste, and the colonists massacred over the finest portion of the French domain to within twenty miles of Algiers; all of which the French troops have repaid in kind. During the month of May, the arrival of strong reinforcements from France has enabled the Government to take a vigorous offensive and inflict several crushing defeats on the rebels, whose chief, Bak-Aga-Mokrani, has been killed, and a large number of the tribes engaged in the revolt have made their submission. The present French Government has done what the Imperial Government always refused to do, and which, probably, more than anything else, will help to make Algiers a real French colony, attractive to French settlers—and that is, placed it under civil rule. The spirit of emigration is, at best, not strong among Frenchmen; were it ever so strong, they could not have been readily induced to quit the protection of the civil courts and take up their abode under the jurisdiction of courts-martial.

The Prohibitionists in England have made one more desperate effort to carry their ideas into execution, in the shape of what is known as Sir Wilfred Lawson's Permissive Bill, which gives the ratepayers of a parish the power to decide by a majority vote how many public-houses they will have within their limits, or whether they will have any. The bill was defeated, but not heavily defeated, and the arguments in its favor evidently made a deep impression, which will do much to hasten a vigorous attempt to deal with the question of drunkenness in some way or other. The strongest objection made to it was, that if the regulation of the liquor traffic to this extent was called for at all, it ought to be general, and enforced by Parliament, and not left to the discretion of local majorities. It was stated in the debates that $500,000,000 are spent annually in drink in the United Kingdom.

"THE NEW DEPARTURE."

Republicans of all shades of opinion have for a good while been urging on the Democrats the propriety and expediency of accepting "accomplished facts," that is, of formally acknowledging in the public utterances of the party that the war and the amendments to the Constitution adopted since the war had settled certain questions beyond further dispute or cavil. These questions are the non-existence of the constitutional rights of secession, the abolition and perpetual prohibition of slavery, and the equality of all men before the law. Republicans have furthermore urged on them the propriety of acknowledging the validity of the public debt, and the duty of the nation to discharge it in coin, according to the terms of the contract, and in accordance with the good old Democratic doctrine that there was no money known to the Government of the United States except hard money.

For six years the Democrats have resolutely refused to do any of these things. They have encouraged the South in the belief that the war had settled nothing except the momentary superiority of the North in strength. They have denied the validity of the three amendments which put into legal form the *de facto* changes effected by the war in the status of certain classes of citizens, and provided fresh securities against unequal or discriminating legislation; and they have persisted in denying the validity of the assurances given by the Government in the hour of its extremity to the persons from whom it borrowed money as to the amounts they would receive in repayment—or, in other words, have stoutly maintained that if one borrows money when his credit is very low, he may, afterwards, honestly repay it as if his credit had been very good when he borrowed, no matter what the terms of his contract were—a doctrine for which it would be difficult to claim any higher source than the mock-auction shop or the faro-bank. They have fought through two Presidential campaigns on this policy of negation, and have failed miserably in both. They could not get the country to acknowledge that nothing was changed by the war, and that the one business of sensible men was to get back as fast as possible to the point from which we started in 1861. What has made their persistence all the more extraordinary was the plainness with which the Republicans were profiting by it. There has rarely been a party in power which, since 1865, has offered so many tempting points of attack to an able and energetic opposition as the Republican party. Its legislation for the South, and its financial and foreign policy, although, perhaps, far better than the Democrats would have furnished in its place, and as good as we had any right to expect, were nevertheless full of imperfections of the grossest and most glaring kind, out of which an opposition which was as numerically strong in the country as the Democratic opposition was, might have made formidable use. The results of reconstruction legislation at the South have been pitiable; the manipulation of the Supreme Court has been shameful; the debauchery of the civil service—debauchery continued, too, most barefacedly in the teeth of strong professions of zeal for reform—has been flagrant, and all three have apparently afforded materials for an overwhelming Democratic victory; and yet the Democrats have made nothing out of them whatever. The address of their members of Congress, at the close of the last session, read not like the indictment of eager and triumphant accusers, as it might have been made to read, but like the abject apology of men who have failed miserably, and do not exactly know why. In fact, read in the light of the accounts of the Democrats given by the leading Republican papers, there was something very amusing about it. According to these papers, the Democratic chiefs were brigands of enormous stature, of inexhaustible resources, reckless courage, and ferocious and implacable temper; the address, however, sounded like a plea for consideration, or for some cold victuals and old clothes, from a parcel of puny little conscripts who had made an attempt to storm a great stronghold, and gave it up because the villains inside fired at them.

A considerable portion of the party, headed by Mr. Vallandigham, seem to have learned wisdom at last, and propose to surrender all the principal points in their former creed, and to begin their opposition to the party in power on a new line; to do, in fact, what the Republicans have been long wanting them to do, and abusing them for not doing; that is, accept the situation as settled by the war, and offer the country some reasons for supporting them which have no direct connection with the war. They offer, in short, to do what the Republican party has been doing—maintain the results of the war, and to do something which the Republican party has thus far neglected or failed to do—correct and restrain the evils growing out of the war. They offer, for instance, while adhering to the three new constitutional amendments, to oppose the dangerous tendency which the Republican party has for some time been manifesting to treat the amendments as having practically abrogated the whole Constitution; or, in other words, as having constituted the majority of both Houses as supreme judges of what is or what is not constitutional. They offer to treat the reconstruction measures as finalities—that is, to put the Southern States on a footing of equality with the Northern States, and put further interference with their affairs on exactly the same level with interference in the affairs of New York or Massachusetts. They call for universal amnesty, and while they denounce lawlessness on the part of mobs, they also denounce that disregard of law on the part of the legislature which is displayed in such measures as the Ku-klux Act, which not only disregards the supreme law of the land, but creates an officer unknown to the law, viz., a dictator. They call, too, for a revenue tariff, or, in other words, for the cessation of what is perhaps the most prolific source of corruption, the attempt to protect native industry by means of taxation. But instead of calling for reform in the civil service, they propose to take the work of collecting the Federal revenues from one set of rascals, the Federal employees, and hand it over to another set of rascals, the State employees; and they ask still to have the Government debts paid in greenbacks—that is, one promise to pay substituted for another.

Now, though this programme, which first made its appearance under Vallandigham's auspices at Dayton, has since been adopted by the State Conventions in Ohio and Tennessee, and though there is every sign that it will make way enough with the Democracy at large to have a fair chance of adoption at the Presidential Convention next year, it will need an uncommonly strong candidate, stronger than the Democracy is likely to adopt, to give it any great weight with the country, owing in the main to the general want of faith in the honesty and good sense of the men who, in case of a Democratic victory, would be sure to manage the Administration at Washington.

But however little value it may have as a platform, it has a great deal of value as a sign of the times. Whatever else it may be or may not be, this it is: a bid for the support of that large body of Republicans who are very sick of Republican doings, and who long for a decent excuse for trying both new measures and new men. It is impossible to overlook certain facts: 1. That during the present Administration nothing whatever has been done until now to reform the civil service, in spite of the loud and oft-repeated promises on the subject. 2. That a great blow has been struck at the purity, independence, and usefulness of the Supreme Court and of all courts, by packing the court to procure a sudden reversal of a carefully considered decision. 3. That so far from any steps having been taken towards a return to specie payments, this packing of the court was resorted to with the direct purpose of getting a judgment which made a return to specie payments more difficult and uncertain than ever, and this packing has been formally and publicly justified by the Secretary of the Treasury. 4. That no serious attempt has been made to reform the revenue, or infuse order or method into the tariff, which is now in a state of as great confusion as it was four years ago; and that, so far as we know anything of the mind of the party, it is occupied rather with the discovery of means of avoiding the question altogether than of dealing with it honestly and fairly. 5. That the time and attention of the Administration during four years have been mainly occupied with the project of annexing a semi-barbarous island occupied by a turbulent population unused to civil government, and that it was never so intent on this scheme as at the moment when Congress was appointing the President a dictator as a possible substitute for regular civil government in half the Union. The one positive step in the history of the Republican party that can be urged as a set-off to all this is the conclusion of the treaty with England, the value and importance of which we have no wish to underrate; but it is well to consider

whether a year hence people will be disposed to regard this one piece of foreign policy a compensation for the almost total neglect of internal reforms.

THE NEXT STAGE IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE course taken by events in Paris has been almost exactly what most observers of French politics expected it to be; that is, a monarchy has been overturned by the rush of a mob into the legislature, or by "escalade," as the French themselves now call it; a provisional government has been formed by a selection from the bystanders, and this government has taken on the ways of a republic; but, though very radical, it has failed to give satisfaction to the Radicals, who have made several attempts to overturn it, and have succeeded in seizing and holding the capital for a brief period, but have been put down with great bloodshed after having greatly frightened the peasantry and property-owners, and given the administration once more a thoroughly military tone, made the commander-in-chief the most important man in the nation, and given the army once more a strong sense of its own power and importance and of its superiority to the civil authority. This is, in brief, the history of every French revolution; and, up to this point, there is never any difficulty in foretelling the principal events of a Parisian attempt at reform.

There are, however, some peculiarities in the present crisis which will probably, from this point on, give a turn to affairs in many respects novel, we will not venture as yet to say hopeful. The first and, of course, the most important of all is the complete separation in feeling and opinion between town and country which these late disturbances have revealed. In the first revolution, as well as in that of 1830, there is no doubt that Paris largely enjoyed the sympathy of the provinces. By the first revolution the peasantry gained more than any other class—how much they gained is strikingly sketched in Erckmann-Chatrian's "Histoire d'un Paysan," and they threw themselves into it heart and soul. In 1830, again, the revolt was directed against an attempt to restore partially, at least, the old régime. Charles X. was a Bourbon; he brought back the *majorats*, or law of primogeniture, and he filled the offices and the army with old émigrés, whose names were still remembered and hated by the country people. During the eighteen years of the Orleans rule, however, the peasants began to prosper and feel secure. The generation to which the passions of the Revolution had come down had died out, and there grew up in France a love of repose such as in all its history it had never known. The outbreak of 1848 took the country by surprise, and the great depression of trade and industry which prevailed during the three years of the Republic strengthened the growing distrust and dislike of revolutions as well as prepared for the Empire.

The overthrow of the Empire was accepted partly in disgust with the Imperial management of affairs, and partly from a hope that the Republic would make a better defence against the invader. The Republic, however, totally failed in the field, and the first and greatest effect of its failure was to convince people of the folly of "swopping horses while crossing the stream," or, in other words, of the enormous disadvantage a nation labors under which has no government that can survive disaster. The spectacle, too, of Prussian gravity and discipline, and devotion to duty, has made a profound impression on the French mind. One can hardly take up a French periodical without seeing evidences of this. Moreover, as was predicted by one very shrewd observer, the sufferings and misfortunes of the war have aroused a very marked revival of religious feeling, how marked those who have any knowledge of the French character will see from the recent passage, by a majority of 417 to 3, by the Assembly at Versailles, of a resolution to "offer up public prayers for a cessation of the civil war." A year ago this would have excited inextinguishable laughter and no end of epigrams. If we combine this weariness of revolutions and this peculiarly solemn frame of mind, we shall find ourselves in the presence of a state of things of which the like has never been seen in France. The nearest approach to it was made during the depression in 1712 preceding the battle of Denain, when old Louis XIV. made up his mind, as he informed Marshal Villars, to die sword in hand at the head of his troops.

The influence of this peculiar mental and moral condition of the French on their political future has been greatly fortified by one other feature of the late extraordinary struggle. Our readers may remember that we predicted at the beginning of the second siege that, if M. Thiers succeeded in retaining the hold of his government on France, in spite of its expulsion from Paris, he would open up a new chapter in French history. Now, he *has* succeeded in doing this, and in doing it he has broken a spell under which France has lain for two centuries. For the first time, the country at large has had a stand-up fight with Paris, and has soundly thrashed it. There has on this occasion been no uncertainty as to the character of the conflict. It has not been waged between one class of Parisians and another class of Parisians, or between the Parisians and a government set up by themselves, as in 1830 and 1848. This time, the country has engaged the capital fairly and squarely, and subdued it. Moreover, it has been the general opinion of Frenchmen, during the last forty years, that if the Reds got possession of Paris, for ever so short a period, society would be ruined, and anarchy spread through the country. The Reds have had possession of Paris for three months, and under circumstances more favorable than are ever again likely to present themselves, and nothing more serious than the destruction of life and property within the capital has come of it. We think it is impossible to overestimate the effect on French politics of the removal of this terrible bugbear, which has weighed on the imagination of every generation since 1793, and has made it impossible to secure anything like calm deliberation in the organization of a government. In 1795, in 1830, in 1848 and 1851, people rushed into any plan which promised to protect Paris from the Reds. It is possible, and not improbable, that whatever régime is now set up, will be set up with greater deliberation, and a more distinct reference to the wants and wishes of the provinces—that is, of France at large—than any which has preceded it.

What will that régime be? It may be calculated with almost certainty that the Bonapartes are out of the field. Nobody can reign in France who has surrendered to a foreign enemy at the head of 100,000 men. Supposing monarchy to be resolved on, the Count de Chambord would have a good chance if the present Assembly were to act as a Constitutional Convention, which it has, however, no right to do, and will probably not attempt to do. He has issued an address, from which the only thing clear is that he would, if restored, throw himself into the arms of the church, and this may win him favor with the peasantry; but, on the other hand, he is a Bourbon, which is the one name of French history which the peasantry dread, and he has no hold on the army or the literary class. Nevertheless, he represents what is now uppermost in French minds—the idea of continuity and permanence, and he has no children; and the late fusion with the Orleanists would not only put the succession in good hands, but would give the men of the Orleans family a great deal of influence on the court. On the whole, perhaps, the chances of his restoration are just now stronger than any other chances. But supposing, as is probable, no immediate decision should be reached as to the form of the government, there is little doubt that reflection, in the absence of disorder, would be favorable to a republic. There is no denying it, and nobody does deny it, that French manners are now unfavorable to a monarchy, and there is nothing left in French character into which any monarchy could be fairly expected to strike its roots. A monarchy, therefore, can hardly at best be more than a makeshift; a republic must come at last; but a republic cannot exist in conjunction with a large standing army, commanded by a man whose adhesion is necessary to the very existence of the government, and to whom all the offices of the state are open; and in the present state of the artisan mind in France, there is no prospect that the standing army can be dispensed with or will be dispensed with. So that wherever we begin to discuss the chances of a republic, we find ourselves brought up against a stone wall, against which some of us are like to butt our heads. There is as yet not enough republicanism in France for the government of one Swiss canton, and there is no class of the community which has less of it than the Republicans themselves. But it must be admitted that, on the whole, the events of the last three months, though for the moment unfavorable to republicanism,

have probably done more for it in reality than anything that has yet occurred, by satisfying the country of its ability to do without Paris and of the feebleness of the Red resources.

THE LABOR QUESTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of such labor as is so intelligently performed by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, whose second annual report has been recently presented to the Legislature of that State. The report itself is a model for clearness, system, practical arrangement, and especially for the thorough recognition of the nature of the facts required by a body of legislators, though it is much to be feared that they will be the last to be benefited thereby. It does not need a very close scrutiny to recognize that Colonel Oliver, the chief of the Bureau, is in warm sympathy with the workingmen, and from conviction inclined to favor their views. But, after a careful study of the volume, and in spite of a sense of disappointment at not finding the reverse—for we were in hopes of meeting with a strong, logical, and intelligent defence of the employer—we must acquit the author of the report of every suspicion of partiality in what was, after all, his main work, the collection of the facts themselves. These are, as we have said, of the utmost importance. They comprise a complete history of all the strikes that occurred during the year, with the testimony in detail of all the witnesses examined; an admirable collection of statistics relating to the wages, expenses, food, dwellings, social condition, savings, habits, and hours of labor of men, women, and children, in several hundreds of different employments; and, finally, an immense amount of highly interesting testimony, mainly from the workpeople themselves, on every one of these various questions.

The general effect of the attentive perusal of this bulky volume is eminently discouraging. The proofs are numerous and unmistakable to the almost incredible fact that the condition of the working-classes throughout Massachusetts is a declining one, that the contrast between the relative positions of employer and employed is steadily becoming greater, that the number of men who emerge from the condition of workingmen is extremely small, and that the relations between employer and employed are becoming more and more hostile and defiant. When we read that the average earnings of over 17,000 persons, employed in thirty-three cotton-spinning establishments, including the better paid overseers and foremen, was eighty cents per day, or less than five dollars a week; that even at these rates work is not steady all the year round; that few are able, even if the work is had, to work steadily ten and eleven hours a day; that large numbers are obliged to stop work from sheer exhaustion; that young lads walk thirty and more miles a day while tending the machines; that many become intemperate from overwork; that the change of hands in large factories is frequently equal to an entire change every four months; that very few persons die while they are operatives, because, finding their health give way under their toils and exposures, they leave their employment and cease to be operatives,—when we read such things as these, we are introduced to a condition of affairs the existence of which is far from being generally known. When we read of men being dismissed from their occupation for the sole reason that they had been prominent in discussing the eight-hour movement, and refused employment in every mill in the State, where notices from their previous employers had preceded them; of men and their families incontinently turned out of house and home because they could not agree on the subject of factory wages with the owner of the tenement; of numerous employers combining to prevent the men from belonging to associations and labor-unions; of employers who openly boast that since a labor-union broke up, "they can do as they please with the men"; of employers who, claiming to be Christians, testify before a committee concerning their men: "If they were kept at work fourteen hours a day, it would be better for them. *They would die as quick one way as another.* They will drink. I don't know of anything in their employment that makes them so, *though it is fatiguing work,*"—when we read of such a spirit as that on the part of employers, we need no longer wonder at the growing frequency and increasing bitterness of strikes. On the contrary, we are filled with a conviction that there is a radical wrong somewhere which has brought about this change from the time when Lowell factory-girls earned handsome marriage portions with two or three years' labor, and found time, after working-hours, to write, edit, and read a very respectable newspaper. Where the evil lies, it would be presumptuous to indicate with any degree of positiveness. That it is more deeply-seated than is generally believed, we have no doubt. That the reading of such reports as Col. Oliver's will convince many persons of the gravity of the evil, and reconcile them to the freest and most exhaustive discussion of the remedies, is the chief as it will be the most immediate result of the establishment of the Bureau itself. It is unfortunately too true that the prejudice against everything savoring of so-called Labor Reform for the moment almost bars its intelligent discussion, and it is particularly to be regretted that the extreme bulk of the Bureau Report will prevent many from examining it who might otherwise contribute to make its contents known. But the mere existence of a permanent Bureau, authorized to take testimony on the subject, and capable of exercising that authority with fairness and intelligence, is a long step towards a correct understanding of this great problem.

Among the many different phases of the labor question, on which an extremely valuable collection of evidence is given, we have been especially struck with the influence of the trades-unions on intemperance. With the single exception, as far as we remember, of the gentleman whose evidence in favor of fourteen hours' work is quoted above, every witness declares that the trades-unions are most decided promoters of temperance. They furnish generally a meeting-place, which they seek to make attractive to members, and where at least once a week the dram-shop is neglected for business in which all are interested. The trades-union encourages economy, and raises the *esprit de corps* of the workmen. Apart from the question of wages, on which many different opinions prevail, the influence of trades-unions is almost unanimously described as beneficial both by workmen, employers, and disinterested outsiders. Notably is the evidence striking and interesting of the influence of the great Crispin organization in advancing the prosperity, sobriety, and intelligence of entire districts, the benefits of the organization being in a measure shared by thousands who do not belong to it. This evidence contrasts materially with the newspaper accounts received at the time of the great shoemakers' strike, and comes largely from merchants and others in the towns affected, who look with infinite disappointment on Mr. Sampson's Chinese, because they buy nothing, spend nothing, pay no share of the taxes, and are "no better than so much machinery."

The part of the report, however, which of all is, in our opinion, the most remarkable, is that relating to agriculture in Massachusetts. It may be summed up in two words: rapid decay. Increased nominal value of land, higher rents, fewer farms occupied by owners; diminished product, general decline of prosperity, lower wages; a more ignorant population, increasing number of women employed at hard outdoor labor (surest sign of a declining civilization), and steady deterioration in the style of farming—these are the conditions described by a cumulative mass of evidence that is perfectly irresistible, and that is unfortunately only too strongly confirmed by such details of census statistics as have so far been made public.

THE BORROWING POWER OF CORPORATIONS.

Students of social science have long since agreed that association has been the most potent of the many levers employed by modern civilization in its career of material progress. In an age marked by a growing indisposition to entrust to governments any powers not deemed absolutely essential to the maintenance of the state, association alone could render possible the creation of those vast works of public utility which are the wonder even of their own creators, and which would have been impossible save for that union and concentration of numberless individual efforts which we describe as the principle of association. Railroads, telegraphs, banks, life and fire insurance, steamships, bridges, tunnels, and canals, are all enterprises that the spirit of the age has been unwilling to commit to government management and government control, and which in their magnitude

were entirely beyond the means of private individuals, even in this age of colossal fortunes. Association has rendered them possible. Hence we are accustomed to look upon association as one of the most beneficent powers of our modern civilization, are indisposed to scrutinize its influences too closely, and are for ever tempted to frown down all attempts to disparage a system to which we must acknowledge ourselves so largely indebted. Yet it would be no exaggeration to say that the results of association to-day are perhaps fully as pernicious as they were beneficent twenty years ago. Not that nature has changed, not that society has changed, not that association has in itself ceased to be powerful for good, but that true association scarcely exists any longer, and that the outward forms and semblances of association have been and are seized upon and perverted to utterly improper uses.

The principle of association is the union of large numbers of small amounts of capital into one grand whole, and entrusting the employment of that capital to the management of one or more individuals selected by the owners and contributors of the capital. It is evident that the essential features of the system are: the contribution of capital, the control of the capital by the owners and contributors by means of the selection of managers; the responsibility of the managers towards the contributors; and the division of profits among the original contributors of the capital. Of all these essential features of the system, not one remains in the practice of to-day. The last thing contributed by the founders of associative enterprises is capital. Those that do contribute capital in such form as it ever is contributed, have no particle of control over the management. The managers are not in the least responsible to the contributors of capital, nor do the latter participate in the profits, though they are invariably made to bear the whole losses.

The perversion of association began when it was discovered that associations could borrow. Large undertakings, to which large capitals had been actually contributed, and which possessed valuable property, were early recognized as admirably safe borrowers, and speedily acquired great and general credit. As long as their borrowings were confined to large amounts, only to be obtained from great capitalists, wealthy firms, or other large associations like themselves, no strikingly evil results followed. For all these classes of lenders necessarily have the ability and the caution to investigate the condition of enterprises to which they advance large amounts, and generally have the indirect influence to control in a measure the money so advanced. But when it was discovered that the property of an association could be mortgaged, and the bond divided up into numberless small amounts, and that lenders could be found who would advance money on the security of such a bond and a mortgage, and that large amounts could in that way be borrowed from numerous small lenders, who advanced their money on the general reputation of the corporation, and whose limited means of enquiry and scattered influence had ceased to be a power—then the ability to borrow money became the destruction of the system of association. Naturally, at first money was borrowed in this fashion on mortgage bonds by associations who possessed property to mortgage, whose original contributors or shareholders had really contributed large amounts of capital, which they controlled by means of the managers of their election, and had consequently a powerful interest in securing honest and skilful managers to preserve the property. The theory in those days was that the shareholders or actual contributors of capital had so large a stake in the success of an enterprise, that its management was safe in their hands, and that the property mortgaged to the lender of further amounts of capital was wisely left to the original owners. In the early days of corporation loans, this belief proved generally well-founded, and so high became the credit of corporations, and so extremely convenient was the form of security devised, that large classes of investors, both for large and small amounts, habitually lent their capital to the various large corporations by buying their mortgage bonds, and that mortgage bonds came to be recognized as a safe and desirable form of investment.

It must be evident that the safety and desirability of this form of investment depend essentially upon two things: the existence and value of the property, and the character of the management secured by the stockholders and original contributors of capital. Both these considerations are, however, entirely disregarded in the modern system of forming corporations. The original contributions of capital, the actual stockholders, the property in existence, are all found to be totally unnecessary, nay cumbersome; and a modern corporation is virtually nothing but a device by means of which a few individuals can borrow enormous sums of money without personal responsibility; can use this money, without the slightest interference on the part of the lender or anybody else, for such purposes as they see fit; can devote this money to the most dangerous and hazardous enterprises, the loss in which, if any, falls upon the lender—the profit in which, if any, reverts to the individual; and can do, under the guise of a corporation, a number of things which, if done as individuals, would stamp them as cheats, swindlers, and rogues. With some few rare exceptions, the entire system of association to-day is nothing but a shield authorized by law to protect dishonest men from the legal consequences of dishonorable actions.

An association to-day, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, is not an association of men who unite their capital for some joint enterprise. It is, on the contrary, an association of men who never put a dollar of their own into such an enterprise, but who, under the false pretence of having thus risked their own money, borrow the money of others. Of all the railroad companies formed in the United States within the last five years, not five per cent. ever had any capital of their own. A dozen men procure a charter, subscribe nominally a certain amount of the stock, constituting themselves the stockholders; a stockholders' meeting is then called, and the twelve elect themselves directors, and, under the pretence of representing a body of stockholders, whose capital is supposed to lend respectability and solvency to their enterprise, proceed to commit a variety of acts which not one of them would dare to do as an individual unprotected by his official character, as a director acting under instructions from his stockholders—that is, from himself. Money is borrowed in enormous sums on the security of a mortgage upon property which does not exist; the entire risk of the success of the enterprise falls upon the lender of the money, the buyer of the mortgage-bonds, for there is no one else upon whom it can fall; the unfortunate lender thinks himself amply secured by a mortgage upon some existing property, and further protected by the watchfulness of a large body of stockholders who are supposed to have invested their capital in the enterprise. A better scheme for borrowing money without incurring any liability was never devised. The lender surrenders all right to interfere for twenty years or more, so long as his interest is punctually paid, and the borrower, so long as he pays the interest, is almost untrammelled in the uses to which he may put the principal.

If the evil results of this system were confined to the relations between the borrower and the lender, great as might be the mischief which will some day flow from it, it would be insignificant compared to the evils which it already daily inflicts upon the community. The whole legislation concerning corporations is based upon the original theory and practice of association, as we have described it. In order to induce the formation of companies, the responsibility of individual stockholders was legally limited to the extent of their share in the property of the company—in other words, the shareholders were virtually by law freed from all responsibility of whatever kind. In order to give the shareholders unlimited control over their property, the directors were made responsible almost exclusively to their stockholders, whose capital interest in the enterprise is supposed by the law, as well as by the public, to be ample guarantee that they will authorize no wrongful act on the part of the directors. But, under the modern practice, the directors being generally the chief, if not the sole, stockholders, are responsible as directors only to themselves as stockholders, and as stockholders they are responsible to nobody, while they have not even that limited responsibility as stockholders which they would have if they had invested capital in the enterprise, for the simple reason that they did not invest any. In this way the law has created a number of associations or corporations, which are supposed, from their inherent nature, to exercise a control over the actions of their representatives, but which, by the very law itself, are absolutely shielded from all responsibility. There are to-day in the

United States hundreds of associations, consisting each of them of a very limited number of individuals, upon whom the law confers enormous privileges, who, upon the strength of a sort of traditionary reputation of corporations in general, borrow hundreds of millions of money from deluded investors, and are by the law itself absolutely free from all responsibility. It is this borrowed money that is used to corrupt legislators, to buy privileges, to influence judges and sustain armies of lawyers, to resist the just claims of the public, and to maintain the entire system of corporate tyranny which threatens to make the principle of association odious in the eyes of the people and render it practically useless in the future.

No thoughtful person to-day doubts that the associative principle as now put in practice is no longer endurable. Either great works that cannot be accomplished by individual means must cease, which is almost equivalent to bidding civilization cease its progress, or means must be found to limit the power or to increase the responsibility of the managers of corporations. Whether this generation is equal to the task may well be doubted. But certain it is that no measure will ever be effective that is not based upon a restoration of the old original rule that the capital of an association must be furnished by the associates, and that borrowing must be restricted within very narrow limits, if not entirely prohibited. It is the borrowing power that destroys the responsibility of the managers, that has virtually eliminated the stockholder from all modern corporations. It is only by destroying the borrowing power that the stockholder can be brought back into active existence, and the people prevented from plunging into some hasty action to rid themselves of the insufferable tyranny, fraud, plunder, and corruption of the great corporations, who are to-day the masters, not the servants, of the people.

Correspondence.

"TOTAL ABSTINENCE."

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In reading the article on "Prohibition" in your issue of May 25, although I entirely agree with the views therein expressed in regard to the inexpediency of attempting to suppress liquor drinking and the liquor traffic by law, I could not but think, as I have often thought when reading your remarks on the subject in other numbers of the *Nation*, that you very strangely ignore the strongest point which the rational advocates of the duty of total abstinence, as a duty binding upon every individual person, have made, the only one which I do not recollect to have seen triumphantly refuted. You say: "I may be, and often am, forbidden to do things which, though harmless in my case, would work mischief if all did them; but I am not prohibited from doing things which, if all did them, would still be perfectly harmless, lest some persons should do them in hurtful excess." Exactly: I do not see how your position can be successfully assailed.

But the habit of using intoxicating liquors, like the kindred habits of using opium and certain other drugs, has this terrible danger attending it, that it is liable in the course of indulgence to cease to be a mere habit, and to assume the character of a disease. I believe that the doctors are pretty nearly agreed on this point, that a drunkard has laid himself under actual physical disadvantages, and diminished, to a vastly greater extent than can be accounted for by the force of a mere habit, his powers of resistance. Even when a man by any means recovers himself from the grip of this habit, as a very few do, he does not throw it off as he would the habit of card-playing, for instance, with which it is often mistakenly compared, but he holds his liberty, usually, only on the condition of a rigid avoidance of temptation. However, such a one, being forewarned, ought to be also forearmed. It is his own fault if he allows himself to be tempted. Now although it is by no means true, as many too ardent teetotalers would seem to be willing to have us believe, that every one who begins the practice of "moderate drinking" will eventually fall a victim to *oinomania*, still I think that no one will deny:

1. That a very large proportion of those who habitually drink wine and distilled liquors do become drunkards.

2. That the point at which the habit begins to merge into a disease is almost impossible to distinguish, and is generally passed without notice by the drinker. "He can leave off whenever he will;" and he is seldom aware till it is too late that he has got himself into that state where the odds are overwhelmingly great that he never "will."

3. That there is no method yet discovered of telling beforehand who will and who will not pass this point, who can and who cannot with safety enter upon a course of moderate drinking. If there were any such method known, I think the last bit of ground would be cut away from under the feet of the total abstainers. It seems to be a matter of natural constitution; not a few physicians think that the tendency is inherited in many cases.

4. Not only weak and foolish characters are drawn under the power of this fatal habit, even to the point of becoming downright sots, but men of ability, genius, and strong character are not safe.

On these considerations the advocate of total abstinence bases his argument. It is no question of example; it is no question of the abstract right or wrong of liquor-drinking—nor, to my mind, does it touch the matter of the German artisan's beer-drinking—it is no question of what is expedient or right in times or countries other than our own, Scriptural or otherwise; it is a fact that, here and now, we have in the community a large class, who cannot be distinguished from the rest or warned beforehand, with whom the question whether or not they shall become drunkards depends for its answer simply on the answer to the question, whether they allow themselves to use intoxicating drinks to an extent only that to their differently constituted neighbors would be productive of no injury whatever. In this view of the case, I think that the total abstainer's sentiments in regard to the "drinking customs of society," whether defensible or not, are at least not utterly unreasonable and fanatical. T.

Broad Brook, Conn., May 26, 1871.

[We have not discussed total abstinence in the *Nation*, and have never said or insinuated that it was "unreasonable and fanatical" for a man to practise it and try to persuade others to do so. What we object to is attempts to enforce total abstinence by law. The argument in favor of voluntary abstinence which "T." urges is a very strong one, but we doubt much whether the risk of becoming drunkards will ever, in the long run, have more influence on men's conduct than any of the other great risks of life. Men take risks of all kinds every day, in many instances a great deal higher than the risk of becoming drunkards, in the pursuit of both business and pleasure, without any hesitation; and there is probably no point on which they are more reckless than their health, so that saying drunkenness is a disease does not heighten its terrors for them. They abuse their bodies abominably in working and playing, eating and drinking, in spite of the clearest knowledge as to the consequences of their acts. It is safe to say that the working power of the male portion of the race is reduced by one-half, and that of women by three-fourths, through reckless modes of living—that is, through the same want of self-control and of sense of responsibility which leads to the excessive use of alcoholic drinks. We believe, for instance, that a large proportion of the vice and crime of the world, drunkenness included, and of the feeble and inefficient performance of daily duties, is due to badness of digestion; and though this is very well known, and the ways of improving digestion are pretty well understood, the number of people who make any persistent and energetic efforts to improve their digestion or keep it good is very small. The singling out of drunkenness, therefore, as the root of our social troubles, and the one excess on which we need to expend our energies, is open to the same objection as all panaceas. We may add that we believe there does not exist a scrap of statistics as to the proportion borne by the number of drunkards to the number of moderate drinkers; that most of the assertions of the advocates of temperance on this subject are wild exaggerations or misrepresentations; and that the fact that all drunkards began by being moderate drinkers proves nothing more against moderate drinking than pugilism proves against athletic exercises. Every pugilist begins by being an athlete, and had he totally refrained from inordinate attention to his muscles would never have taken to the ring. Could it be shown that fondness for athletic exercises generally, or in a majority or in a large proportion of cases, led to pugilism, we do not deny that it would be a man's duty to avoid bestowing much attention on his muscles, but it is just at this point—the connection between the use and abuse—that the friends of temperance are weakest, and have the scantiest supply of facts.

We decline, it will be seen, to treat the craving for stimulants as a disease in itself, because it is apparently as general and as old almost as any other desire. Very few persons are exempt from it. We do not like to cite living examples in support of our argument, and especially where the example is a distinguished and universally respected man, and yet we may be permitted to call attention to the fact that Mr. Colfax, though a rigid teetotaler, is now suffering severely from excessive smoking, aggravated, it is said by excessive use of tea and coffee. We do not mention this in depreciation of him, but simply to suggest to the friends of temperance the possibility that they have not got to the bottom of this matter. Most of the movements to bring about social reforms are, we are sorry to say, carried on by exceptional persons, blessed or cursed with mental or physical peculiarities which make most of their gospel perfectly useless to the great mass of mankind. The rule of right reason will never be established in these matters till its apostles are more largely supplied by the "average man." —Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Sons will republish immediately, in pamphlet form, the prophetic article in *Blackwood* for May, entitled "The Battle of Dorking; or, Reminiscences of a Volunteer."——"The Memoirs of John Quincy Adams," comprising his Diary from 1795 to 1848, and edited by the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, is in the press of J. B. Lippincott & Co. They will also shortly publish the following novels: "Rookstone," by Katherine S. Macquoid; "The Quiet Miss Godolphin," by Ruth Garrett; and "A Chance Child," by Edward Garrett; a book of poems by Emily M. Kiehl; and two medical works: "Diseases of the Ear," by Lawrence Turnbull, M.D.; and a new edition of Beck's "Medical Jurisprudence."——Messrs. Geo. A. Leavitt & Co., of this city, sell at auction on Thursday and Friday, June 15 and 16, a considerable collection of works with various attractions for bibliophiles, of which these four, however, are likely to command most attention: Nos. 203, 204, 205, and 336. The first three embrace a remarkably large number of Cruikshank's works, six of which (Lot 203) are original sketches in pencil or sepia. The last is the fifth edition of Granger's "Biographical History of England," containing Mark Noble's Continuation, and greatly enhanced in value by the insertion of upwards of 1,500 portraits, including Richardson's series. Six volumes folio have thus been extended to twenty-one.

—Prof. Gustavus Hinrichs writes us, in reference to our late remarks on his quarterly periodical, the *School Laboratory of Physical Science*, that he expects from this publication a very moderate influence on the diffusion of physical science in the common schools, and that in Iowa they depend on exactly the instrumentalities which we recommended. In the laboratory under his charge in the State University, "more than two hundred students have experimented throughout the greater part of this school-year; about one-half of these will continue this course next year; and quite a number will spend one or more years still in it. In each of the above grades," continues the professor, "we have students who will enter the educational field as teachers. Besides, we have promised to conduct, in the laboratory, after the close of the present school-year, a Teachers' Institute in Physical Science, for older teachers now active in various stations in our State." We take pleasure in recording these facts, and in making this further extract from our correspondent's letter: "We try to discountenance the mania for teaching science by 'illustration,' which has led to the purchase of all sorts of fancy furniture, diagrams, charts, etc., and of necessity leads away from nature. In how many schools do you find the orrery rather than a telescope? And yet a telescope, costing less than the orrery, would show much that the unaided eye cannot see; but, above all, it would compel the teacher to take his pupils out into the free air, there to study the stars themselves, and not fancy pictures."

—The New Haven *Palladium* appears to have authority for saying that the murderer Ruloff, in prosecution of his philological extravagances, called on Prof. Whitney, of Yale, towards the end of 1868, and made known in confidence the main outlines of his pretended discovery. "It was, in general, to the effect that the liquids, *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r*, are the substantial and essential elements of words and roots, all other elements being subsidiary accretions to these; words, therefore, containing these elements (which, moreover, are variously interchangeable with one another) are to be compared or identified as originally the same." We may, we suppose, trace this delusion in the man's assumed names—*Leurio*, as he called himself when he visited New Haven, being in two senses the equivalent of *Ruloff*. Prof. Whitney, regarding him as an object of commiseration, put him off as gently as he could, and, when he reappeared at the Philological Convention at Poughkeepsie, allowed him to name a committee to examine his theory. "The gentlemen he selected were of the highest and most unexceptionable character; but they, as was anticipated, absolutely refused to look into his scheme, on the ground that the association had no business to meddle with anybody's secret, that was on sale, to recommend it to a purchaser, or the contrary; it could only examine what was open to the whole learned public to examine. He was, as might perhaps have been expected, greatly dissatisfied with the decision." It would now remain for Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews, whose Alwato shows a remarkable analogy to the Ruloff theory, to present himself at Rochester for the judgment of the learned, were it not that he finds it more convenient to obtain their endorsement in advance of publication and to defy their opinion afterwards.

—The difficulties people of moderate means have in procuring proper pictures for their walls, owing mainly to the racket kept up by the art critics, and by the ridiculous pretence put forward by the dilettante that the popular judgment about pictures is not always to be trusted, are, we are glad to say, in a fair way of being overcome in a manner that will satisfy all parties. Boston, the source of so many contrivances for making domestic life easy, has produced the new arrangement, which consists simply in the supply of pictures to match the furniture by the furniture-dealer. The Boston *Transcript* informs us that Messrs. ——— & ———, noted furniture dealers in that city, have opened a fine gallery of pictures in their store, "in connection with the sets of furniture." "The pictures embrace various subjects of landscape and still-life, many the production of local artists." "Good pictures," as the *Transcript* very truly observes, "have become the necessity of house furnishing, but the expense of these wall decorations confines many to cheaper works of art. Messrs. ——— & ——— conceived the idea of making the furnishing of houses more complete by associating with their chamber and other sets suitable pictures, which are sold in conjunction, at rates far more reasonable than could be obtained by separate purchase." We have no doubt they will profit by the "idea." Nothing can be more convenient than to be able to get landscapes and still-life to match your carpets, bedsteads, and crockery chosen for you by an experienced furniture-dealer. The artists must also, we suggest, keep the furniture in mind in choosing their subjects. "A Duck Pond in July," for instance, would go nicely with a painted set; "A Dog after a Cat," would be the thing for a plain maple or oak set; "A Girl Coming through Buckwheat," would look well with plain black walnut or mahogany; while for a truly gorgeous chamber, with carving and so forth, a "King Caught by a Tornado," would be about the thing. The clothes of the figures ought always, we need hardly say, to match the carpets and curtains in the prevailing tint. Messrs. ——— & ——— ought, however, to supply books as well as pictures, and their establishment will never be complete till they do. Everybody furnishing a house wants a library, and not a few do not exactly know what books it ought to contain, and this branch of business is now left entirely to the booksellers, who send home the books without ever having seen the wall-paper, carpets, chairs, or tables, or, indeed, anything in the house. The result is frequently the most shocking incongruities. By getting the books where you get your furniture, all this would be avoided, and a single order, given by a young couple in the course of half-an-hour, would surround them at once with all "the evidences of culture" at a very moderate cost.

—We some time ago copied an English announcement of Phillips's "Dictionary of Biographical Reference" (Sampson Low, Son & Marston), of which the most striking promise was that it should contain one hundred thousand names. We now have the preface and specimen pages before us, and can define the scope of the work a little more exactly. It has three principal features: (1) abundance of names, exceeding in this respect every other work of the kind, and embracing "the greatest number of distinguished Americans ever collected in one work"; (2) references at each name to one or more of a list of dictionaries which may be consulted for further particulars; (3) no more of characterization and of dates than can be comprised in one, two, or (apparently) three lines. The first page, we trust, is not to be taken as a fair specimen of the accuracy of this work. In the second column alone we note at least half-a-dozen serious errors. *Bistriez* for Bistritz, and *Foyaras* for Fogaras, occur in the same line. Aaron-*Ariseon* stands for Ariscon; the equivalent form *Harischon*,

however, being correctly given. This word, by the bye (= Lat. *priscus*), seems to be a stumbling-block to dictionary-makers. From a similar misunderstanding of the appellative, we have "*Aba*, Sam., king of Hungary," for Aba-Samuel, etc., *i. e.*, Father Samuel; like the Turkish Kara-George, Black George. The second name of Aaron-Ben-Anser, Aaron-Bar-Moses, is here printed Aaron-Bar-*Moise*, in the French form, for which there is no good reason. We have, without going below the surface, marked several other errors, chiefly in single letters, of more or less consequence.

—A few English titles of interest may be added to our summary of recent or forthcoming publications. W. D. Christie's "Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury," of whom, if only as the friend of Locke, posterity ought to have a good opinion, is an attempt to redeem him from the harsh verdict of the historians. A very readable biography is the "Memoir of Charles Mayne Young, the Tragedian," by his son. A memoir of the artist, Maclise, by W. J. O'Driscoll, will not fail to have readers. Books of travel are increased by Frederic Eden's "Nile without a Dragoman;" "Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtail and Petticoats," being an overland journey from China towards India, by T. T. Cooper; "Our Sister Republic: a Gala Trip through Tropical Mexico in 1869," by Albert S. Evans; and "A Journal Kept in France and Italy," with some account of the Revolution of 1848, by Nassau W. Senior. A diary of the Siege of Paris, taken from *Galignani's Messenger*, and "The Defence of Paris, narrated as it was seen," by Thomas Gibson Bowles, are the two latest contributions to the history of the chief event of the Franco-Prussian war. A volume of "Lyrical Poems," by Francis Turner Palgrave, has been published by Macmillan. Finally, we note the following: a new volume of sermons by the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke; an "Essay on the Druids, the Ancient Churches, and the Round Towers of Ireland," by the Rev. Richard Smiddy; and "Historical Narratives from the Russian," by H. C. Romanoff.

—Since Dr. Livingstone's discovery of the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, in 1855, not a few travellers in South Africa have sought this remarkable scene. Chapman and Baines followed him closely; solitary Englishmen have found their way there from Natal, and last June the German explorer, Eduard Mohr, succeeded in spite of numerous obstacles in reaching the falls, where he planted for the first time the North-German colors. Had he known what was then passing in Europe, and how soon his flag was to cover the whole of Germany, he would have had a still juster cause of pride as a pioneer of German science. The journey to the falls, and the impression they made on him, are narrated at length in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*. Dr. Livingstone, revisiting Garden Island, on the brink of the falls, in 1860, found that the trees which he had planted there in order to teach the Makololo arboriculture had been totally destroyed by the hippopotami, and though he planted them again, and protected them with a strong stockaded fence, he had little hope of resisting the attacks of the same enemy. In fact, the fruit-trees were down three years later when visited by Sir Richard Glyn and his brother, and Mohr, of course, reports the garden ravaged and overgrown, since there had been no one to restore it a second time. This traveller made an interesting experiment in domesticating the ostrich, having raised no less than four from the egg. They exhibited not the slightest fear of man, but on the contrary great attachment and a remarkable sense of locality. They marched with Mohr hundreds of miles, and one ("ein grosser einjähriger Hahn"), which accompanied him the longest distance, to Potchefstroom, he parted with only because its appearance on the streets frightened the foreign cattle and horses.

TREITSCHKE ON MODERN FRANCE.*

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE is one of the most eminent, and at this moment, perhaps, the most conspicuous, of German historical essayists. He combines the all-embracing knowledge of a German historian with the versatile discursiveness of a Macaulay and the elegant polish of a French review writer. In this last respect he has scarcely a rival. It is not easy to find a paragraph—one might almost say, a sentence—in his writings which is not rounded, translucent, and graceful. And he has the good fortune to be a man of the time in his fatherland. He is no ideologist; he hates political sectarianism; he has a contempt for radicalism and universal suffrage; he is German through and through. He advocates imperial unity, and does not shrink from war; he is no less an admirer of the Hohenzollerns than Carlyle is, and like him, though in a feebler degree, a hero-worshipper. He is a constitutionalist, yet ready to follow the lead of a Bismarck; he ignores none of the questions of the present or of the future, but demands their solution in a grand style and by grand intellects; he has closely studied his people and its opportunities, and his people has given a triumphant confirmation to his beliefs and anticipations.

The collected "Aufsätze" treat exclusively of themes of modern European history, and chiefly of the history of this century. Their titles, in the order in which they are presented to us, are: "Prussia under the Teutonic Order," "Milton," "Fichte and the National Idea," "Hans von Gagern," "Karl August von Wangenheim," "Ludwig Uhland," "Lord Byron and Radicalism," "F. C. Dahlmann," "The Federal State and the Unitary State," "Liberty," "The Political Life of France and Bonapartism," "Cavour," "The Republic of the United Netherlands," "Lessing," "Heinrich von Kleist," "Otto Ludwig," "Friedrich Hebbel," "Constitutional Monarchy in Germany." Some were written before the war of 1866, some after it; all were published before the great Franco-Prussian struggle. This we must remark, chiefly in reference to the work on France and Bonapartism, the author's most extensive study; which, with its divisions and subdivisions—embracing three hundred and fifty octavo pages—forms rather a collection of essays on one connectedly treated subject than an essay, and to which we shall exclusively turn our attention in this notice. The importance of the subject, the exhaustive research bestowed upon it by the author, and a multitude of keen observations, original or gleaned, which cannot fail to strike the reader in connection with recent events in France, make this production particularly remarkable; and we cannot refrain from introducing it to our readers, though we are far from sharing all the conclusions the writer reaches concerning men and things in France, after closely weighing her political life in his critical balance. On account of its very richness, however, we can introduce it only in a very fragmentary way.

Herr von Treitschke finds the French particularly wanting in the sense of right, and in this defect an essential cause of the internal ailments of their body politic. It manifests itself above all in the absence of almost all perception of the right of foreign nations. This perception was gradually destroyed by the admiration for the conquests of Louis XIV. and those of the Convention, and the intoxication into which the victories of the First Empire plunged the people.

"It almost appears that that gifted nation is tacitly conscious of the truth that true creativeness and genius it has developed almost exclusively in war. In blind eagerness for war, all parties meet. The radicals are convinced that the natural constitution of France is armed democracy, and the legitimist Châteaubriand asserts that liberty in France must hide her red cap under the helmet. Even Lamartine, one of the most obstinate enemies of Bonapartism, pathetically tells us that the revolution of freedom was followed by the counter-revolution of glory; and it is amusing to see how in Proudhon's work on war the enthusiasm for the 'phénoménalité de la guerre' a hundred times breaks through all the peace-apostle's exhortations. Reason and equity are silenced, and even the decency of the nation of *bon-ton* vanishes, as soon as the phantom of *la gloire* flares before its eyes. All France shouted with joy when Napoleon heaped together the art-treasures of all countries in the halls of the Louvre, and nobody reproached him when he carried off the Madonna of Loretto, as the Romans used to carry off the gods of the vanquished. But a cry of indignation rang throughout the land when the allies demanded back the plunder, and to this day the official catalogue of the Louvre tells in the tone of offended morality how shamefully the Prussians, in 1815, pillaged the Imperial galleries."

And what that Imperial *gloire* cost France is partly stated in the following:

"France can tell a tale of the immortality of historical guilt. What makes Mirabeau so tragically striking an appearance is, that in his life the fate of his people is mirrored. Just as the shadow of his youthful profligacy intervened between Mirabeau and the crown, and prevented him from occupying the right place at the right moment, so the nation but half-completed its first revolution because it bore on its shoulders the burden of an iniquitous past, because its simple citizen virtues had been crushed out by the old régime. And similar is the present. No rational statistician doubts the fact that the main—though not the only—cause of the highly unsatisfactory physical conditions of the French population—infertility, frequent debility, superabundance of cripples—is to be found in the wars of the First Empire, which killed off the healthy male youth of the country. And the historian, too, will easily discover the traces of those stormy times in the political field."

The main representative of French military glory is thus sketched:

"Napoleon was a foreigner on the throne of France. . . . His mother bore him under her heart when, at the Ponte Nuovo, Corsica's freedom succumbed to French arms. He who for the first time beholds one of those figures in relief which represent the Emperor in a Roman

* "Historische und Politische Aufsätze. Von Heinrich von Treitschke." Vol. I., third edition. Leipzig, 1867. Vols. II. and III. Leipzig, 1870.

garb, needs some reflection to recognize that he has not the figure of a Roman before him. Observe the classical traits of this Augustan head, and see how little it has in common with the small skull of the Celt; and chiefly how entirely different the firm gaze of that powerful eye is from the unsteady fire which flickers in the eyes of Frenchmen. The *esprit* of beautiful France the *Imperator* neither possessed nor appreciated; the power and depth of his passion are purely Italian; his nature, his feeling, appears to Frenchmen too *entier*. Proud Italians hailed their countryman as a Roman *Imperator* whom Gallic legions had raised upon their shield. Corsican patriots of the old school saw in the tamer of France the avenger of his native isle. The Corsican became a hero of France merely because here the revolution opened a vast field for his immense strength. Under other circumstances, he would have indifferently selected any other land for the base of his greatness; as, in fact, in the years of unsatisfied ambition, he played with the thought of entering the Russian or the Turkish service. But the wreath of the highest princely glory is allotted only to national heroes, in whose image a whole people sees its innermost being reflected and glorified. Such a national hero Napoleon would have been had he ruled the world with the power of Italy; for in him was incarnated that ancient phantom of Italy's longings, the *Principe* of Machiavelli. As Emperor of the French, he is but the greatest of all the homeless adventurers of history."

Napoleon was the idol of one generation of Frenchmen in our century; the idol of another generation was "the people":

"All the spokesmen of radicalism vie with each other in offering adulation to the people. One of the maxims of the 'Society of the Rights of Man' is this: Every law must be based on the principle that the people is good and the government exposed to temptation. When a workmen's rising is quelled, the radical journals but rarely and timidly venture to throw out a word of condemnation against the movement—as unwise—but there is no end to the praise heaped upon the heroism of the men with the callous hands and sinewy arms. The fourth estate is the people proper, 'peuple-roi,' 'peuple tout-puissant,' 'peuple-idée.' The *gamin* of Paris, according to Victor Hugo, in breathing the air of the world-city, inhales innocence; the *ouvriers* form the genuine aristocracy. Every scandal of high society . . . . is skilfully worked up to contrast the purity of the maltreated helots with the wickedness of the revelling Sybarites. The intimidated middle-class does not always muster courage openly to defend the order of the state against the innocent people; the injustice of the jury becomes a rule in all political cases. The *blasés* among the rich, amid all their anxiety for their purses, hail every regicidal attempt, every insurrectionary riot, as a welcome change, breaking the uniformity of their enjoyments."

The Restoration, after some feeble and foolish attempts at repressing the revived revolutionary aspirations and Napoleonic idol-worship of the nation, succumbed to the *bourgeoisie*. The Orleans throne, whose royal representative and main supporters our author treats with great severity, fell under the blows of the "peuple-roi." The latter, by its folly, speedily sapped the foundations of its own structure, the Second Republic, and made a *coup d'état*, a dictatorship, unavoidable. The Bourbon and Orleans monarchies had bred republicans; the revolution of February reared a spirit of sweeping reaction. Napoleon III. gave France quiet, order, and a glittering prosperity under the cover of a despotism erected on a level of perfect equality. But under such a despotism there was as little room for an aristocracy of the mind as for hereditary distinctions. The new Empire in vain imitated the ways of the "Grand Monarque;" it had neither a Racine nor a Molière, and its court contained only "a company of *parvenus* and adventurers." There was no room there for high spirits or high hearts. The divinities of the time were Mammon and a vulgar Venus. The age, not of Louis XIV., but of the Regency, was revived. Paris again became the high school of vice for the world; French civilization shone in a renewed "propaganda of immorality."

The liberal armed propaganda was, however, not entirely given up either, even in this period; it shone once more in its better light in the Italian campaign of 1859. And our German author is far from inclined to deny that many of the warlike enterprises of the French, from the time of Rochambeau to our own, have been marked with a trait of a generous idealism. On the other hand, he clearly saw, at the time of his writing, the danger with which the mainspring of French aggressiveness, national vanity, threatened Germany. He regarded a Franco-German war as a calamity to both nations which was by all means to be avoided. He did not believe there was a war party in Germany. Nor did he expect to find in France an enemy as little to be dreaded as was Austria in the summer of 1866. Yet, were France to provoke a war, he was convinced Prussia "would take up the gauntlet with the calm confidence that the invasion of the domestic rights of the German people must this time end with the defeat of foreign arrogance." He did not believe Napoleon III. mentally "sunk so low that he would not see the formidable dangers of a war with Germany." Yet, "as the Emperor was obliged, for the sake of the Ultramontanes, to draw the sword against the Italians, in the same way," he thought, "increasing perplexities in his internal policy might drive him into the arms of the Chauvinists, into a nefarious war of plunder against the Germans."

THE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT.*

Mr. Yeaman's work on the "Study of Government" is intended as a contribution to the science of general politics. Its object is not to examine the text of the Constitution of the United States, but to investigate and state those principles which are essentially related to all governments, to discover the bases upon which government rests, and to describe the forms in which government has been expressed; with such illustrations and comparisons as shall show what forms are the best, in what forms the essential principles can have fullest and freest play. The work is a volume of more than seven hundred pages, and shows the results of a vast amount of reading, or, perhaps, it would be more accurate to say, of the consultation of a very large number of authorities. It consists in a large part of citations from writers of all the different schools of political thought from Puffendorf, Burlamaqui, and Rutherforth, down to Austin and Mill.

The first impression which we obtained from a careful reading of this book—and the impression has not been removed by any subsequent return to it—was that the author had formed no clear and accurate conception of government itself, or of the manner in which the discussion was to be conducted, or of the special object of the work he had undertaken. He says, in the introduction, "My original plan was to avoid almost entirely quotations and notes of reference." It was his intention "to reduce to a connected and consistent mass a system of conclusions derived from reason, experience, reflection, and the aid of other writers, embracing all that is deemed valuable and true, rejecting or omitting without notice all that has passed under the condemnation of modern thought, and upon controverted ground never avoid coming to a definite judgment." This plan was finally abandoned, and the completely different one was adopted of citing what a very large number of other writers have said, no matter how unlike their premises, their processes, and their conclusions, and of connecting these extracts by a thread of comment. Thus we have the diffuse platitudes of Rutherforth side by side with the close, scientific reasoning of Austin and the destructive dogmatism of Bentham.

The absence of any clear and accurate conceptions of government, of that very subject-matter which should be treated scientifically in order to be treated practically, is shown in those preliminary portions which are devoted to definitions, and in the selection of special topics, the discussion of which occupies a large part of the volume. We might cite very many instances of this vagueness and confusion of ideas, but will simply give one or two illustrations, taken at random as we turn over a few pages. Thus we are told in Chapter I. that "all government consists of law; and whatever furnishes a rule or law of conduct, whatever regulates the actions of mankind, is in one sense government. This is the moral government of moral beings." Here we learn, first, that all government is law; secondly, that it is what furnishes law; and, finally, that it is whatever regulates the actions of men. It is thus at once the agent and the result; and if whatever regulates the actions of men be government, then the appetites, desires, and passions must form a part of it. Again, in the introduction, the author says: "The term political law being often used in this work, it is due that I should attempt to give some idea of what is meant by it. It is the law of politics, the law or rule of political action, embracing all the motives, means, and necessities of organic, social, or governmental action." Political law, as used by all scientific and accurate writers, is a term having a well-settled and defined import. Mr. Yeaman, so far as we can gather from his language, uses it in a different sense, and thus obscures the discussion. This law, he tells us, embraces "all the motives, means, and necessities of organic, social, or governmental action." We are unable to understand how a law can embrace the motives, means, and necessities of organic or of any other kind of action. This sort of writing—and there is much of it in the book—will never aid the reader in the study of government.

When we turn from the preliminary definitions to the various topics which are discussed, the lack of accurate conceptions appears in even a more marked manner. The author says: "The present enquiry extends only to one part—that of political law, which is what we generally understand by the science of government. It embraces the organization of

* "The Study of Government. By George H. Yeaman." Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1871.

civil society, the internal administration of its government, and its external relations with other civil societies." Pursuing this plan, he not only gives a short sketch of international law, but actually devotes the longest chapter of the book, running through seventy pages, to the subject of prize law and maritime capture, the whole chapter being "an argument against the capture and confiscation of private enemy's property found at sea, as a mode of warfare." All this has absolutely nothing to do with political law. Independent and sovereign nations have certain relations with each other, and in their intercourse observe certain rules; and these relations and rules form what is known as the international law, but do not depend in the slightest degree upon the form or ideas of government of any particular state, nor upon the nature or organization of its civil society. The author, in a special chapter, and at frequent intervals throughout the book, dwells at considerable length upon the objects of government, to the end that he may ascertain what laws are proper and expedient, and what are unnecessary and improper. He even makes an excursion into the department of parliamentary law. His conclusion is that the object of all government should be the protection of person and property, and we most heartily agree with him in his earnest condemnation of the recent practice which has so turned the rules of parliamentary law from their original design as to convert them into a means of stifling debate and of overriding a minority; but all this, however good in itself, and however appropriate and necessary in a treatise upon the theory of legislation, has no connection with political law or with the study of government.

Mr. Yeaman's book is perhaps even more marked by what it omits than by what it contains. There is no attempt to define a republican form of government, no discussion of the essential nature of the electoral franchise, and no thorough investigation of the intimate relations between local self-government and civil and political liberty. Of all the matters which properly belong to the study of government, to a treatment of political law in its widest sense, these three are just now of the greatest importance to the American people. Does a republican form of government necessarily involve universal suffrage? Is the electoral franchise a universal manhood right, to be ranged in the same class with the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, so that any institutions and laws which withhold it from portions of the citizens are essentially tyrannical? Is it best to abandon the system of local self-government elaborated by our fathers, and to substitute in its place a centralized power based upon universal suffrage, in order to procure a more perfect administration of public affairs? These momentous questions are now pending before the people of the United States. "The Study of Government" will bring little or no help to their final settlement.

The work is, in short, rather a discussion of many important topics and matters connected with government and legislation than a scientific treatise upon government itself. It contains many instructive extracts from political writers, and not a few very valuable observations and statements of opinion of the author. Its makeup is greatly marred by the absence of any index. A very copious index, with numerous cross-references, an analytical table of contents, and a list of authorities referred to, are absolutely necessary in a work which covers so large a ground as this, and which uses so frequently and freely the labors of others.

CORSON'S HAND-BOOK OF ANGLO-SAXON.*

Professor March's "Anglo-Saxon Reader" was noticed in our columns a few months ago. The present work by Professor Corson differs from that, as it is at the same time, and, indeed, mainly, a hand-book of Early English. Of 327 pages occupied by the selected texts, only 120 are given to Anglo-Saxon. And of this space, little less than half is taken up by the version of St. John's Gospel, which is presented here in its completeness, making a simple and easy introduction to the study of the language. The remaining texts are drawn from the Homilies of Ælfric—three of which are given entire—from the translations by King Alfred of Orosius' History, and of Boethius' "De Consolatione Philosophiæ," and from the Saxon Chronicle. The editor has not aimed at the greatest variety in his selections; he believes that "the real purposes of an educational text-book of this kind are better subserved by fewer extracts of considerable length, and, as far as possible, by complete productions, than by tidbits that give but a faint idea of the general style of a work." Without disputing the soundness of the principle, an exception might be claimed for the case of a literature in which the works themselves have, in general, no high literary interest, and the learner may need, therefore, the attraction of a greater variety. We are not sure, however, that by any principle of selection the editor could have done better than he has, in this respect, with the meagre and monotonous material afforded him in Anglo-Saxon prose.

As for Anglo-Saxon poetry, it is omitted altogether. This might seem at first view a defect in the work. The Anglo-Saxon prose, as just intimated, is of small literary value: to a great extent it consists of translations. All that is most elevated, striking, and characteristic in the monuments of the language, is to be found in its poetry. He who has read nothing of Cædmon, the Beówulf, or the shorter poems that have come down to us, can have no proper conception of the Anglo-Saxon genius. But this poetical literature is very difficult reading. It is brief, disjointed, enigmatical; it abounds in conceptions and expressions which may have seemed natural to our forefathers, with their different training and habits of thought, but are very strange to us; it is full of allusions the key to which is hardly, if at all, to be recovered. The editor, doubtless, felt that it required greater maturity of mind, as well as greater knowledge of the language, than could be expected in most of those who would use his book. And he must have felt this the more strongly, as the plan of his work allowed no place for explanatory notes. We must confess, however, that this total absence of commentary appears to us scarcely consistent with the aims and uses of such a manual. Even in the selections from Anglo-Saxon prose there are difficulties to be removed, obscurities to be cleared up, passages in which a few words of illustration would be a help and relief to the student. The same is true of the extracts from early English writings. In the excellent work of the German Mätzner, "Altenglische Sprachproben nebst einem Wörterbuche" (Specimens of Old English, with a Dictionary, Berlin, 1867–69), the selected texts are accompanied by a copious, and by no means superfluous, commentary. It is true that Professor Corson's glossary does much to supply the needed aid; but does it supply all that is needed? It is not safe to assume that a deficiency in this respect will be made up by the teacher. Good teachers of Anglo-Saxon will hardly be numerous for some time to come. Probably, no small part of those who take up this hand-book will use it in the way of self-instruction. It must be remembered that the study of our language in its older forms is not yet general and popular. That it may become so—that it may find a place in the training of all well-educated persons of both sexes—is an object greatly to be desired. But for this purpose it must be made easy. All obstacles which might repel and disgust the ordinary learner should, as far as possible, be removed from his path. The compilers of elementary books should take this as a guiding principle, and see to it that, if they err at all, it is on this side. The editor, in this case, may have thought that the addition of a commentary to a volume already numbering nearly six hundred pages would make it inconveniently heavy and clumsy. Some pages, however, might have been gained by the use of a smaller type and a more compact printing for the glossary; and if this were not sufficient, some of the extracts could have been abridged or omitted without serious disadvantage.

The specimens of early English, which in the aggregate much exceed those of Anglo-Saxon, are taken from "Layamon's Brut," the "Ancren Riwle," the "Ormulum," "Robert of Gloucester's (rhymed) Chronicle," "Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt," the "Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile," "Trevisa's Translation of Higden's Polychronicon," "Piers Plowman's Vision and Crede," the "Wycliffite Versions of the Bible," "Chaucer's Canterbury Tales" (the Prologue, entire), and Gower's "Confessio Amantis." The selections are made with judgment, and furnish a good view of the literature from which they come. In the Layamon texts, we think that a punctuation according to the sense should have been substituted for the merely rhythmical pointing of the manuscripts. In Sir F. Madden's edition, this was not necessary, as the subjoined translation everywhere shows what he considers to be the punctuation required. For the student of this hand-book, the difficulties of a text without note or comment are enhanced by the want of any practically useful punctuation. We have failed to discover even any statement of the character and purposes of the pointing taken from the manuscripts. It might have been well, in some cases, to take notice of the emendations proposed by Madden. Thus, in the introductory passage, of about seventy lines, the later text has *driste*, *ristnesse*, and *mistie*, apparently—as Madden suggests—for *drihte* (Lord), *rihtnesse* (right actions), *mihtie* (mighty). Professor Corson's Glossary gives *driste* as being probably for *drihte*; but of *mistie*, *ristnesse*, and even *rihtnesse*,

* "Hand-book of Anglo-Saxon and Early English. By Hiram Corson, M.A., Professor in the Cornell University." New York: Holt & Williams. 1871. 12mo. pp. xv. 572.

it makes no mention. It is silent also as to *folleft brofte*, seemingly miswritten for *folloht brohte* (he brought baptism). And there are some other words, occurring in the same passage, which we do not find in the "Glossary": so *fiede*, which Madden refers to an Anglo-Saxon *fegan* (to write); *thrumde*, which has the sense 'compressed'; *sumne*, which is not given as a separate word, though the student, if he looks under *to*, will find the compound *to somne* (Germ. *zusammen*, 'together'). The word *strende* is omitted; but the student may infer its meaning from the Anglo-Saxon *streónan* or *strynan* (to beget, conceive). To these we may add *hoe*, which Madden regards as miswritten for *heo* (them), as well as *afden* for *hafden* (had), and *hilke* for *ilke* (same), the omission of which may occasion some perplexity to the learner.

We suspect that this number of omissions, of words occurring in a single extract, may be the result of some untoward accident. In general, the "Glossary" seems to have been prepared with the care and thoroughness to be expected from a lexicographer so able and experienced as Professor Corson. If we were to make any suggestion looking to its improvement, it would be that derivative and compound words should be more uniformly referred to the roots from which they come. It would be well, for instance, that *duyedhe* (power, a force of men), in Layamon, should be traced to its root in Anglo-Saxon *dugan* (to avail). Under *yrmdh*, *eormdh*, *ermdh* (misery), reference should be made to the adjective *earm* (poor, miserable). In like manner the compound *avleiedh* (drives away), in the "Ancren Riwle," might be traced to the prefix *á* (out), corresponding to the German *er-*, Gothic *us*, and the verb *fleón* (to flee); the Anglo-Saxon *andefn* (equality), to the prefix *and* (against), corresponding to German *ent-*, Greek *ἀντί*, and the adjective *efen* (even); *altheódignys* (going abroad), to the root *el* (other), seen in English *else*, and the noun *theód* (people, country); *heregeat* (armor), to the nouns *here* (army) and *geatu* (equipment); and so in many other cases. In regard to words borrowed from the French—such as *achatours* (purchasers), *aswagen* (to assuage), *entaile* (shape), *mester* (trade), etc.—it might, perhaps, be doubted whether they ought to be traced with the same distinctness to their foreign roots; but at least the fact of their French origin should be indicated in the "Glossary." It would be well, too, if modern English words used in the definitions were distinguished, whenever they are connected in etymology with the words defined, by a peculiar style of printing, as in the excellent vocabulary to Professor Whitney's "German Reader." The learner would then see at once, what otherwise he might overlook or question, that there is an identity of origin between *emn* and *even*, *esse* and *ask*, *hreóh* or *hreów* and *rough*, *ille* and *each*, *iua* and *foe*, *loren* and *lost*, *mâ* and *more*, etc.

The grammatical sketches at the end of the volume constitute an important feature of the work. The "Anglo-Saxon Grammar" needs little enlargement to make it sufficient for the ordinary purposes of elementary instruction. Its division of the strong verbs into twenty-one classes, borrowed from the rather insignificant "Angelsæchsisch-englische Grammatik" of J. Loth, does not strike us favorably. It is unscientific, for it separates classes which are closely related (so, especially, the eighteenth and twenty-first) by interposing other classes of a widely different character. And it is unpractical, for a classification which runs to such high numbers is not easily apprehended or remembered; it requires for itself a further classification.

Outline grammars are given also for Layamon and the "Ancren Riwle." The pre-eminent importance of Chaucer in the early literature of our language would, perhaps, have made it worth while to give a similar view of English inflection as seen in his writings. But it may be safer to defer such a work until the texts now publishing by the Chaucer Society are fully before the public. With these in their hands, it may be possible for scholars like Professor Child to determine what Chaucer actually wrote, and thus to obtain the material for a trustworthy grammar of his language.

On the whole, we welcome the work before us as a useful contribution to the means of study in a field which is attracting much, but deserves to receive far more, of public interest and favor.

THE MAGAZINES FOR JUNE.

At the beginning of what promises to be another hot summer, the magazine reader is more ready than ever to turn first of all to the stories of the month for amusement. The longer stories run on well. Colonel De Forest's "Kate Beaumont," in the *Atlantic*, treats us to a drunken row, and we leave the sensitive Southrons loading their pistols for the inevitable duel, which will probably bring peace to the two great families distracted by their feud. The chapters of "Overland" in the *Galaxy* are capital reading, and if the storm on the Pacific is described in the manner of Charles Reade, that is a good manner for such thrilling scenes. "Lady Judith," in the same magazine, is about the same as usual. In *Old and New*, Mrs. Stowe still carries us deep into the tangled meshes of impropriety, although there are signs of an innocent ending. For shorter tales we find in *Lippincott's* a fable by our old friend, "Ouida," which is not at all in the manner of Æsop; and a disagreeable story called "Still Waters," by Florence Marryat. A story of a somewhat similar kind is "Fetters and Lures" in the *Galaxy*, in which strange imitations of human beings are racked by strange imitations of passion. One may well compare with the latter the amusingly innocent little tale in *Harper's* of the sort of which this magazine seems to have an unfailing supply. It is called "A Bohemian Household." Every one must have observed how greedily even the most experienced novel-readers devour these cheerful tales. They may not be the best ever written, but they have one element of the best, or rather they lack certain elements of the worst—they are not on offensive subjects, nor, certainly, are they vicious from over-subtlety. "Anteros" still continues to rack the school-girl's breast. It is amusing to notice the resemblance of this instalment of it to Mr. Bret Harte's parody in his "Condensed Novels."

For serious reading, we have Mr. Richard Grant White's defence of himself against the recent criticisms in the *College Courant*. It appears, as did the book criticised, in the *Galaxy*. It is written in a most artificially good-humored style, quivering with geniality, the reviewer being denounced as a "two-headed Connecticut giant of intellect," "good Mr. Pedagogue," and "Siamese-twin contributor." In fact, the English language seems to be as irritating a subject of controversy as the federal headship of Adam. In the same magazine is an article called "Sepulture," which might have been better called "Graveyards." It criticises very justly the absurd way in which our burying-grounds immortalize the stupidity of the journeyman stone-cutter, who seems only anxious to make as extravagant a display of white marble and white granite as possible. Most of our burial-places are glowing with this tawdry display, rivalling even the domestic mantelpiece. The officials insist, too, upon thick granite curbings, and succeed in making the places under their charge more artificial in appearance than the city itself. A more natural and vastly more pleasing system has been adopted in Cincinnati. We hope that it may be introduced in other cemeteries before they are wholly spoiled. The history of the campaigns of General Lee ends in this number with an account of the battle of Gettysburg and of the final struggles around Richmond.

In the *Atlantic* we have apparently the last extracts from the diary of the Virginian in New England, at a period thirty-five years ago, but which seems so much remoter. The capture of Fort Fisher is described, and this time it is General Ames who gets warm praise. Mr. Clarence King continues his well-written and interesting account of his adventures in the Sierra Nevada. The "Whispering Gallery" contains very little that will add to Dickens's fame or to one's interest in him. The "Encyclicals of a Traveller" are written with a facile pen. No family that intends to pass next winter in lodgings in Rome will be without excuse if it is unprepared for the housekeeper's troubles, what with these letters and the very entertaining one in *Old and New* from the same place.

In *Lippincott's* there is the third number of Mr. Donbavand's "Wild Ireland," and an account of the Freedman's Bureau. The anonymous attack upon Professor Lowell seems hardly justified by the scanty testimony adduced by the writer. The simple statement of his opinion may have relieved his breast, but even if combined with a hue-and-cry against favoritism, cliques, etc., it can hardly be expected to have much weight with the impartial reader. Two or three innocent phrases are picked from Mr. Lowell's last two volumes, and are the text of the writer's denunciations, which seem so animated by personal pique and blind illtemper that we wonder that they should have been admitted into the magazine. The writer sums up with the statement that Mr. Lowell is "destitute of the insight, the comprehension, the sympathy of the true critic and of the true poet." It may not be so great a deficiency if this article is to be taken as a specimen of critical insight, sympathy, and comprehension.

The *Overland* is quite as good as usual, but without containing any article of marked interest. "A Waif of the Pogonip" and "A Trinity Diamond" smack of the soil. Besides these, we find an account of the eclipse in Siberia, and of Northern whaling.

For the poetry of the month we have "The Robin" of Mr. Whittier's in the *Atlantic*, a sonnet of Mr. Boker's in *Lippincott's*, and a characteristic ode of Walt Whitman's in the *Galaxy*. As to the "Bubbles from an Old Pipe," in the *Atlantic*, they hardly need to be mentioned, unless it be to wonder why they were not kept for the newspaper of the next Great Fair.

The Year Book of Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, 1871. (New York: Wm. B. Dana & Co.).—This annual record contains a very useful collection of facts not otherwise readily accessible in a convenient form. The plan of the book is a good deal better than its execution, and there is room for a vast deal of improvement in future editions. But the labor of compiling statistics in this country, where so little has as yet been done to systematize this important branch of enquiry, is so great, that we must make many allowances for the shortcomings of the volume before us. There is less excuse for the character of the original matter in the volume, which is uneven and at times feeble. But there is enough of value to make these deficiencies appear light. Some of the financial statistics are extremely useful. The collection of data concerning the debts and finances of the United States, and of each separate State, is unusually complete, and has never before, so far as we are aware, been made in full. The commercial records of the year, and the extended market reports, both for Europe and America, have been selected with judgment, and contain an immense amount of just such information as every intelligent reader or writer is almost daily in want of, yet never knows precisely where to get. There is a good foundation here for an extremely valuable annual in the future, and a comparatively limited amount of additional labor would add materially to its usefulness. Notably is this the case with regard to the printing and proof-reading, which are inexcusably bad.

Words: their History and Derivation. Alphabetically arranged. By Dr. F. Ebener and E. M. Greenway, jun. (Baltimore. 1871. Super-royal 8vo, pp. 1–36.)—We gather from Mr. Greenway's Preface that this luxuriously-printed pamphlet, the first instalment of an extended work, contains the results of Dr. Ebener's "Research and Comparison" concerning English words, and that Dr. E. is a German, to whom the other plays the part of editor and patron. The treatise is declared to have been suggested by the reading of Mr. Grant White's "Words and their Uses," and its publication to have been prompted by the kind approbation of the "distinguished American philologist" (Prof. Haldeman) to whom it is inscribed. It would be very pleasant to say something in praise of a work which so many agencies and influences have combined to produce; but truth compels us to take the contrary tone. Dr. Ebener is apparently a man of some learning, but of no knowledge—so far, at least, as etymology is concerned. He has taken the trouble to acquire Sanskrit, but he has no idea of how it should be made useful. Having heard that this language is the mainstay of Indo-European etymology, he imagines that he has only to take a given English word straight to the Sanskrit dictionary, and find there a root that sounds something like it, and that has a meaning indefinite enough to be twisted into something like its meaning, and his task is done. Of the true historic method, which follows up the history of a word step by step, comparing it first with its nearest relatives, and striking at an ultimate root only as the winding-up of the search—of this method he has not an inkling. Hence, his results are not only false; they are ridiculous. It is truly astounding to see the assurance with which he takes up words whose history is as well known as anything in language can be, and refers them to Sanskrit roots or vocables with which they have just as much to do as *Moses* with *Middletown*. Thus, *accompany* has for its root *pang*, which is equivalent to *jhang*, which is Skt. *jhangam*, intensive of *gam*, 'go.' This *gam* is the root also of *accost*, *again*, and various other words. *Achieve* is from Skt. *kshi* or *kship*. *Ado* is Skt. *idâ*, 'talk,' from the root *i*, 'go,' of which, it is added, the infinitive is *itum*. *Ago* comes to us from a very ancient time, "when the participial forms had not become entirely adverbialized. One might safely say the word is as old as the Christian era, and a thousand years older at least." It does not mean 'gone,' but 'not gone,' its prefix *a* being the "alpha privative." *Air*, 'atmosphere,' is from Skt. *vâ*, 'blow;' but *air*, 'melody,' is from Skt. *îr*, 'utter.' *Alarm* is referable to the Skt. *lul*, '*agitare*.' And so on, through thirty-six dreary pages, unrelieved even by occasional glimmers of good sense and sound method.

The introduction is after the same pattern. It begins with a few indifferent generalities; next gives a list of books of reference, in which, though there are some conspicuous instances of bad judgment, there are also enough good works to show that a man's success as a student of language, even in this age of light, depends more upon his internal resources than upon any the best external aids; and then we are led off into a discussion of certain special peculiarities of Sanskrit phonetics. "Of these vowels," the author goes on to say, "the original *a* has lost its purity in most of the Germanic languages, and has glided down towards *i* or *u*, often announcing its presence in the influence it exercises upon them, forming what is called by English grammarians upsounds. So in Goth., *aí* (not *âi*) is pronounced like *vir* in Lat., *oí* like *world* in Eng." And, lest we be not sufficiently propitiated by these lucid statements, he winds up with, "The English has a great number of upsounds, exhibiting every shade of human feeling, and, so far as that is concerned, is the finest language in the world." Alas, that it should have been left to Dr. Ebener to make this wonderful and interesting discovery; and alas and alackaday, that his readers, who must be every moment dropping these precious upsounds from their lips, as the princess in the fairy-tale did pearls, should not even know them when they are pointed out by him.

We apologize to our readers for detaining them so long over this worse than worthless production. Not even the most merciless of the attacks on Mr. White's book ought so to distress him as the thought that he has had a share in suggesting it; and the "distinguished American philologist" would do well to clear his skirts, if he can, of the responsibility imputed to him on its dedication-page.

*** *Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Abbott (J.), Science for the Young: Heat	(Harper & Bros.)
Andersen (H. C.), A Poet's Bazaar	(Hurd & Houghton) $1 75
Bailey (Rev. T. J.), Jurisdiction and Mission of the Anglican Episcopate	(Pott & Amery) 1 00
Baird (C. W.), History of Rye, N. Y.	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 6 00
Barker (Lady), Spring Comedies	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 50
Barnard (C.), Gardening for Money	(A. K. Loring)
Belle Lovell	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 1 00
Birchmore (Rev. J. W.), Prophecy Interpreted by History	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 1 50
Bigelow (L. J.), Bench and Bar, new ed	(Harper & Bros.)
Blackburn (J. S.) and McDonald (W. N.), Grammar School History of the United States	(W. J. C. Dulany & Co.)
Boise (Prof. J. R.), First Lessons in Greek	(S. C. Griggs & Co.) 1 25
Brock (Mrs. C.), Journeyings of the Children of Israel	(E. P. Dutton & Co.)
Burroughs (J.), Wake-Robin	(Hurd & Houghton) 1 50
Carlyle (T.), The French Revolution, Vol. I	(Scribner, Welford & Co.) 90
Centennial Celebration of Rutgers College, swd	(Joel Munsell)
Clarke (Rev. J. F.), Ten Great Religions	(J. R. Osgood & Co.) 3 00
Drawing Book for Schools and Beginners, 4 parts, swd	(Harper & Bros.)
Erckmann-Chatrian (M. M.), The Blockade of Phalsburg, bds.	(Chas. Scribner & Co.) 50
Grant (Sir A.), Xenophon	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 00
Greene (Prof. G. W.), Life of Maj.-Gen. Nathanael Greene, Vol. III. and last	(Hurd & Houghton) 4 00
Hall (Rev. J.), Papers for Home Reading	(Dodd & Mead) 1 75
Hammond (Dr. W. A.), Diseases of the Nervous System	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Harland (Marion), Common Sense in the Household	(Chas. Scribner & Co.)
Hawthorne (N.), The Marble Faun	(J. R. Osgood & Co.) 2 00
Heinzen (K.) Teutscher Radikalismus in America, 2 vols., swd	(Indianapolis)
Helper (H. R.), Noonday Exigencies in America	(Bible Bros.)
Hope (Dr. G. H.), Till the Doctor Comes, swd	(G. P. Putnam & Sons) 30
Hughes (T.), Alfred the Great	(J. R. Osgood & Co.) 1 50
Illustrirte Kriegs-Chronik, Part 15, swd	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Journal of Social Science, No. III., swd	(Hurd & Houghton) 1 50
Koner (Prof. Dr. W.), Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Nos. 30, 31, 32, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)
Lange (Rev. J. P.), Gospel according to John	(Chas. Scribner & Co.)
List of Books for the Use of Young Persons, swd	(Am. Unit. Ass'n)
Lathen (Dr. H.), Pasture Lands of North America, swd	(Omaha)
Leslie (Dr. F. D.), Objects and Aims of Medical Science, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Mason (W.) and Hoadly (E. S.), System for Beginners on the Piano-Forte	(O. Ditson & Co.)
Masson (Prof. D.), Life of John Milton, Vol. II	(Macmillan & Co.) 4 50
Neale (Rev. J. M.), Sermons on Passages of the Psalms	(Pott & Amery)
Newman (E.), Illustrated Natural History of British Moths	(London)
	Illustrated Natural History of British Butterflies	(London)
Paine (Dr. M.), The Institutes of Medicine, 9th ed	(Harper & Bros.)
Peard (Frances M.), One Year: a Tale	(H. H. & T. W. Carter) 1 75
Porter (Prof. N.), Books and Reading, 4th ed	(Chas. Scribner & Co.)
Reavis (L. U.), Thoughts for the Young Men and Women of America	(S. R. Wells)
Redfield (I. F.) and Bigelow (M. M.), Leading Cases upon Bills of Exchange, etc	(Little, Brown & Co.)
Smith (Rev. C. J.), Synonyms Discriminated	(Scribner, Welford & Co.) 6 00
Spencer (H.), Principles of Psychology, Vol. I	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Stroud (Dr. W.), Physical Cause of the Death of Christ	(Dodd & Mead) 1 50
The American Cardinal: A Tale	(Evans, Stoddart & Co.)
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Young (Rev. J. C.), Memoirs of Chas. Mayne Young, Tragedian	

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1871.

The Week.

THE political news of the week has not been exciting. The Democrats in the New Hampshire Legislature have, with the help of the labor reformers, elected their candidate for governor, and are now under the obligation of proving to the people of the State, during their brief term of supremacy, that the change back to Democratic rule was a fortunate one. In Ohio, the Republicans appear well satisfied with the phase which "the new departure" has put on since the Democratic convention met and gave a qualified acceptance to it—following Mr. Vallindigham in regard to the amendments, and Mr. Pendleton (who was chairman of the convention) in regard to greenback repudiation—and nominated for governor Gen. McCook, who said he had not read the platform, and denounced all the amendments but the thirteenth, which he well said "was, and is, the just and rightful consequence of the first gun fired at Sumter." Meanwhile, the Republican candidate is no nearer being fixed on than at any time during the last six months. The Hon. Ben Wade has been urged by his friends to consent to run, and has privately done so on condition that the party needs him. His diffidence seems a little more real than Mr. Greeley's under the temptation of the Presidency.

This would be a period of great barrenness in politics if it were not for the "new departures," and for Mr. Horace Greeley's return from Texas and reception by his admirers in this city, in the character of a possible candidate for the presidency. A letter written by him when at Leavenworth was held to indicate plainly that he was willing to be a candidate, if nominated, and this being taken up by the jokers, to whom he supplies food for mirth, combined with his sincere admirers, has resulted into converting him into an object of unusual curiosity, and has furnished "our New York correspondent" with materials for any quantity of gossip. Mr. Greeley has delivered a speech on his return from the South which may fairly be pronounced one of his most successful bits of oratory, but rather owing to the manner than matter, for it contained no views about the South with which readers of the *Tribune* are not already familiar. He was very strong in his denunciations of the "thieving carpet-baggers," but he strained his veracity rather severely when he said they went down to the South in the rear of our armies. We are sorry to say a good many went down *in* our armies. It was pleasant to believe at one time that every man who bore arms, and served in the war, was a Christian patriot. That theory has given many good people much comfort, but it is worn out, and it is now generally acknowledged with pain that some Union soldiers were pattern rascals, and that of these many settled in the South as politicians. Mr. Greeley denounces these, whatever their origin, in strong terms, and expresses a wish, in which most honest Northern men will heartily concur, that the Ku-klux would let the poor, helpless negroes alone, and give their attention to "the thieving carpet-baggers;" and he adds, that should they be all carried on a rail over the Ohio River, he would denounce it as a deed of violence, but not weep over it. So say we all.

The *Tribune* is setting a very good example to the press in various ways, so that it might as well be perfectly ingenuous about its approval of Butler's seizure of the barrel of private telegrams under the order of the House. It defends itself by alleging that Butler did this as the "officer of a court" and in the course of a judicial proceeding. We said that this was "not true, or, if true, was no answer," as when Butler began overhauling people's private correspondence, he was, as manager of the impeachment or prosecuting attorney, *functus officio*, and "the court" had ceased to exist. The *Tribune* now alleges we were wrong in saying the court had ceased to exist, inasmuch as it was not formally dissolved till the 25th, whereas Butler's Committee of Investigation was appointed on the 16th. Now, we *were* technically wrong in saying so, but the *Tribune's* position remains the same. The trial virtually, and really in the estimation of all concerned, closed on the 16th, when the vote on the eleventh article was taken. The subsequent proceedings of the court were merely formal. Moreover, the duties of the managers ceased to all intents and purposes when the case was submitted to the Senate on both sides, and the House knew this; and the committee was appointed, not to collect evidence for the prosecution, because no such evidence could be presented, but to take vengeance on the judges who had disappointed the expectations of a political party. The enquiry, therefore, was in no sense judicial in its nature, while its object was base and mischievous. The way in which it was conducted was a gross violation of law and justice, and the *Tribune* approved it, and has just been suffering from a similar abuse of power on the part of the Senate. We do not say the *Tribune* would now do the same thing again under the same circumstances; we believe it would not; but the case is such a striking example of the bad results of conniving at the establishment of a precedent in times of excitement, that it cannot be too much dwelt on.

We have learnt, for the first time, within the past week that we did Judge Orth, of Indiana, gross injustice some time ago in saying of him, *apropos* of his rumored appointment to the German mission, "that he would bring to the new place a fair ignorance of the German tongue." We understand that he learnt German as his mother tongue, and that he still uses it with fluency and correctness. It follows from this, of course, that we also did great injustice to the Administration in charging it by implication with putting a very unfit man in Mr. Bancroft's place. We might doubtless have taken greater pains than we did take to satisfy ourselves as to the correctness of the information we received as to Judge Orth's linguistic acquirements. All we can say in palliation of our offence in this case, as in others like it, is that we could only make ourselves absolutely sure that no mistake of the kind ever crept into the *Nation* by issuing the paper only once a year, and making the subscription a thousand dollars. We take as much pains to avoid mistakes as the condition of our own nature and that of the public will allow, and we stand ready at all times not only to be refuted by facts, but to acknowledge and publish the refutation. We are moved into saying this by a very comical article in the *Independent*, from the pen of Gail Hamilton, in which she uses our treatment of Judge Orth as an awful illustration of the moral condition even of the best portion of the press. We are sorry she takes the matter so much to heart, but we have no doubt she will feel differently about it after a month or six weeks in the mountains or at the seaside.

We confess we are not quite able to understand the position of Mr. Cheney and his friends in the controversy now raging between them and Bishop Whitehouse of Chicago. Mr. Cheney has been tried before an ecclesiastical court for a certain ecclesiastical offence—viz., dropping a certain word in the church service; he has been found guilty, and sentenced to deposition from the clerical office, so far as the Episcopal Church is concerned, but he refuses to submit to the sentence, retains his relations with his own congregation, does not withdraw from the Episcopal body, and while in this position his friends of the Evangelical party are rallying round him, and encouraging him in his resistance. Now, all this is, to the ordinary mind, perfectly incomprehensible. The organization known as the Episcopal Church is a body of persons, clergy and laity, who have agreed to be bound by certain rules, and one of these rules prescribes obedience to the commands of the bishops and the decrees of the courts, within certain limits settled either by statute or tradition. We can understand a minister's thinking the commands of a bishop, or the decrees of an ecclesiastical court, un-

just or iniquitous, and being unwilling to obey them, and we can understand his leaving an organization which was ruled in such a way as this, but we cannot understand a minister's remaining in the Episcopal Church with the determination to obey the bishop when the bishop and he agree, and at no other time, or to submit to the decrees of a court if he approves of them, and not otherwise. With the human mind constituted as at present, we doubt very much whether any organization, either civil or ecclesiastical, could be held together on any such basis.

The London *Economist*, commenting on Mr. Wells's recent letter to the *Nation* on the probable rate of interest during the next quarter of a century, concurs with him in so far as his conclusions are not connected with the supposed rate of interest in Europe. But it doubts whether the scarcity of capital and resulting high rate of interest likely to prevail for a long time to come in America, will be *materially* affected by importations from Europe. Even to Englishmen, it says, who are more closely connected with the United States in a business way than the men of any other European country, there is "a feeling of remoteness" about investments in the United States which will long prevent their being made on anything like a great scale. It adds, also, that "special and justifiable causes of distrust in lending to American corporations are to be found in the corruption of some of the State judiciaries. At a distance, it is hardly possible to discriminate between States, and, unfortunately, the most corrupt judiciary is that which has jurisdiction over their commercial capital, through which naturally most of the foreign investments would be made." It is evident that the writer means by this that there is corruption in the judiciary of New York City, which shows how little knowledge of his subject he possesses. Had he said the Boston judiciary was corrupt, he would have been excusable because no authentic information as to the moral condition of that body has been laid before the world; but if he will look into Mr. George Ticknor Curtis's pamphlet on the Field-Barlow controversy, which must have reached him before he wrote his article, he will see (pp. 98–9) that in the opinion of this eminent counsel the New York judge who is oftenest accused of corruption is not "capable of using his office contrary to law and to what is right to promote the interests of anybody," and that if he were "it would be wrong for the other judges to sit on the bench or to transact judicial business with him," or for "the Governor to assign him as one of the judges of the General Term for five years," "or for 'the people' to elect him to the bench twice by large majorities." Now, his brother judges do sit with him, the Governor has "assigned him," and "the people" has elected him, so it is hardly conceivable that he can be corrupt, or would "use his office contrary to law and to what is right," and if *he* would not, certainly no other judge would. The *Economist* may depend upon it, therefore, the judicial corruption it talks of is to be found in Boston if anywhere, and all foreign capitalists have to do is to put their money into New York securities to make it really safe. We have a few "receivers" here of great capacity, who will take the best of care of it for them, and let them have it back as soon as we can conveniently spare it.

The statue to Professor Morse, erected in the Central Park, was unveiled on Saturday, to the accompaniment of addresses from Gov. Hoffman and Mr. Bryant; in the evening there were other exercises at the Academy of Music, which included speeches from Mr. William Orton, General Banks, Dr. Samson, and a very interesting one from Professor Morse himself; but, it is permissible to say, the ceremonies would have been more effective if Mr. Bryant and Professor Morse had done all the speaking. There is a general objection to the erection of statues to living men, and it is founded on the principle that a man's own generation is hardly ever competent to estimate him properly. Professor Morse, however, enjoys the unheard-of distinction of having achieved something which has, in his own lifetime, effected a greater change in the conditions of human existence than the work of any one man has ever done. He has revolutionized commerce and war, and, we might almost add, literature and society; and there is hardly any honor which might not be paid to him without running the risk of establishing a dangerous precedent.

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly, the New York organ of the woman movement, has plainly hoisted the black flag, for it insinuated last week that the hostility of the Boston Association to the discussion of free love and to the union of the love question with the suffrage question, was due to the inability of the members of that body to bear that searching examination of their domestic relations to which Mrs. Woodhull's own have been subjected by a hardened male magistrate and a prying public. Miss Tennie C. Claflin also has a strong and defiant article on the love question, in which she maintains that where there is legal restraint there can be no love, and where there is love there need be no legal restraint, and that the right of each of us is to love one person as long as we can, and then love somebody else. An amendment to the Federal Constitution, giving every citizen also a right to some other citizen's affection, would, we suggest to all the associations, be a pretty thing in the way of reform. At present every woman is, or ought to be, loved, and yet, under man-made laws, it is nobody's duty to love her, showing what a one-sided male affair our jurisprudence is, for, as Dr. Lieber says, "there is no right without a corresponding duty, and no duty without a corresponding right." We are sorry to say that one still hears the mending of armor and sharpening of spear-heads in all quarters of the Woman's Suffrage Camp—dismal sounds enough, for they denote preparation, not for an attack on the common foe, but for mutual slaughter.

In commercial circles, the revival of speculation has been more marked. Cotton, after a momentary reaction, has again advanced to the highest point. The great importance of the condition and prospects of the growing crop is well shown by the extraordinary means adopted to deceive the public in regard to it. The *Financial Chronicle*, heretofore considered the most trustworthy authority, prints telegraphic advices from all the chief Southern districts, giving doleful accounts of the weather, with details of daily rains and storms, which must necessarily have seriously injured the growing cotton; and these have materially contributed to strengthen the market. But an intelligent writer in the *Daily Bulletin* compares these accounts with those of the Signal Service, and shows that where private telegrams in one instance report sixteen days of rain in five cities, the Bureau records show only three, of which two are reported as "light rain," and that in another instance the Bureau records only one day of rain against eleven reported by private telegrams. Facts like these are of more general importance than may be at first sight apparent. It is not only the correct knowledge concerning our most important crop that is to be valued, but the fact that there are some kinds of information which, in the midst of perversion, prevarication, and falsehood may be accepted implicitly. Provisions seem to have touched their lowest points for the moment. Breadstuffs are firm but quiet; coal declining rapidly. There is some reason to fear that private citizens, by unwisely delaying their purchases, will cause prices to be higher in the winter than they otherwise would. Real estate is dull and depressed, although choice uptown property continues in demand. The pressure for money upon bond and mortgage shows the hollowness of present prices. General trade is quiet, as usual at this season, but the feeling among merchants is improved.

The money market presents no visible change. The speculation on the Stock Exchange is languid, artificial, and fluctuating, without much business. There has been an attempt to aid artificially the firmness in the gold premium, but without very material results. Money continues abundant and cheap, though slightly less so than a week ago, but capital for *bona-fide* permanent investment is scarcer than ever. While it is impossible to lend balances on call at three per cent., railroad bonds, recommended by responsible houses of good character as "first-class investments," go begging at figures that net eight and one-half to nine per cent. annual interest, while real-estate mortgages on choice city property pay even better.

The Treaty of Washington has come up in the British Parliament, but without any noteworthy result. In the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone, in reply to a question, explained and defended the rule prohibiting the supply of arms and munitions to belligerents, and eulogized the conduct of the United States in the negotiations. In the House of Lords, Earl Russell made a vigorous attack on the treaty, and particularly that portion of it which gives the new rules a retrospective action, moving for an address to the crown against its ratification; but evidently all he sought was an opportunity of defending his course during the war, and he withdrew his motion at the close of the debate. Besides the objection on the merits, there is a particular objection to the overhauling of treaties by the House of Lords, in the fact that the ministry lives by a majority in the House of Commons, but rarely has a majority in the Lords, so that, if so important a point of policy as a treaty could be made the subject of serious assault in the Upper House, it would expose the ministry to a danger which might not improperly be called unconstitutional.

Now that the fighting is over in France, there is a good deal of speculation going on as to the motives of the Communists in trying to burn Paris. The doctors have produced one theory, which makes the work of destruction the result of a kind of contagious insanity, brought on by the anxieties and privations of the preceding siege. Another and more rational one is propounded by the London *Economist*, which ascribes it to the intensity of feeling produced by civil war; to the hatred which the desperate poor feel for the happy rich, and which made the Communists determine that if they could not have all the nice things Paris contained, neither should their opponents; and, finally, to the presence in the Communist ranks of a great body of foreign Reds, who had no sentimental regard for Paris, and did not care to see it remain, as it was likely to remain, the headquarters of Conservatism. One thing is certain, and that is, that it will be a good while before any French politician will again propose to hand Paris over to the custody of the National Guard. There is something comic in the news which comes that Louis Blanc is denouncing the Communists. No man has done more to make Communists than M. Blanc himself, and his lamentations over their excesses read like M. Thiers's denunciations of the Prussian war and the Napoleonic Empire. The deportation of large bodies of the captured Communists with their families to New Caledonia, an island 200 miles long by 30 broad, in the Southern Pacific, seems to be determined on, and perhaps wisely. These men can never lead rational or useful lives in an old society, and perhaps nothing would do more for their mental and moral health than the practical acquaintance with economical problems, stripped of the trappings of a high civilization, which life in a new colony gives.

The Orleans Princes have been admitted to their seats in the National Assembly by "a vote of 448 to 113." Of this fact we have been duly informed by the Cable, but concerning the way in which it has been achieved, the transactions which preceded it, and the new features of the situation it has brought to light, we are left in a perfect muddle. M. Thiers, we are told, at first urged that the Princes be admitted only on conditions securing the Republic against possible intrigues on their part; but subsequently "he ceased to insist on these conditions"—for reasons not stated. We then hear that "President Thiers rose, and said he had opposed the abrogation of the law of proscription because he believed such action would be dangerous, and only assented on the Princes engaging not to sit in the Assembly, and not to enter into any intrigue against the Republic." Then, that the Princes, having been admitted as members of the Assembly, "resigned their seats" at a cordial interview with MM. Thiers and Grévy, which "resignation" was to be communicated to the Assembly on the following day. This communication, however, is not reported, but, instead of it, the news that "the Prince de Joinville, having been chosen from more than one district, has addressed a letter to the President of the Assembly, electing to represent the Department of the Marne." The complexion of the immense vote which validated the elections is not specified; nor are we told whether "the law of proscription," the abrogation of which was previously carried by a still larger majority—"484 to 103"—refers exclusively to the law proscribing the House of Orleans, or to the proscription of both branches of the Bourbon family. The latter interpretation seems more probable, as a partial repeal could hardly have been carried by so overwhelming a vote, to which the Legitimists must have contributed as a body, and some Republicans from a general anti-proscriptive feeling.

The Paris journals continue to speak of M. Thiers as acting sincerely in the interest of the Republic, while some of them deprecate the action of the Assembly, as manifested by its late votes, as tending to precipitate France into the "abyss of monarchy," or else of a new revolution. Both Republicans and Bonapartists, however, expect a modification of the Assembly to come from the supplementary elections which are to take place early in July, upward of a hundred seats being vacant in consequence of double elections, resignations, and deaths. That the Republicans will make a good fight on that occasion there can be no doubt, and a signal triumph on their part may easily give them an accession of strength sufficient to guarantee for a time the continuance of the Republic, while a great defeat could hardly fail to seal its downfall. The Bonapartists, too, are preparing for a grand effort under prominent candidates, and are confident, we are told, of being able to carry a considerable number of districts; but this confidence is likely to be an idle boast, or, at least, to prove in great part illusory. Any victory of that party, however, would certainly add to the perplexing difficulties of the situation. An indefinite result, or a feeble Republican victory, will probably lead to the continuation of the provisional state, under the lead of M. Thiers. The latter, through his Minister of Finances, Pouyer-Quertier, is in the meanwhile making strenuous efforts to provide for a speedy paying off of some instalments of the war indemnity, by means of war loans and increased duties and taxes. The prisoners of war are rapidly returning from Germany. Arrests of Commune men continue to take place, but the executions have entirely ceased.

The session of the German Parliament, according to a late telegram, is to close to-day; the members are, however, to remain in Berlin for a few days longer, to take part in the ceremonies of the triumphal entry of the German armies, fixed for the 18th, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. In its late sittings, the first assembly of the German Empire was mainly engaged in discussing the bills presented by the Government for the regulation of military pensions, of premium loans, and of the status of the annexed Alsatian and Lotharingian territories. The bill on Alsace and Lorraine gave rise to grave questions and to lively debates in the Reichstag, the popular branch of the legislature. It passed, however, through a third reading without important modifications. According to its terms, Alsace-Lorraine is to form a separate state of the Empire, of which the Emperor, as such, will be the princely head (Landesherr), and until 1873 also the legislator in common with the Imperial Council. The legislative institutions which are to govern the new state after the expiration of this first, almost dictatorial period, and its full admission as a member of the Empire, are to be created by the German Parliament. It will then stand on an equal footing with Baden, Hesse, or Würtemberg, having, like them, a separate legislature and a separate princely government, but it will have no dynasty of its own, being connected with Prussia by a novel kind of personal union. By its future representation, it will add to the weight of Prussia both in the Imperial Council and in the Reichstag, without forming a part of that kingdom. The Emperor will have the direct command of its military forces and fortresses, as he has of those of Prussia, as her dynastic head. The position of the new state in Germany will thus be entirely anomalous, but it cannot be called surprising under the circumstances.

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. S. S. Fisher, the late Commissioner of Patents, delivered an address in Cincinnati, a fortnight ago, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association of that city, which we are very sorry not to have seen in any of our Republican papers here at the East, and which we cordially recommend some publisher to reproduce in a handy form for "summer reading." It contains a tale of real life, being his own experience as head of the most important of the Government offices, that in which the inventions of the American people are every year examined, recorded, and secured as property to the inventors. He took office two months after the Administration had come into power, and when, as he hoped, the rush of office-seekers being over, he would be able to devote himself exclusively to the duties of his position; but he was mistaken. The rush was as great as ever, and, by a curious arrangement, every candidate who applied to the Secretary of the Interior had a separate set of recommendations for each of the bureaux of the Department, so that, if he failed in one, he unblushingly turned his attention to the next. The scientific character of the duties of the Patent Office would seem at first blush likely to cause the average office-seeker to keep clear of it, but it did not. On the contrary, no position was more sought after than that of "examiner of patents," who must, under the statute, and in fact, be "a person of competent legal knowledge and scientific ability." There are four grades of these examiners—the highest receiving $3,000 a year, and the lowest $1,609, but all were objects of the keenest competition. Persons who could not spell decently applied for them, and were powerfully backed up by Congressmen. One applicant acknowledged he had "no mechanical scientific experience," and "had never made mechanics a subject of theoretical study," and being asked politely how, under these circumstances, he came to have the audacity to apply for such a place, calmly replied, "He supposed he could learn."

What added considerably to the confusion of the period was that there of course prevailed among those actually in possession of the offices a panic, the intenseness of which was in the direct ratio of the eagerness of the outsiders to get them, and thus, while the outsiders armed themselves with Congressional recommendations, to enable them to secure the places, the insiders armed themselves with other recommendations to enable them to offer a gallant resistance, and the Congressmen gave them to both parties indiscriminately, and often without knowing much of either. One Congressman recommended, "with great pleasure," that a certain Dr. ——, an old gentleman of sixty, might be allowed to retain his place, as "a young gentleman of great promise." The entire delegation from one State, senators, representatives, and all, joined in recommending two different candidates for the same office, and each with equal warmth. Being taxed with this by the maddened head of the Department, they all stoutly denied all knowledge of either candidate. It was not on paper only, however, that the Congressmen told lies. They used to go to the Commissioner or Secretary with their applicants, and urge their claims with much ferocity; and then, when the candidate's back was turned, beg the officer not to mind a word they had been saying.

It is about the examinations, however—those examinations over which Mr. Boutwell has been so amusing—that Mr. Fisher is most amusing too. There is, as we have often told our readers, a law of 1853 which provides that no person shall be appointed to any clerkship in the departments "without having been examined and found qualified" by a certain board, the composition of which is duly prescribed. Now, this law, if honestly *enforced*, is amply sufficient to purify the civil service; but it never has been honestly enforced. President Grant found it on the statute-book, and might have enforced it if he pleased, but made no attempt to do so; our innocent friend Mr. Boutwell went further, and pretended it was enforced when he knew well it was not. It was, however, taken up and enforced by Mr. Fisher in the Patent Office, with comparative ease, because he had been put in his place on the recommendation of Secretary Cox, and thus was under no obligation to Congressmen. Had he owed his accession to Congressional influence, it would have been difficult for him to meet the argument that since Congressional influence had proved sufficient to secure *his* appointment, it would not be fair to ask anything more of his subordinates. Accordingly, a real examination was ordered, not of new candidates for places only, but of the officers already in possession. The consternation produced by this among the latter class was something touching, and it is very curious and entertaining to read how rapidly they fell back on the state of their "hearts," in accordance with the regular practice "inside politics," as soon as they found the condition of their heads made a subject of enquiry. Some came to the examination with fear and trembling, others with oaths and execrations, and others resigned sooner than submit. One gentleman who resigned sent Mr. Fisher a Bible, with a Latin translation of the Beatitudes written on a slip of paper, and inserted between the leaves, and called his attention to this, witheringly, as a proof that it was not want of education which made him refuse to undergo the ordeal; but it turned out he had copied the translation from the Vulgate, and, knowing no Latin, had copied it wrong. Several were dismissed as the result of the examination, and they then fell back on the Congressmen, who stormed and fumed dreadfully, declaring the examinations were a humbug, and, in the language of the police courts, "a put-up job," intended to get rid of particular people. One of the dismissed, finding Congressional interference useless, called on Mr. Fisher to read his Bible, repent of his sins, and put him back in his place, and prepare to meet him at the bar on the last great day. Another wrote to him as follows:

"Is it not singular that you should have selected to be dismissed one so thoroughly radical as myself—the only one in the four model rooms of the same religious profession as yourself—one kind to the poor, even beyond his means, and recommended by the best of men? Remember I am writing to a person who professes to delight in truth, and one who will shortly stand before a supreme tribunal. Can you there be justified?"

Another wrote:

"Now, S. S. Fisher, if your Masonry is greater than your religion, God will curse you. Repent before it is too late. See Psalm ci., verse 5. Reform the draughtsman and model rooms, dismiss the superintendents, and then pray, and maybe God will hear you."

Another laid his complaint before the Secretary of the Interior, and said:

"Allow me to call your attention to the accompanying letter of Mr. Wade, and to say that notwithstanding that letter and my long service in the Republican party, I have been dismissed by Mr. Fisher. The late Commissioner of Patents was removed in consequence of his politics not being of the proper stamp, and Mr. Fisher was put in his place because his politics are of the proper stamp, and yet Mr. F. selects me for dismissal. I wish you would have Mr. F., who doubtless has been urged to this by some personal or political enemy, to reconsider his action and have me reinstated, that I may not be taunted or triumphed over by political enemies."

Some came to the examination quite jovially, having passed it before, as they thought, in other departments, and found nothing in it more formidable than questions concerning "routes of travel, the state of the weather, the health of their families, and the welfare of their aged parents;" others, again, having, after making their application, received a letter, saying, that "having been examined and found qualified, they were thereby appointed," etc. One gentleman whose experience had been of this kind was put down to a table by Mr. Fisher, and a list of questions set before him. In a very few minutes he got a headache, and asked leave to withdraw, and continue the examination the next day. He accordingly returned joyously in the morning, with his head clear, but on finding fresh questions substituted for those which he had already seen, he retired in disgust and indignation. It is right to say that the examinations resulted in giving the Patent Office an admirable body of officers, and, as their biographical summaries show, just the kind of men the Government ought to have in its service. The first four successful candidates after the first examination, for instance, were a machinist, engineer, cabinetmaker, and printer respectively; two had had a collegiate, and two a high-school education. We ought not to pass from this branch of the subject without mentioning that it was in the Patent Office that the first appointments were made under the law authorizing the payment of the same salaries to female as to male employees, and Mr. Fisher testifies, as the result of careful tabulation, that the attendance of the women was as good as that of the men, and the work rather better, and that "some of the lady clerks had no equals among the gentlemen." On

the other hand, under the old system of appointments, women office-seekers were far harder to get rid of than the men, as they relied on their sex to excuse their persistence, and, if rebuffed, took to crying, and, if this failed, brought up strong reserves of Congressmen. One young miss brought in her train two senators, four or five members of the Lower House, a general or two, and "perhaps an admiral or commodore," though what "perhaps" means here we do not exactly understand. Of course the ability to bring up Congressmen gave the ladies in Washington great advantages over those at a distance, as a woman on the spot counts with a statesman for twenty-five women in the distance.

We are sorry to find that Mr. Fisher does not describe the Treasury Department as that holy and happy training-school for young candidates for the professions which the eminent financier who presides over it would have us believe. Indeed, he says that the arguments of the Secretary of the Treasury "in favor of the old system of pass examinations must have been exquisitely funny to all who knew anything of the actual system of appointments prevailing in that department;" and he adds, that when employees, so worthless "that even their Republicanism could not save them," were expelled from the Department of the Interior, "it caused no surprise to find them, after a few weeks' probation, safely housed under the spacious roofs of the Treasury." We believe all who have given any attention whatever to the subject have been long aware of this, and are therefore fully competent to share such enjoyment as the somewhat repulsive cant of the Secretary on this subject supplied to those who were on the spot.

Mr. Fisher's experience shows clearly what may be done towards reform by the honest enforcement of even a simple law like that already on the statute-book, and throws a good deal of light, too, which may be useful to the new Civil Service Commissioners, on the difficulties which any attempt at reform will have to encounter. The chief of these difficulties are undoubtedly the hostility of the political class, and above all their duplicity. Were their hostility open, it would be easy enough to rouse public opinion to such a degree as to put it down; but they are far too cunning to say they do not desire reform. They all, from the President down—and we are sorry to have to include him in this category—profess themselves favorable to reform, and even eager for it, and some, such as Mr. Boutwell, more artful still, declare they are carrying out the reform themselves, and only need to be let alone in order to accomplish all that is required; and in a matter which does not come home to the mass of the people, and about which they are necessarily imperfectly informed, it is very difficult to meet tactics of this kind. The President's course is, indeed, a fair illustration of how not to do it. He came into office as a civil-service reformer; he found on the statute-book a law under which the civil service might be reformed, but which the politicians had converted into a dead letter. For two years he made no attempt to have it enforced; nay, he allowed one of his Secretaries, who made an attempt to enforce it, to fall a victim to his zeal and be driven from his place. Under the pressure of the indignation excited by this case, he feebly recommended civil-service reform in his next message, and Congress authorized him to reform by a section stuck on to the Appropriation Bill last March. He has allowed two months to elapse without acting on that authorization, and now appoints his Commission just as the hot weather is beginning, and with the consequent certainty that nothing can be accomplished till October, and October will find us plunging into the excitement of a Presidential campaign, with the smallest possible chance of obtaining any attention for a movement of this kind, which would seriously interfere with the working of the electioneering machinery by the party in power, at a very critical moment. In fact, if it were not for the character and antecedents of some of the gentlemen he has put on the Commission, we should be disposed to accuse him of throwing dust in our eyes. As matters stand, we are willing to wait and see; but we warn the Commission that the political world, while approving of civil-service reform in the abstract, already begins to express strong doubts whether "this particular measure" is just what is needed, or can do any good.

COMMUNISTIC MORALITY.

There are two things which more than others have contributed to make the recent events in Paris unusually startling and impressive. One is, that a great part of the atrocities and follies which marked the career of the Commune was the work of men who were not criminals in the ordinary sense of the word, and who professed to be animated even in the work of destruction by philanthropic motives; the other is, that plenty of persons laying claim to high moral and religious feeling have been found among the lookers-on to applaud or excuse their doings, simply because they professed to be animated by philanthropic motives.

And it must be remembered, in examining the matter, that the Commune was simply a portion of the general class movement, of which we see the action in other countries in the shape of trades-unionism and, we might add, of Fenianism. What took place in Paris was simply the unexpected seizure of the government of a great city, largely peopled by timid rich people, by the leaders of the International Association, which two years ago at Geneva declared war against property and inheritance. The sentiment which animated that Association is one, however, by no means confined to France, and it is roughly this: that the ideas about property, marriage, inheritance, justice, and religion, on which the political and social arrangements of the civilized world are based, are inventions of one class, the lettered or idle class, for their own benefit and for the oppression of the working-class; that the world and the ordering of it belong of right to the working-class—meaning by this manual laborers and no others; and that the time has come for them to enter into the exercise of their authority, and that it would be weak and wicked to allow any of the rules of morality taught by the literate classes to prevent the use of any means likely to accomplish this end, as these rules have been contrived simply for the maintenance of a state of things in which the many are sacrificed to the few. These ideas, too, have now come to be held by large numbers, not simply with enthusiasm, but with fanaticism, and fanaticism always contains a strong element of hatred to opponents, and in the present case all persons who enjoy exceptional advantages, either as regards wealth or education, rank among opponents and incur the hatred. There is in fanaticism, also, a strong element of unscrupulousness; indeed, to say of a fanatic that he was scrupulous would be a contradiction in terms. He becomes a fanatic in virtue of his deep sense of the magnitude and importance of his "cause," and of the insignificance of all else, and to help the cause, therefore, he uses any weapon that may be within reach. For this reason, wars of religion have always been unusually bloody and cruel, and all wars for ideas, as distinguished from wars in defence of political arrangements, are of the same character as religious wars. The war which the Reds are declaring on society combines two sources of fierceness, in being both a war of ideas and a war of classes, and it is not surprising, therefore, that in Paris it should have been sanguinary and relentless. One of the most striking illustrations of its ferocity was shown in the seizure and execution of the archbishop and the priests. They were taken as hostages and killed, not simply because the Communists hate the church—though this doubtless had much to do with it—but because their opponents hold the clergy to be peculiarly sacred, and to threaten priests with death was therefore, as it seemed, the surest way of shocking the "friends of order," and giving them pain—in other words, of stabbing the old religious society to the heart.

Now, this spirit shows itself in a stronger form among Frenchmen than amongst other men, because their natures are more intense, and because the new doctrine, that society, as at present constituted, is a hideous contrivance for the oppression of the poor, has been longer at work among them. But it is at the bottom of the way in which the English trades-unions enforced their rules at Sheffield, as revealed in the evidence taken before the Government Commission—that is, by killing, maiming, and blowing up with gunpowder those who either disobeyed the rules or interfered with their execution, and it is to be observed that the men who resorted to these instrumentalities were men of good character, as this term is usually understood, just, true, and kindly in all the ordinary relations of life.

So, also, the Fenian risings in England have been characterized by a complete disregard of the received notions of criminality and by stupendous unscrupulousness. The attempt to blow down a prison wall by firing a barrel of gunpowder in a narrow and crowded street in London, had all the marks of the Communist operations in Paris. The Fenian performances were, however, in this and similar cases, simply copies of the trades-union performances, and at the bottom of both lay the idea which directed the deviltry in Paris last month, viz.: That the interests of the society, or of the class which it represented, were immeasurably superior to all other interests with which they came in collision, and that, therefore, there was nothing which it was not lawful to do to promote them, and that, in the choice of means, whatever most vexed the enemy and struck most terror into him was to be preferred.

No intelligent man can deny that the spread of such doctrines among large bodies of men, in the great centres of population and industry, is a very grave matter, but there is another matter connected with it which is perhaps graver still. "Humanitarians," considered as a sect—that is, persons who, all other doctrines and beliefs being laid aside, make the active promotion of the comfort and welfare, moral and physical, of the masses their great spring of action, and who do this without any expectation of future rewards, and in entire dissociation from Christianity—are a large and growing body, and they number amongst them a great many writers and speakers who exert a powerful influence on public opinion, and more or less on morals and legislation. They have by their exertions managed to spread through society a distrust of the actual state of things in church and state, which, although in a moderate degree it is the source or condition of all reform, is, like most other things, in excess a positive disease, and which, acting on an animal like man, which lives mainly by habit, produces a sort of dementia. We have it now in excess. There is hardly one of us who is sure of the ground he walks on in any field of human thought or activity. Once upon a time, doubting was left to philosophers; now we all doubt, and we doubt nothing so much as what has been long settled. There can, however, be no strong sense of duty where there is no settled conviction; the sense of duty rests on conviction; and our relations to every human being and every human institution, parents, wives, children, employer and servant, government and church, being thrown open to speculation and question, there are fewer and fewer of us who are capable of entering on any course with set teeth and an undaunted will. The result is, that any man who believes strongly has chances in the world such as never offered themselves before. Anybody who undertook to preach strange doctrines in times past, if a fanatic, found himself faced by fanatics as fierce as he; but the fanatic in our time finds himself in the midst of a timid crowd, who examine him with opera-glasses, and who, if he will only not come after them, are willing to concede any postulates he asks for.

It is out of this confusion that the "Red" church has not unnaturally grown up, but what is worst is that it finds admirers and apologists among those who are not of it, but whom its humanitarian tendencies dazzle or propitiate; and there could be no stronger illustration of the size of the breaches made in the received morality than the sympathy which the Communists have found among foreign philosophers, philanthropists, and even preachers. Matters have gone so far that the testimony of the worst ruffian who squats with a rifle behind a barricade, as to the nature of his motives in killing people or burning houses, is taken by many respectable men as a complete refutation of the presumptions raised against him by the ordinary canons of morality. Usually, if you see a man committing a breach of the moral law, you require weighty outside proof either of his insanity, or of his devotion to some idea, to induce you to excuse him; but we have now got to such a pass that we take his simple word for it. We come upon a party of workingmen preparing say to roast a family in their dwelling-house, and are duly stricken with *prima facie* horror, and ask what they are about. They reply that humanity requires this atrocity at their hands. On hearing this, far from going to the rescue or bringing the police, we hasten to the nearest hall, call a meeting, give a thrilling account of what we have seen, pronounce the band "erring but noble," and declare that, though condemning their methods, their aims are too lofty to permit of our casting the first stone against them. Now, if there be one deduction from human experience more firmly established than another, it is that the doctrine that the end justifies the means is a detestable doctrine, and as detestable in the hands of the democrat as of the priest or king. There is another hardly less valuable or well settled, and that is, that nothing saves the world from anarchy but the custom of judging men by their conduct, and not by their professions. Acts are the tests and signs of principles, and nothing but acts. If the relations of the working-classes to the rest of the community are to be rearranged and improved, as we firmly believe they may and will be, it must be by steady travelling along the ancient human way which experience lights, and on which opinions are changed by persuasion, and not by throat-cutting, and on which the great advances are made by reason and patience and labor. The world is not going to be set to rights in a year for the benefit of the workingman, any more than for the aristocrat; and the broadest "humanitarian" will find in the long run, to his cost, that he will have to live by the Ten Commandments, if he means to have any comfort in this life.

ENGLAND.—MR. MILL ON THE LAND QUESTION.

LONDON, May 26, 1871.

PARLIAMENTARY business is at the present moment progressing slowly, and the prospect for the session is less promising than ever. The radical theory, as expounded in the *Daily News*, is to this effect: The Army Bill and the Ballot Bill are the two main Government measures. The Army Bill goes first, and the Ballot Bill can only follow in proportion as the track is cleared. Now, says the *Daily News*, the Conservatives have made up their minds to accept the Army Bill, not as in itself desirable, but as offering higher terms to the persons enjoying vested interests than they are likely to obtain at any future time. They talk against it, therefore, not in the hope of securing its rejection, or even its modification, but in the view of delaying the Ballot Bill. Put the Ballot Bill first, it is said, and the Army Bill will follow easily enough; but otherwise it runs a fair chance of being squeezed out by the policy of talking against time on the companion measure. I think that this theory is a little too refined; there is this much of truth in it, however, that the Army Bill is producing some of the most wearisome and intricate debates that have recently occurred. At every stage of the measure, we have a repetition from the Conservatives of all the old arguments that have been worn so threadbare. The reason of this, however, appears to be simple enough. The tide of enthusiasm which carried Mr. Gladstone into power is ebbing with so much rapidity, that an obstructive policy, which would have been an exceedingly dangerous game, as against a popular minister, has fair chances of success. The Government majority is, in fact, declining rapidly, and last night they had so much trouble in defeating some proposed amendments that a modification of the bill seems to be highly probable. The bill must be forced through in some shape or other; but it seems as if it might be seriously mutilated in the process. There are, indeed, rumors to be heard, which I mention not as credible, but as significant of the disorganized condition of the Liberal party. It is said that the House of Lords will summon up courage to throw out the bill, and that thereupon some kind of coalition ministry will be formed, with, perhaps, Lord Derby at its head. I think that it would be impossible to form any such ministry which could hold together for a fortnight; but the existence of rumors of this character shows how feeble is the hold by which Mr. Gladstone at present maintains himself in office. The majority is true and pledged to vote for him; but the enthusiasm which is necessary even to work a majority successfully seems to have completely evaporated.

I turn, however, from these speculations to notice an agitation which has been recently started, and which may gain importance at some future period. A league has been formed for the purpose of advocating a reform in the land laws; it has held an initial meeting, and Mr. Mill has addressed it in a speech which has given rise to a considerable amount of controversy. The question is, in fact, one of the most vital importance, and the agitation, if once fairly launched, may lead to a very serious struggle. It is generally stated that the land of England is in possession of 30,000 proprietors, and that the number has rapidly diminished and is still diminishing. The figures, which are taken, I believe, from the last census, are probably inaccurate, and for reasons into which I need not enter; but the general tendency of things is indisputable. That landed estates tend to increase and the number of landowners to diminish, is ob-

vious, and no serious observer will deny that such a state of things constitutes a real danger to the country. Nor will many people think that the *Times* is adopting a wise and conciliatory course when it says that if a man wants land he had better emigrate to the colonies. An English statesman could hardly render a more unequivocal service than by bringing about the inversion of the present process and substituting division for accumulation of landed estates. Mr. Mill and the association of which he is the leader propose various measures with this intention. In the first place, they propose to facilitate the transfer of land, to provide some simple system of registration, and to confine the power of entail within narrower limits than at present. The ideal state of things would, of course, be one in which land could be disposed of as easily as railway shares, and it should always be held by some one in absolute possession. The inability to dispose of land when the owner for life has become hopelessly embarrassed is undoubtedly a great obstacle to improvement. Such changes, however, might be carried out far more perfectly than they are likely to be for many years to come without producing the result most desired. If, that is, land passed from hand to hand with the utmost possible facility, the growth of large estates might still proceed so long as the habits and tastes of Englishmen remain substantially unaltered. There are at present artificial hindrances to the breaking up of landed property, but, even if they were removed, men who have made their fortune in business might still choose to invest in land, so long as that mode of employing money confers a certain kind of social standing. The land, it is probable, would be in more energetic and solvent hands, but we need not be much nearer to the advent of the peasant proprietor. Here, accordingly, there is a certain divergence between different parties of Mr. Mill's associates. The more moderate would be content to allow things to take their course, and to trust to the free play of supply and demand. The more impetuous are inclined to denounce property in land altogether, or, in other words, to declare that the state should be the sole proprietor, and should simply grant leases for limited terms of years.

The programme advocated by Mr. Mill is something of a compromise between the radicals of the simple free-trade school and those who add some touch of socialist theory. He proposes that the state should take all the land at present uncultivated, and, after compensating the proprietors, dispose of it on some system to be devised for the encouragement either of small owners or of co-operative associations of laborers. The waste lands of England are rather more extensive than you might be inclined to imagine, but they are, of course, in a general way, the least valuable soil; and it may be doubted whether Mr. Mill would thus obtain a sufficient leverage for bringing about any very important change. He has not stated very distinctly how far he would propose that Government interference should extend; and whether, for example, having created peasant properties, it should take any measures to prevent their possible absorption by the neighboring landowners. The more important question concerns the owners of cultivated estates, which, of course, form by far the largest proportion of the country. And here Mr. Mill brings forward a plan which he originally advocated in his "Political Economy," and which seems to have particular charms for him. Land, he says, differs from all other property in this respect, that its value tends to increase as the population and wealth of the country increase, without any effort on the part of the owner. Therefore, if we could intercept that part of the increment of rent which is due not to the expenditure of capital, but to causes independent of the owner, we should have a fair justification for applying it to national purposes. He therefore proposes to make a valuation of land at fixed intervals; and, after allowing a certain rate of interest for any capital which has been expended, to consider the remainder as fairly liable to be appropriated by the nation. The scheme rests upon the theory of rent which is, perhaps, not universally accepted, though it is admitted by most of our orthodox political economists. But, after all, it comes simply to this, that Mr. Mill proposes to raise a considerable part of the national revenue from a land tax. The tax now going under that name has remained a fixed sum from the time of Queen Anne, and there may be good reasons for increasing it according to Mr. Mill's proposal. There are, however, many difficulties which will easily suggest themselves in determining how far it is equitable, and at what precise sum the tax ought to be fixed in any given case. The plan is not likely to be adopted for a good many years to come, and therefore any discussion as to its abstract justice would be rather premature. I notice it merely as significant of the questions which may, perhaps, be agitated within a short time, but, to say the truth, with very little belief that Mr. Mill's scheme will satisfy either wing of his party.

We have just received the news of the ratification of the Treaty of Washington. Personally, I am extremely pleased to hear of it, but I cannot expect that the people of the United States will be profoundly affected by such a piece of intelligence. Yet I am unable to convey to you any more general expression of opinion, for the simple reason that I have found it totally impossible to talk to any one whom I have met for the last two days upon any other topic than what is called in our newspaper placards the "Burning of Paris." By the time that this reaches you, I hope it may have received a less terrible title; but with telegrams coming in every hour announcing the destruction of some monument valued by all civilized beings, it is difficult to give much attention even to the details of a treaty between England and America.

HOSPITAL REMINISCENCES IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, May 18, 1871.

A HALF-YEAR spent in the Prussian military hospital service has called forth some reflections which, I venture to hope, will have a certain interest for your readers, although they are of necessity quite incomplete and disconnected in their form. In Cassel, where it was my lot to be stationed during the latter months of the war, the train depot of the 11th Army Corps was converted into an immense reserve hospital, with a capacity of nearly 800 beds, which was increased to 1,000 by 8 "American" barracks erected on adjacent ground—a capacity above that of any single institution in New York. I had charge of one division containing 80 beds, and, as during the time of my engagement more than 700 patients passed through the department assigned to me, I had thus a fair opportunity of seeing something of the Prussian soldier in all branches of the service, and from every province of the kingdom, as well as of the troops from other portions of the North German Confederation.

One of the first things that must strike any one who has a chance to observe the Prussian private is that, while he possesses in an eminent degree the virtues of the soldier, as his achievements have abundantly shown, he is remarkably free from the vices which the life of the soldier fosters, and which have generally characterized the profession of arms. Far from being improvident, idle, intemperate, lawless, brutal, or corrupt, he is brave, highly disciplined, persistent, faithful, intelligent, and submissive. The impression which the hundreds whose personal acquaintance I have made have left upon me is of simple-minded yet well-informed, frugal, and honest men, whose disposition and temperament would never lead them to bloodshed except as a necessity, yet whose reverence for authority would never permit them to disregard an order. This is only saying what has already been often and better said; but I may enforce its truth by some illustrations which my experience furnishes.

The use of alcohol in all American and English hospitals is hedged about with the strictest precautions, and in spite of these is yet constantly abused. In the hospitals of Germany, on the other hand, during the war, beer or wine was supplied by the government to every patient as a part of his daily diet; and the Soldiers' Aid Society considered it one of its most important tasks to provide extra quantities of these articles for such patients as were thought to need them; and not wine and beer alone, but rum, brandy, and whiskey, were easily within the reach of every patient. Yet, in nearly six months, among 700 men, although my knowledge of and daily contact with them was such that an excess of the sort could hardly have escaped my notice, I met with only four cases of drunkenness (one of them scarcely deserving the name), and I cannot now remember to have encountered a man who could be called a confirmed sot. On the King's birthday, the Sisters of Charity prepared liberal quantities of punch for the patients under their charge; and I am sure that a "thoughtful teetotaler" would have found abundant food for reflection in seeing a grave conclave of doctors "tasting" the beverage to see that no pharmaceutical rule had been violated in its composition, as well as in ascertaining whether it produced any evil effects among those who partook of it afterwards in every ward of the hospital.

Card-playing, which is also strictly forbidden in our hospitals, because it is found to lead to gambling, was rather encouraged in the hospitals of this war, and the men used indeed to gamble with what they considered impunity, their stakes being "pfennige," a coin equal to about one-third of a cent; and a loss or gain which amounted in the course of an evening to two groschen (five cents) would have been considered "colossal."

My only aim in citing these facts is to illustrate the temperance and moderation of the Prussian soldier, which enable him to venture freely and safely upon ground which is admitted to be fraught with danger for us.

But a single instance of insubordination requiring punishment came

to my knowledge, and not one occasion in which a quarrel leading to violence arose, while the examples of kind and thoughtful attention were innumerable; in short, good and orderly conduct and good nature formed a rule to which there were few exceptions.

A distinction between Prussian subjects, of which your readers may not have heard, is that between "Stock-Preusse" and "Muss-Preusse." It arose as follows: In some of the disaffected provinces which Prussia's prodigious powers of acquisition rather than the will of the people made her own, the derisive epithet of "Stock-Preussen," "Cane-Prussians," or, perhaps, "Poker Prussians," was applied by the people to the old Prussians on account of the very stiff bearing which their long military training gave them. These retaliated by calling their newly-made fellow-citizens "Muss Preussen" (Prussians by force, or whether or no). Of this latter class were the lukewarm Rhinelanders, the indifferent Hessians and Hanoverians, the disaffected Poles, the "subjugated" Holsteiners. I say *were*, for one sees now no trace of the former disaffection. I have had numerous specimens of all these different classes in my charge, and not only have not known of any case of open disloyalty, but have seen no indication in their conduct of any sentiment of hatred or opposition to the "powers that be." Of course, there has been enough dissatisfaction with the war, and murmuring at individual hardship, but there has been even *more* of this among the old Prussian landwehrmen who had already gone through '64 and '66, and were separated from families and homes, than among the young recruits who were having their first taste of glory and adventure under the victorious Prussian standard. "Nothing succeeds like success," and Prussia has played a winning game at home as well as abroad, winning hearts here as she won battles in France.

The visiting staff of our hospital was composed almost exclusively of private practitioners of the city of Cassel, and in my contact with them I was enabled to see much of the average practitioner of medicine here, about whom I should like to say a few words, as so much less is known of him than of his more famous professional brethren whose writings or other achievements have made them everywhere familiar. The advantages which long discipline and careful culture confer upon the followers of any vocation are readily apparent in the practice of every medical man one meets here. That ability is more marked or talents are greater than with Americans of the same calling no one would claim, but that these can here be turned to better account no one could deny. It goes without saying that German medical men are as a rule more firmly grounded, widely informed, and thoroughly drilled than those of our own country, and for reasons which lie upon the surface of the educational systems of the two countries; or, say, in the inscrutable necessities of the one and the incomparable advantages of the other. Deliberation, learning, system, prudence, are conspicuous in all the performances of these men, generally in an admirable, sometimes in a superfluous degree. They are familiar, to a greater extent than is the case with us, with the more advanced and abstruse methods of investigation as well as treatment of disease which the science and ingenuity of the day are making available. A far larger proportion of them are skilled in the use of the microscope, while the ophthalmoscope and the laryngoscope, which are being slowly introduced among us, are already in the hands of even the more elderly medical men here. As surgeons, they must undoubtedly yield to us in ingenuity and practical skill, but their caution and thorough science lead them to results perhaps equally as good. In a sudden emergency, a very difficult and dangerous operation, the ligation of the carotid artery, was done successfully in our hospital by an elderly gentleman who had scarcely employed a surgeon's knife for twenty years. The operation was far from brilliant, yet the manner in which the unexpected demand was met showed how well the anatomical foundations had once been laid, and saved a life placed in the utmost jeopardy; and numerous instances of the same sort, but less striking, were constantly attracting my attention.

The good sense and sagacity of the present generation of medical men here show themselves nowhere to better advantage than in the employment of drugs. The smallest, not the largest, admissible dose of any given remedy is almost always employed, and this only when there is the clearest indication for its use. The Prussian management of apothecary shops and system of dispensing deserves a chapter to itself. I can only say that the precautions taken against the incorrect compounding of drugs are such that a fatal mistake is quite an unheard-of thing. One must admit, however, that there are many old-fogies and many hobby-horsemen here as well as everywhere else in the medical world, and it would be no injustice to many of these phlegmatic doctors of medicine to call them indolent. There are many men who have been brilliant at the gymnasium and the university who lose all ambition and relapse into apathy as soon as the four long years and the hard examinations are over, and the spur of necessity is removed. In short, while with us almost everything depends upon the man himself, here, perhaps, too much depends upon the university and the severe demands of a government which regulates a thousand details which with us are left to take care of themselves.

In the hospitals of the present war, both field and reserve, the duties of the nurse have been very largely in the hands of the various Roman Catholic charitable sisterhoods, whose services their spiritual mother and dictatress has placed at the disposal of the military authorities. These devoted daughters of the church have followed close upon the heels of the ravaging demon of war with their merciful ministrations, and the heroic labors which they have performed through this memorable half-year of carnage must be a subject of profound admiration and gratitude to all who have witnessed them and shared in them. Through their unremitting exertions, the condition of the inmates of the hospitals has been immeasurably improved and their sufferings unspeakably relieved, while the tasks of the surgeon have been rendered far less severe, and his efforts for the welfare of his patients most ably and intelligently seconded. The art of nursing steadily assumes greater importance in the conduct of all diseases and injuries as the physician gains clearer conceptions of his powers and his limitations; and in the light of the labors of these excellent nurses, the Jesuit, and Franciscan, and other Catholic sisters, as well as the Evangelical deaconesses, I can, perhaps, offer your readers some interesting considerations on the general subject of nursing.

These good women deserve to be called excellent nurses for the following reasons: they are thoroughly-trained, intelligent, experienced, and in the highest degree faithful and devoted to their work. In the first place, they are all required to make preliminary studies of such elementary matters as the nurse requires to understand. They are minutely instructed in the preparation of the various articles of sick diet which play so important a part in the conduct of all disease, and systematically drilled in materia medica to such an extent that they are familiar with the properties and the doses of all the remedies in ordinary use. They are taught to discern symptoms of danger in sick or wounded or poisoned patients, and informed upon all the more simple measures of relief which any given emergency can bring into demand. They must practise the application of all sorts of bandages and dressings, until they acquire satisfactory skill. They learn the use of cupping glasses and leeches, the measuring of temperature, the giving of subcutaneous injections, and many similar duties, some of which, indeed, are not generally entrusted to the nurse. As soon as their prerequisite training is sufficiently advanced, certain duties are assigned them in some of the institutions under the control of the church or of their particular order, and they find abundant scope for putting in practice what they have learned, in the foundling and the lying-in hospitals, the fever, the insane, the small-pox hospitals, and the hospitals of a general character, to which they have access. They thus acquire a very respectable fund of knowledge and experience, and some of them are entitled to far more than the mere name of nurse. Of the twelve Franciscan nuns who had charge of the patients in the hospital where I was engaged, several had a really extensive knowledge of diseases, as well as remedies, and one of them used to treat independently any case of sickness occurring among her sisters, making her diagnosis and her prescription in a systematic manner, and meeting with as good success, so far as I could judge, as could result from the efforts of the best-informed male practitioner.

In my opinion, the church offers the world an example which it may study with profit, in the methods by which she produces these bands of skilful and intelligent nurses, and sends them on their noble mission into the world; and the imitation of her plan in its essential particulars, by the establishment of numerous non-sectarian schools for the training of male and female nurses in a scientific manner, is an object which must commend itself to the reason of all medical men, and meet with the approval of all others who know the present low condition of the useful art of nursing—the twin-sister of the art of healing. If we compare the qualifications of these benevolent sisters for their calling with the qualifications of the persons who generally undertake the tasks of the nurse among us, what do we find? Instead of thorough preliminary training, there is none at all worthy of the name. Nurses are too often illiterate and uncultivated people, whom necessity or chance rather than any fitness or talent has brought to this vocation, in which even those who have the best powers and intentions require to be well instructed and thoroughly drilled. With how many so-called nurses does every

physician come in contact whose best knowledge is superstition, whose highest intelligence is self-conceit, whose greatest gift is the "gift of gab," and who from long experience have only derived a multitude of prejudices! But how often do they add to the shining qualities of superstition and ignorance, conceit, loquacity, and prejudice, the further graces of imprudence, impertinence, negligence, duplicity, and intemperance! Indeed, one constant source of anxiety and embarrassment to every physician in public and private practice is the scarcity of good nurses. How desirable would it seem, then, to establish a standard of attainment for nurses which does not exist with us, and to place it in the power of all who earnestly wished it to make themselves capable and valuable followers of that calling, while rendering it difficult if not impossible for unworthy and ignorant characters to disgrace so honorable a vocation. In schools established with this view, women might find a widened and highly appropriate field of activity, and those whose ambition led them beyond the mere duties of the nurse, who were desirous of vindicating the claim of their sex to follow the profession of medicine on equal terms with man, would be provided with fine preparation and fresh incentive to their labors in their familiarity with disease and observation of its treatment.

It is only too true, as I know from personal experience, that a large majority of the hired nurses in our public institutions are unworthy of their places. In almost every hospital there are two or three really valuable nurses. The rest are such creatures as necessity compels to undertake a detested service. They are as a rule addicted to several vices, and utterly unworthy of confidence, and the natural and correct inference from these facts is that the patients suffer at their hands. There are not wanting those who say that, if the art of nursing is in a deplorable condition, the art of healing is in a scarcely less satisfactory state, and there are doubtless reasons for their assertions. The two arts must, indeed, go hand in hand, and, if medicine is ever to deserve the name of an exact science, it will be as much through the fruits of the indefatigable labors of faithful watchers by the bedside, like these devoted women, as by any brilliant deductions of genius or sagacious researches of talent in the fields of theory and hypothesis. R. S. D.

Correspondence.

HYDRAULIC ENGINEERING IN THE UNITED STATES.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: It is no unusual thing for the Government and people of the United States to neglect to avail themselves of the professional knowledge which the country affords, but the *Nation* need not invoke the aid of Italian engineers for the protection of the Valley of the Mississippi (June 1, page 382).

In 1861, a "Report on the Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River" was made by Captain A. A. Humphreys and Lieut. H. L. Abbot of the U. S. Engineer Corps, and printed by the Government. Prior to this report, "the laws which govern the flow of waters in natural channels were only partially and imperfectly developed," but through the labors of these gentlemen "laws have been revealed that were before unknown; new formulæ have been prepared, possessing far greater precision than the old; and improved methods of gauging streams have been devised."

In Italy, the Americans now have the reputation of knowing something about the science of hydraulics. W. R. W.

Notes.

Messrs. Appleton & Co. announce a "New Hand-Book of Western Travel," which they promise shall "exhaust the ground it intends to cover, and be specially full in regard to points on the Pacific coast." If it does not fall below the standard of their other American guide-books, it will not disappoint expectation. Other publications in press are chiefly reprints: "Recent Discoveries in Science, Philosophy, and Morals," by Herbert Spencer; "Light and Electricity," two lectures before the Royal Institution, and "Hours of Exercise in the Alps," by Prof. Tyndall; and "Light and Science for Leisure Hours: a Series of Familiar Essays on Scientific Subjects, Natural Phenomena," etc., by R. A. Proctor. We are glad to see a statement from this house that "they pay regular copyright, the same as that usually paid to American authors, to Messrs. Huxley, Tyndall, Darwin, Spencer, Lubbock, Lecky, Galton, and other English scientific writers, whose works they reprint."——"Strange Tales from Humble Life" is the title of an English work by John Ashworth, to be immediately republished here, with the author's consent, by Messrs. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. They will also issue in July "The St. George's Hall Lectures," designed to meet current forms of unbelief among the educated classes, by the Rev. Geo. Rawlinson, the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, and others.

—The proposal to which reference was made in these columns three weeks ago, to substitute graduates of Yale College for Connecticut Senators in the corporation of Yale, has been embodied in the following law ("An Act relating to Yale College"), which passed both Houses of the State Legislature without opposition, and has doubtless ere this received the signature of Governor Jewell. As the only radical point in which Old Yale or Young Yale seemed to differ was in respect to the organization of the Board of Trustees, this change so heartily desired by many graduates, and so readily permitted by the State of Connecticut, may be regarded as closing the discussion, and as ensuring the harmonious beginning of the new presidency:

Sec. 1. All persons who have been for five years graduated as Bachelors in any of the departments of Yale College, and all persons who have been admitted to any higher degree in Yale College, whether honorary or in course, may, on the public commencement day of said college, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-two, cast their votes, under such regulations as the President and Fellows of Yale College may prescribe, for six persons to be chosen from among such graduates of Yale College; and the six persons who shall be found to be elected by a majority of the votes cast shall be Fellows of Yale College in the stead of the six senior Senators of the State; and shall have all the rights, duties, and privileges as Fellows which are now by law conferred upon said Senators.

Sec. 2. The Fellows thus elected shall enroll themselves by lot in six classes, one holding office for six years, another for five years, another for four years, another for three years, another for two years, and another for one year, eligible for re-election; and every year, as a vacancy occurs, the graduates of Yale College shall, upon commencement day, in the manner heretofore prescribed, elect a person to fill the vacancy and hold the office of Fellow for a period of six years, eligible for re-election, and so, whenever a vacancy shall occur from death, resignation, or any other cause, such graduates may elect a person at the next commencement to fill the office of Fellow for the remainder of the term in which a vacancy has occurred.

Sec. 3. This act shall not take effect until the President and Fellows of Yale College by a vote communicated to the Governor of the State, shall have signified their acceptance of and consent to the provisions of this act.

Sec. 4. The acceptance of this act by said corporation shall not operate to make the charter of said corporation, as heretofore amended, subject to repeal, alteration, or amendment, without the consent of said corporation.

—Mr. William H. Dall, whose work on Alaska is the fullest account we have of that outlying territory, is to leave San Francisco next month in charge of a coast-survey expedition, which may be expected to construct a map of the northwestern corner of the continent—more especially its shores and islands—of a degree of accuracy never yet attained in any chart or atlas. Since we have this awkward possession, we ought undoubtedly to make the most of it, and the first thing is to know exactly what it consists of and how it is bounded. A late census has shown the population to be the lowest that can claim citizenship and protection under the American flag. As to the natural resources of the country and its attractions for trade and settlement, opinions differ. Mr. Dall, as our readers may remember, takes a very rose-colored view, and he is sustained by the editor of the *Lynchburg Republican*, who has made the tour of the Alaskan coast, and ascended the Yukon, and who says of the latter (May 19): "From our observations we are convinced that there is no portion of the whole territory which is more fertile, richer in resources, or more inviting to American enterprise and the investment of American capital." This statement is the more worthy of respect because it was elicited by a senseless fling of the Washington *Patriot* at the High Commission, for having opened the "Yucan" to American commerce—"Stupendous feat to open a river that freezes sixty feet deep!" The *Republican*, instead of copying this without comment, as almost any other Democratic journal would have done, to raise a laugh at the expense of the Administration, had the manliness to expose the "very apparent ignorance" that inspired the paragraph in question, and to tell what the editor knew from personal experience, without regard to party considerations. The incident is a trifling one, but as a rebuke to the pettiness of our politics it is, especially as coming from a Southern source, an encouraging symptom.

—A promising scheme of co-operation has been chartered in Boston, for the purpose of holding and improving real estate to the amount of

two hundred thousand dollars, as homes for working-people at moderate cost. The corporators named in the act consist of two gentlemen and two ladies of high social position, and both sexes are also represented in the subscribers to the stock up to this time, from among the wealthy classes. The par value of the shares is to be twenty-five dollars, and the dividends not to exceed seven per cent. thereon. The tenement-houses erected in the city will be of an improved character, and the occupants will become shareholders. We believe this movement is due to the suggestive letter of Dr. Henry I. Bowditch from London, written to his colleagues of the Massachusetts State Board of Health, and printed in full in their late report. It is already so well supported that building will begin in the course of the summer.

—The Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, St. George's, Blackburn, Lancashire, has been editing a "series of books from early English Literature," under the general title of "The Fuller Worthies' Library." These books—"reprinted for private circulation only (not published) in strictly limited impressions"—are enriched by Mr. Grosart's "memorial introductions and notes." We have the *Athenæum's* authority for the fact that Mr. Grosart "is a critic, no less than a collector; and he is, on the whole, a very good critic." Some of his critical notes are *too* good to be enjoyed "all to themselves" by the lucky possessors of these "privately circulated" volumes—as a single specimen will show. Sir John Beaumont's poems were reprinted in the ninth volume of the series, in 1869. In this author's "Metamorphosis of Tabacco" (first printed in 1602), the Earth proposes to her sister elements, Water, Fire, and Air, that, when the Tobacco plant shall spring forth,

> —"ev'ry Ladie shall that herbe endow
> With the best gemmes that deck her glorious brow."

Accordingly, the servants of Water, in turn,

> "Offer each one their best parts' quintessence.
> The icy waves were all with christall fraught;
> The Magellanick Sea her *vnions* brought;
>
> From British seas doth holesome corall come;
> The Danish gulfe doth send her succinum;" etc.

"Vnions" Mr. Grosart explains at the foot of the page by a single word, and that word is—"*Onions!*" Is not this a note to be noted by all Shakespearian critics? What piquancy and flavor does it impart to the draught, when

> "The king shall drink to Hamlet's better *breath;*
> And in the cup an *onion* shall he throw!"

What a point might Booth make of

> "Drink off this potion:—Is thy *onion* here?"

It is true that the glossaries and the dictionaries, from Johnson down, and fifty editors of Shakespeare, have told us, and every school-boy was expected to know, that "onions" were fine pearls, the Latin *uniones*. "Our dainties and delicates here at Rome," says Pliny, in Holland's version, "have devised this name for them, and call them *Unions*, as a man would say, *singular*, and by themselves alone." But why should a collector and "a critic, no less than a collector," who has to edit four-and-twenty volumes of English poetry, "in strictly limited impressions," waste time in looking out the meaning of every hard word in the dictionary? And can we blame him for not even pausing to explain what his author meant by "decking the glorious brow" of Water with onions—raised in Magellanic Seas?

—The first number of the Paris *Revue Bibliographique Universelle* which has reached us since that city was besieged by the Germans, makes a thin brochure bearing date October–March, 1870–71—sad reminder of the long blank in the intellectual life of France. The last number of the *Nation* whose contents are given in the *Revue*, is the issue of Aug. 18, 1870; scarcely any journal is reported received after September. The editor-in-chief offers a brief salutation to his readers on the resumption of the work which now, more than ever, corresponds to the highest needs of his country—"réagir contre les tendances fatales et frivoles de notre époque, ramener les esprits au culte du vrai, aux saines traditions de la science, de la littérature et de la critique." He has something to say of the lesson unmistakably taught by the part which science has played in the humiliation of France, but he cannot refrain from a "last word," which is also a "cry of horror and of indignation against the useless and wicked devastations which have characterized this war, in truth worthy of barbarous times"—a cry that will "find an echo even in the conscience of the conquerors." This was written, of course, before the last days of the Commune. The book-reviews are of necessity much fewer than usual. The necrology contains quite a number of names besides Dumas, Mérimée, and Ponson du Terrail, but none so well known in literature. Of Dumas, we read that "amid the prodigious dissipation in which his life was spent, he had still preserved in his heart the sentiments of religion. He died a Christian death." And a note is printed from his daughter to M. Veuillot, informing him that her "beloved father died Monday, Dec. 5, *muni des Sacrements de l'Eglise*. . . Praise God for this great example."

—In the *Revue's* list of publications in Paris during the siege or in the provinces, we find several that relate to the question of the future capital of France. The earliest appeared in November, in the city itself, states the question plainly, and seems to imply a negative answer: "Les Assemblées politiques doivent-elles continuer à siéger à Paris?" Of this M. Edouard Brinvilliers was the author. In March, we find "Décentralisation, l'Etat par la province," by the Comte d'Osmond; and "De la décentralisation et du transfert en province de la capitale politique de la France," by the Comte de Galembert—the first, published at Nevers, the second at Tours. Works pertaining to the history of the war, some of which we have mentioned already, and which, of course, do not antedate March, are G. Mitchell's "Journal des Deux-Mondes pendant le Siége de Paris" (14 parts, 8vo); "Journal du Siége de Paris," by G. d'Heylli, embracing decrees, proclamations, circulars, reports, etc. (20 parts, 8vo); "Histoire du Siége de Paris," by J. Noriac; and "La Retraite de Mézières," by H. Plon. Louis Blanc announces a history of the siege, and Léon Gautier a diary of it; and we may expect also—if the Commune has spared the writers—"Tablettes d'un Mobile," an historical and anecdotical journal of the siege, by Léon de Villiers and Georges de Targes; and "The Defence of Paris in 1870-71," by an anonymous major of engineers.

—Last October we called attention to the chapter in Trochu's "French Army" on the volunteers of 1792, and to his citation from Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, to the effect that these representatives of the enthusiasm of that period "were constantly, at Valmy, Jemappes, and Neerwinden, a hindrance and a peril to the intelligent operations of Dumouriez." Additional proof, if any were needed, that it was the troops of the line which saved France from invasion by the coalition, and afterwards transferred the war to the enemies' country, has, meantime, been furnished by Camille Rousset, keeper of the historic war archives in Paris, in a work published last year, entitled "Les Volontaires, 1791–1794," and which has had a success of at least three editions. The sum of his evidences is, that the volunteers had a very trivial share in the victories achieved, even if they did not paralyze the movements of the army and the plan of the campaign, while to the regulars they were a perpetual annoyance and cause of demoralization. Kellermann, Biron, Beurnonville, and Custine are unanimous on these points. The volunteers had constantly to be restrained from pillage and devastation, and their tracks were always marked with ruin. After the war in Vendée, in which their cowardice and cruelty were equally conspicuous, they were extinguished by being amalgamated with the line.

"THE SERVICE OF THE POOR."*

THE book of which we give the title below is the first one we have ever seen in which the subject of it is treated rationally, dispassionately, and thoroughly. The second and longer title states the question which the book aims ultimately to answer, but the method pursued is to examine thoroughly all the conditions of the problem of "the poor," so that, although the real object is to discuss the merits of two rival methods of organizing women's labor in behalf of the poor, yet we are offered an exhaustive consideration of the wants of the poor, the circumstances and interests of the women who undertake to help them, the interests and obligations of society in this regard, and the methods to be pursued in relieving the various forms of distress which, although they are common to human beings, yet are so much aggravated by poverty that we naturally associate them with *charitable* effort only when they befall the poor.

It is pleasant to be able to say that Miss Stephen brings to the treatment of this subject a vigor of thought, acuteness of analysis, and correctness of literary style which we have rarely seen equalled in a popular work by any writer, male or female. The subject is a broad and complicated one, but the various extraneous and irrelevant matters which have become entangled with it are here sundered out with correct discrimination. The issue is sharply defined and faithfully kept in view in the argument, and the conclusion which is reached in favor of secular as against

* "The Service of the Poor. Being an enquiry into the reasons for and against the establishment of religious sisterhoods for charitable purposes. By Caroline Emelia Stephen." London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.

religious organizations is firmly established for any one who looks at the matter rationally, and without the prejudice of affection for any ancient ecclesiastical form. Indeed, the only ground for fear is lest this judicial temper and discriminating criticism may not unfit the work for the influence which it ought to have upon the minds of the women who are attracted by sisterhoods, and the clergymen who are struggling to establish them—classes of persons who are more likely to be aroused to impatience than to be led to convictions by critical analysis and dispassionate discussion.

We cannot even attempt to give a summary of the discussion which Miss Stephen offers, but one point in her answer to the question, How shall we serve the poor? deserves to be especially noticed. It sounds like a truism, but it is continually overlooked. It is this: Serve them just as you would serve rich people who were in the same circumstances. We continually see people act as if there were some different way of nursing the sick poor from that employed for the sick rich—some different method of teaching the children of the poor from that employed for the children of the rich. There is also an ecclesiastical notion that the poor, *as such*, have some merit, or some peculiar claim, to be not *helped*, but *petted*. They are held to be, in some especial sense, representatives of Jesus Christ, that is, more so than the sick or ignorant rich. A service rendered to a poor man from Christian charity is regarded as *more* a service of Jesus Christ than one done to a rich man from the same pure motive. Thus "the poor" receives a technical or ecclesiastical signification. The first of these fallacies leads many well-intentioned people who undertake charitable work to hurt the feelings of their beneficiaries, or even to insult them, almost before they are themselves aware of it. The second leads the church to follow in its charitable work a system which demoralizes and pauperizes the poor, and almost seems to desire to keep them poor in order to use them as food for its own spiritual growth. Both ignore the fact that one who never meets a needy person face to face may do more by a sanitary, economical, or surgical discovery for the benefit of the poor than all the "visitors," as much as a man who uses a lever may do more to lift a weight than one who puts his hands upon it. The general services done to society and humanity always do most good to the poor, and in cases of individual contact and assistance the aid given by man to man must depend on a universal principle. If we analyze the popular notion, we shall find that it amounts to this, that Christian charity is something to be exercised by the church and towards the poor. The only true doctrine is, that Christian charity ought to be exercised by everybody towards anybody who is in need, whether he be rich or poor, and in each case according to the character of the need. One of the first requisites of successful work among the poor is to forget, and to make them forget, that they are poor, and to disabuse them of the idea that they are, therefore, to be treated in a peculiar manner.

The labor of alleviating human misery is one which involves great wear upon the spirits, even in the best case; but, when the victims are the poor, who cannot obtain the diet, the medicine, the fresh air, the change of scene, the surgical skill, the leisure and freedom from care, and often, also, cannot secure the cleanliness, which may do so much to alleviate pain and disease, then the strain upon both the physical and spiritual powers of the nurse is greatly multiplied. There is much which is disgusting and repulsive about disease at best, but, when it is found in the midst of squalor and poverty, its hideousness becomes almost unendurable. Yet there it is—the more repulsive it is, the more helpless it is; and the more helpless it is, the more imperative is its demand upon the more fortunate. Who shall undertake to alleviate it, so far as human aid can do this? In our complex society, in which each must have his own task, and attend to it almost exclusively, who shall undertake this task?

It is generally maintained by those who distribute the tasks of life between the two sexes according to the natural tastes, powers, and facilities, and the observed results of efforts in certain directions by each, that this is "woman's work." Women show skill and delicacy in nursing, magnetism in teaching, tact in visiting and relieving distress, far beyond what men display. Their sympathies are quicker and warmer; their zeal is subject to faith, rather than to reason; but, perhaps on that very account, it is better adapted to deal with cases in which it is more essential to heal the distress than to ascertain its causes, or to determine the amount of blame which attaches to it. Women also have an ardor for self-sacrifice, and find happiness in devotion, especially where it brings a return of affection. They are, therefore, able to ignore many things which, it seems to us, at first sight, would certainly be unendurable for them. The ecclesiastics affirm that no one can do the disagreeable work which is involved in the care of the sick poor, endure its trials and temptations, and persevere in it, who is not supported by love of Jesus Christ, and who does not regard the work as something done for his sake. Miss Stephen, however, evidently with full knowledge of the facts, affirms that the popular mind greatly exaggerates the sacrifice involved in this work, and that trained secular nurses, such as those of the Liverpool Infirmary, manifest as much zeal, fortitude, and devotion as any Sisters of the religious orders. It seems that enthusiasm and interest in the work avail here, as in other occupations which many people might consider disgusting, to overcome anything disagreeable in the work, and that, where there is that natural aptitude which constitutes a "calling," this employment gives happiness as much as any other congenial occupation. Unfortunately, it is a "mission"—that is, it is not attractive for any worldly rewards which it offers. The laborers must find their reward in the gratification of a natural inclination, and in the satisfaction of doing good. Fortunately, however, even in these mercenary days, and in callings which are purely secular, the idea of a "mission" has not entirely died out, and men can be found to turn their backs on pecuniary advantage in order to work for a cause. If this were not so, we do not know where our higher institutions of learning could find teachers, perhaps *the* class of men who to-day, in this country, are most obliged to depend, for support and strength in their work, upon their love for the "cause" they serve.

The persons who thus devote themselves to a cause are almost always those who have taken the religious view of life and its duties, and who are, therefore, to a great extent, animated by religious faith and zeal. There is a constant effort on the part of a certain class of religious, or, perhaps, we should say, ecclesiastical, people, who observe this fact, to confound membership in a religious institution with religious principle. They assume (what experience of secular visitors, teachers, and nurses, shows to be untrue) that charitable work is too disagreeable to be performed by any who have not the support of religious organization, and of an extraordinary measure of spiritual exercises. In their schemes, therefore, the benefit or service of the poor is made secondary to, or is at least mixed up with, the spiritual growth and benefit either of the poor or of those who do the work. One distinction which this produces, and which Miss Stephen very sharply and correctly points out, is that the attention of secular nurses is chiefly directed to preserving the life of the patient, while that of "religious" nurses is directed chiefly to preparing them for death. Important as the latter duty no doubt is when the stage is reached at which it alone can find proper place, yet the duty of the nurse as nurse is properly concentrated on the former.

Again, the ecclesiastical system of charity by sisterhoods seizes upon the prevailing discontent of women with their own work, and, instead of correcting it, fosters it, and makes use of it for its own purposes. Women are bribed, by a sensational dress, by a romantic atmosphere and surroundings, and by a melodramatic attitude before the public, into undertaking a work which, in its unadorned simplicity, they would find irksome and dull. Some may think it well to correct the false ambition for the platform, the forum, and the ballot-box, and to bring women back to their peculiar calling and duty, by such a bribe to their weakness; but it is a false policy, and every false policy, in the long run, avenges itself. It is rather to be earnestly insisted, on every proper occasion, that women, while striving for a share in the performance of a certain range of duties which are already being more or less well fulfilled, are neglecting a great work which is directly incumbent upon them, and which, when they neglect it, goes entirely undone. We may, then, hope that their own good sense will lead them to see their duty, and do it without any bribes to their vanity.

BRODHEAD'S HISTORY OF NEW YORK.*

THE first volume of Mr. Brodhead's "History of New York," published nearly twenty years ago, covers the period of Dutch rule over the province of New Netherlands, from the day when Hudson, refusing to fix the new seat of trading empire in the shallows of the Delaware estuary, anchored the *Half Moon*, of eighty tons, manned with twenty sailors, in the waters of Sandy Hook Bay, on the 3d of September, 1609. The present volume opens with the last scenes of Dutch authority, just fifty-five years later, when the reluctant Peter Stuyvesant led his small force out of Fort Amsterdam, with all the honors of war, yielding possession to the English Commander and first Governor, Richard Nichols. The attack upon the settlement was treacherously sudden, and its reduction speedy and bloodless. After ten days of parley, the inhabitants of New York,

* "History of the State of New York. By John Romeyn Brodhead." Second volume, pp. 680. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

then fifteen hundred in number, only two hundred and fifty of them fighting men, declared that "to resist so many was nothing else than to gape before an open oven," and compelled their high-spirited and indignant Governor to surrender to the English force of a thousand, aided by volunteers from New England and Long Island, and backed by six hundred savages. The author justly brands the conquest of New Netherlands as an act of peculiar national baseness, planned in secret, and accomplished with deliberate deceit toward a friendly government. The Dutch province became the easy prey of undeclared enemies, who sneaked in time of peace into her chief harbor.

Over the second marked period in the history of New York, between the date by English occupation and that of the subjection of all the northern colonies of the cession of Canada in 1763, the story of the present volume extends only to the year 1691. With the increasing complexity and interest of provincial affairs, the work threatens to grow encyclopedic in size. Indeed, the author's research results in such minute detail, and his strict chronological arrangement is so lifeless and calendar-like, that the book reads more as a monument of historical compilation than a fully digested and constructed history. That this does not follow from any want of grasp of thought is amply proved by the large generalization and eloquent descriptions scattered through the first volume. There is nothing in the present one as comprehensive as his account of the feudal system of Holland, or as vivid as his sketch of the rise of Dutch independence. The most successful instance of breadth in treatment is the summary of colonizing invasion as carried on simultaneously over this continent by three great nations—the English, French, and Dutch, opening with a note of the historical coincidence that occurred when Hudson sailed up the North River, while John Smith, under the English patent, was exploring the upper Chesapeake, and Champlain fighting the Indians on the lake that bears his name.

The fault is partly with the subject. Colonial annals are only relieved from dulness by their connection with those of the mother country, whose fortunes they follow. Great events at home distract attention from small provincial beginnings. The pageantry of war, the collisions of classes, the splendor and learning of old communities are not transplanted together with the suffering offshoots into the wilderness. And though colonies become the seed-plot of great principles civil and religious, the philosopher studies their slow, faint germination in vain for the picturesque and poetic elements of outward life that give color to the historian's page. Yet we must confess to a certain disappointment with the meagre mode in which the author has filled out his promised sketch of the contrast and blending of European with American life, the transfer of old institutions, and the development of the principles of self-government. An immense amount of material is laboriously brought together, but the fusing imagination fails which should shape it into a whole, and aid the reader in tracing the reasons for the appearances so faithfully depicted.

The historian's difficulty is increased by the want of unity in the development of New York. Massachusetts was built upon a foundation-principle, not religious freedom by any means, but protest against religious domination by any other creed than their own. But New Amsterdam took root in trade. Like the East Indian Empire, she was an outgrowth from the commercial interests of a company rather than from any religious system or civil theory. And the habit of freedom she inherited from Holland availed her little until it was intensified into a passion for freedom by the strong personal will and aggressiveness imported by her Anglo-Saxon conquerors. Without doing much more than to indicate this new impulse towards independence, our author follows the fortunes of the colony rechristened New York, as affected by the stepmother country's European wars. He exults with pardonable pride in its fair reconquest and short-lived restoration to Dutch rule in 1673–4. He traces the gradual decline of French influence among the natives through a tangled alternation of Indian treaties and wars, and follows the thread of its history among the connections between it and the colonies eastward and southward, growing always closer in their common defence against aboriginal enmity and home encroachment. In brief, the subject of this volume is the gradual fitting of the colony for, and the aid it gave to, that union with the rest under English rule which, it is trite to say, was a necessary preparation for any independence that would not have been followed by wars and mutual destruction.

In the indefinite style of American discovery and claim, the first charters granted by the States-General in 1616 and 1621, accompanied with a map, which is copied and prefixed to the first volume, covered the whole territory from the head of Delaware Bay to Maine. Actual occupation soon gave the English a better title to the eastern parts of this region, and actual seizure carried their control to the gentle slopes of the Connecticut, in spite of Dutch priority both of discovery and purchase in its rich valley. The charter granted by Charles II. upon the conquest of New Amsterdam to the Duke of York embraced an imperial domain, stretching from the west bank of the Connecticut to Delaware Bay, with indefinite extension westward. Pennsylvania, not included in its limits, was afterwards granted to Penn in payment of a royal debt of sixteen thousand pounds, due to the family of the courtly and calculating Quaker. The Duke of York rapidly dismembered his vast territory. Even before taking possession, he granted New Jersey to two of his favorites. In the same year Connecticut, yielding her modest claim of extension to the Pacific Ocean, gained concessions which carried her western boundary to its present line. And not many years after, the skilful Penn edged his American province with a strip of sea-coast, by obtaining the grant of Delaware, to which the proprietor of Maryland made an ineffectual claim. Thus the province of New Amsterdam, as held and settled by the Dutch, was soon reduced by their successor to less than half its original extent, and narrowed southwardly and eastwardly to the precise limits which now bound it as the State of New York.

Nor were the inhabitants of the diminished territory at all the gainers in point of freedom by the exchange of sovereigns. Even the faint degree of representative government they had enjoyed under Holland was not allowed them until after nearly twenty years, and then only for a brief period. They were less fortunate than New Jersey, whose liberal constitution, granted in the following year, provided that her inhabitants should, every year, elect representatives to a general assembly, by whose consent only they could be taxed. This right was withheld from New York until 1683, when the Duke established in his province a more democratic government than any of the chartered colonies in New England enjoyed, while retaining in his own hands the appointment of its governors and counsellors. But James the King was a very different ruler from James the Duke. Upon his accession to the throne, in 1685, he declined to confirm the charter, objecting that it gave greater privileges than had been granted to any other colonies, and was too democratic both in spirit and words. A more direct step towards the fusion of all the colonies under one government was the complete repeal of the charter, which took place the year following, in virtue of the royal instructions to Governor Dongan, reducing New York in effect once more to the condition of a conquered province. And from this time, unwelcome and "even abhorred" by her inhabitants as the enforced connection with Massachusetts was, the civil history of New York, and her development into independence, followed in the main for several years that of New England. Massachusetts, less loyal than New York, as our author avers, less submissive, as her own historians maintain, having begun by protesting against any other religious tyranny than her own, was destined to take the lead also in throwing off all civil authority that did not proceed from herself.

Religious liberty, planted by the Dutch, flourished with no interruption from the new government. Himself a Romanist, and taught by experience the injustice of persecution, James was tolerant of all forms of religious faith in his province. At the capitulation, the Dutch were allowed to preserve their own worship, and their church long remained ecclesiastically dependent upon the Classis at Amsterdam, and led all the others of the colony in wealth and influence. The Episcopal service was first celebrated at the capture. Worship according to that form was conducted for a long time by courtesy in one of the Dutch churches; and, though formally established in dependence on the See of Canterbury in 1783, Episcopalianism made but slow progress for many years, and never became the state religion in New York. It is a curious fact that a part of the present property of Trinity Church, lying between Warren and Christopher Streets, was originally the Bouwery, or farm of the Dutch Domine Bogardus, and passing by purchase from his family to Governor Lovelace, afterwards vested in the Duke of York, and formed part of the church grants made by his successors.

French Protestants, driven from their country by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were encouraged to settle in the province, and much favor was shown them. Quakers, of course, constantly appear in our history, and, whether coming of their own accord from the southern provinces or against their will from the eastern ones, were treated with all toleration. Yet they were complained of as "making continual pretences to Staten Island," and, in spite of their claim to military exemption, were allowed no such privilege on the ground of their faith. At one time, the mayor and aldermen did resolve that the worship of the Jews was not to be per-

mitted, but the liberal instructions to Dongan soon recalled them to a juster view. The only instance of intolerance in the colonial times was the momentary anti-Catholic feeling, after the abdication of James, and that sprang rather from political than religious instigation, and was skilfully inflamed by Jacob Leisler to further his singular usurpation. Of course, the contrast of this large Christianity with the fierce, narrow Hebraism of Plymouth and Massachusetts, does not escape our author. His fervent, faithful Dutch spirit exults in lavishing just praise on his tolerant ancestors, just reproaches on the cruel bigotry of their Eastern neighbors. This honest zeal for fatherland glows throughout the book, flaming out now and then into vigorous invective against the harsh, sullen, tricky Puritan nature, as opposed to the fair, and genial, and generous Dutch character.

Theories of political and religious independence, however, ripened but slowly, and it was no part of the policy of the home government to foster them, to the interruption of that practical object of commerce which first brought settlers to Manhattan Island. A longer and less unquiet reign might have emboldened James to precipitate despotism, and impose the Catholic faith, as a part of it, upon his colonial subjects. Trade itself did not escape the cramping English ideas of the time. Its comparative freedom at New Amsterdam had promoted a smuggling traffic among the colonies, so injurious to the English revenue as to give a pretext and temptation for the conquest. At the capitulation, certain Dutch vessels were licensed to trade freely to the port for a term of years, but the complaints of English merchants, who threatened to withdraw from the settlement, soon led to the revocation of this promise, and to the application in the province of the English Customs and Navigation Acts, with the full rigor of their false principles. Whether this was important may be judged from the excuse made, "Because the trade of England was now in great measure upheld by the American plantations." Probably there was not less force in the unavowed reason that the ducal and royal revenues were largely fed from this source. Heavy duties fettered the export of furs and tobacco, while import-dues increased the cost of the necessaries of life, without the fallacious modern plea of protection to their production. But these checks could only impede without discouraging a commerce carried on at a point marked by nature as one of the world's great entrepôts, and at a time when barter with the savages of precious raw materials for the cheap fabrics and gewgaws of civilization still yielded enormous profits. Within a few years after the conquest, ship-building was begun near Beekman street, in the East River; a productive cod-fishery was discovered at the present Cholera Banks; and whale-fishing became a regular pursuit off the eastern end of Long Island. Many immigrants with money removed from the West Indies, and even "several people in and about Boston" began the practice, now so common as to excite no remark, of transferring their residence and investments to New York. Thus, the prediction of Governor Nichols, that "soon the staple of America will be drawn hither, of which the Boston brethren are very sensible," found an early and continuing fulfilment. Commerce prospered, and wealth steadily increased, yet the duties led to constant evasions and litigation, and kept up an irritation in the minds of the colonists which combined with taxation against their consent to strengthen the desire for a freer form of government.

The change of rulers upon the abdication of James was attended by an extraordinary episode of civil troubles and usurpation in the province. Jacob Leisler, a German by birth and a prosperous merchant, availed himself of the strong Dutch attachment to the House of Orange and of a foolish popular panic as to the Roman Catholics, to wrest the control of the city, in the absence of Governor Andros, from the hands of his feeble and irresolute deputy, Nicholson. Leisler is described as a person of coarse and vulgar nature, but of vigorous mind, wanting education, violent and vain, but remarked for his personal integrity and his blazing zeal against Popery. He seized the fort, assumed the title of Lieutenant-General, and caused William and Mary to be proclaimed. He then proceeded to imprison those who resisted, to fill the offices with his own creatures, to erect a court of justice, make a new colonial seal, call a convention of the province, and impose taxes. He attempted to get possession of Albany, and for nearly two years sustained his usurped power with vigor and violence. His single act that can bear a patriotic interpretation is the call of the first American Colonial Congress, which met at New York, in 1690, to organize a joint expedition for an attack upon Canada. On the arrival of William's governor, Henry Sloughter, Leisler refused to surrender the fort, until, deserted by his followers, he was taken, and afterwards tried for treason and executed. The new government went into peaceful operation over the province, once more detached from New England, under a charter as liberal as the earlier one granted and annulled by James, with the exception of a clause excluding Papists from liberty of conscience.

Among the multitude of details illustrating more serious topics, our author yields small space to descriptions of the manners and habits of our Manhattan forefathers, or of the appearance at various times of their abode. The interest of such occasional sketches as he gives makes us regret that he has not enlivened his pages by larger contributions from the material at his command. The least labored part of his work is found in the annals of the Indian wars—which are resumed and broken off at set periods, as if in despair of weaving any coherent web from the tangle of bewildering details. The specimens of aboriginal speeches preserved are far superior in sense and taste to the usual fustian of the forest that passes current for the red man's eloquence. But neither the original owners nor the latest occupants of Manhattan win from the author anything of the enthusiasm he reserves for the first Dutch colonists. In their praise, his style, which is usually clear and precise, as a mere record requires, rises into warmth and eloquence. The work reflects credit upon the author's patience, research, and accuracy, not more than upon his manly and earnest reverence for the virtues of an ancestry quite as worthy of the world's respect as if their descendants had not hitherto been content to let their deeds speak their own praise.

IAPI OAYE. May, 1871. Vol. I., No. 1. (Published for the Dakota Mission. John P. Williamson, Waka⁊niga.)—The first number of a Sioux newspaper must not pass without notice. The *Iapi Oaye, i.e.*, "Talk to carry about," or "Portable Talk," is handsomely printed on a half-sheet quarto. In an editorial salutatory on the second page, Mr. Williamson tells how *Wotaninwowapi unkitawapi* ("our newspaper") was started, gives the reason for its name, sets forth its aims and objects, and announces the terms of subscription. Following are brief notices of the eight Dakota mission churches, their officers, number of communicants, etc.; deaths since January 1 among the Santee Sioux, at Reipa, and on the Wakpaipaksan (Big Sioux) River; a calendar for 1871; a list of Yankton converts during the winter of 1870-71; a hymn by Rev. J. B. Renville; and various articles, original and selected, all appropriate to the columns of a paper pledged by its motto (*Taku waste okiya, taku sica ⁊kipajin*) "to help whatever is good, to oppose whatever is bad." Two items only appear in the English language, but these are not the least important ones: "Fifty cents a year," and "Persons wishing this paper will address Rev. J. P. Williamson, Greenwood, D. T."

Now that Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, the Ogallallas and the Brulés, have given the telegraph operators a respite, we may find time to remember that a considerable part of the Sioux nation has become "a semi-civilized Christian people, who very generally read God's Word in their own language," and among whom (to judge from a letter addressed to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, by the venerable Dr. T. S. Williamson, in 1870) "a man may travel or reside with as little risk of losing anything by theft as among any people." These seem to take to reading and writing as naturally as some of the scattered northern bands of the same nation take to fighting. The Dakota children in the mission schools "are very fond of learning to read their own language," we are told, "and, on account of the simplicity of the orthography, they learn to read it sooner than American children do the English language. They peruse and reperuse all the books written in Dakota, and are fond of composing in their own tongue, and many of their compositions show considerable brilliancy of thought."

A "Dakota Bibliography," printed in the last volume of the "Minnesota Historical Society's Collections" (1870), comprises thirty-six titles of works "written in Minnesota for missions located in that State;" and several of these have appeared in two or more editions. In 1848, the Minnesota Sioux subscribed nearly $40 for an edition of the new Constitution of the State in their own language, and, in 1857, they paid $140 towards the publishing, in a handsome volume, the Rev. Mr. Riggs's translation of "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress." A small monthly newspaper, "The Dakota Friend" (*Dakota Tawaxitku kin*), was started so long ago as November, 1850, under the editorship of the Rev. G. H. Pond, a missionary of the American Board, and was sustained nearly two years.

In 1852, the Smithsonian Institution and the Minnesota Historical Society, jointly, did a good work by publishing an excellent Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota language, compiled by the missionaries, and edited by Mr. Riggs, who had been connected with the mission since 1837. No more important contribution to the knowledge of American languages has been made in a single volume since Eliot's Indian Bible was printed in 1663.

A Dakota-English Vocabulary of more than 12,000 words, "compiled as a text-book for Indian students desiring a knowledge of the English language," was printed last spring at the Mission Press of the Santee Agency, Nebraska, edited by Mr. Williamson, who has now undertaken the publication of the *Iapi Oaye*.

Among recent works on the language by European scholars, the "Grammatik der Dakota Sprache," by H. C. von der Gabelentz (Leipzig, 1852), and "A Dakota Nyelv," by Hunfalvy Pál tól, printed in the Bulletin of the Hungarian Academy, and separately (Pesth, 1856), deserve mention.

The Sioux—in their own language *Dakotas, i.e.*, "confederate" or "allied"—are still the most powerful nation of Indians in the United States, numbering (by the last report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs) not less than 25,000 souls. About two-thirds of these had, two years ago, been induced to locate on reservations near the Missouri River, and were "comparatively contented and friendly." Secure them in the peaceable possession of "that which justly belongs to them, and which it is the duty and interest of our Government to give," and—writes Dr. Williamson, who has lived and labored for thirty-six years among the Santee Sioux—"I believe they can and will show themselves not less worthy citizens than many of those immigrants from Europe whom several of our States are anxiously seeking to induce to settle within their borders."

A Compendious Grammar of the Latin Language, with Copious Exercises. By Charles D. Morris, M.A. (New York: F. J. Huntington & Co.)—Few teachers can doubt that we want a better Elementary Latin Grammar than has as yet appeared. Mr. Morris's is an attempt to supply the want. Unfortunately, as it seems to us, the book is based upon the crude form system, against which we have already given our opinion in these columns, and thus the whole book is made unavailable for any who disapprove of that system. Yet there is so much that is excellent in the book, that we may call attention to it from those who approve; and even those who disapprove may profit by some of its suggestions, though they cannot use it. In the Etymology, the forms are well set forth, perhaps as well as they can be, though there are some inaccuracies of statement which seem unavoidable under this method. In the Syntax, the cases are treated practically, just as they should be in an elementary work, yet the treatment is founded upon scientific principles, so that the pupil has nothing to unlearn when he begins to take a more scientific view of the subject—a statement which is far from true of most books. For example, the student is first informed that the accusative denoted originally the end of motion, from which use the other uses are more or less immediately deduced. Such a notion to start with sets a boy some distance on in the logical and scientific discussion of language. So, again, the use of neuter pronouns after intransitive verbs, and the adverbial uses of the accusative, are referred to the cognate accusative. The Genitive is also treated concisely and in an orderly manner. The Dative does not seem to us so well done. Particularly the rule in reference to the "Dative of Place" seems not happily expressed, though the Locative is recognized.

The note on *mutare* and *permutare* is a specimen of what a good grammatical rule ought to be. In general, the rules are clear and concise, and adapted to be easily learned. There are more of them than it is the fashion nowadays to require, but for ourselves we prefer to have a few not intended to be learned, but distinguished by a difference in print. The syntax of verbs is, on the whole, logically and concisely treated. Especially is it noticeable that dependent sentences are discussed in two connections, both as to their nature and as to the particle which introduces them. Final, consecutive, and object clauses are treated on sound principles, but the arrangement throughout this branch of the subject is somewhat bewildering. It may be that this matter is too obscure for an elementary book, but we cannot help thinking that Mr. Morris ought with his logical mind to have hinted at it in such a manner that the subsequent studies of the pupil would be a continuance of the same course, rather than a change of direction, a rule that applies to all elementary books on whatever subject. The chapter on conditional sentences is not so good as we had a right to expect, after what has been done by Professor Goodwin in Greek. The "general condition," as well as the various forms of conditional relative sentences, ought by this time to be recognized in Latin, even though the regular construction of them is not the same in the two languages. The subject of Indirect Discourse, so troublesome to beginners, has a separate chapter, and is admirably done.

With the grammar are bound up some seventy-five pages of exercises in English to be translated into Latin, which amount to a well-prepared manual for beginning Latin composition; there is also a separate Latin text of these examples which answers as a key.

Motherless; or, A Parisian Family. From the French of Madame Guizot De Witt. Translated by Mrs. Dinah Mulock-Craik. A tale for girls in their teens. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1871.)—Madame Guizot De Witt is not, we fear, to be called an entertaining writer, and even with the aid of Mrs. Craik's facile pen to give her an English dress, the tales of French domestic life are anything but exhilarating reading. The present one is even more deficient in interest than her "French Country Family," which was also translated by Mrs. Craik some three years since. A family of four singularly characterless children is left motherless, and their father, who is what Madame De Witt supposes to be a philosophical free-thinker, allows his daughters to grow up pretty much as they please under the eye of an old nurse. They grow frivolous, spend too much money, run in debt for new bonnets, and neglect their lessons. At last their good aunt in the country, a model mother, and the wife of an austere Evangelical Christian, who has converted her from the folly of her youthful ways, comes up to Paris to their assistance. She astounds them by the elegance of her toilet, to the perfection of which they had supposed that a Puritan and a countrywoman could not attain—takes them to their great surprise into better company than they had yet known, and finally carries off the whole family, including the father, for a summer tour in Switzerland. Louise, the eldest girl, very fortunately gets upset into one of the lakes while on a boating excursion, and her cousin Raoul, the youthful inheritor of all his father's virtues, rescues and prays for her. A severe fit of sickness follows as a matter of course, in which she loses her culpable frivolity as well as her beautiful hair. Her father also, whose stern, unbending philosophy had withstood all other arguments, yields to the potent influences which emanate from her sick-bed. He takes to his Bible, he begins to pray, and the whole family return to Paris regenerated. The style in which all this is told is simple to puerility, the characters are utterly colorless, the incidents are childish, and the author seems either to have had nothing in view but the production of a "goody" book, or to have been incapable of anything better.

In Exile. Translated from the German of W. von St. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.)—This is an agreeable and pleasantly-written story, which belongs to the better class of German novels. In its sentiment, and in the style of characters which it depicts, the book is somewhat suggestive of the Freytag novels, although it falls far below them in depth of thought and in artistic merit. It is almost praise enough for a book, however, to say that it recalls, in however faint a manner, a novel so thoroughly delightful as Freytag's "Lost Manuscript." It is not the likeness of imitation, but of likeness in general tone, which "In Exile" bears to that most charming of recent fictions. The author has none of Freytag's humor, and very little of his subtle strength of delineation. Nevertheless, the characters of Elizabeth and her husband, and that of the Prince Alexis, are very delicately done, and, as we said before, in a manner not unsuggestive of work so much better that even to have recalled it is no small achievement. The book is very well translated, also, and may fairly be recommended to the class of novel-readers who like to be careful in their selections.

Romance of the Charter Oak. A Picture of Colonial Times. By William Seton. In 2 volumes. (New York: P. O'Shea.)—We are of the opinion, which Mr. Seton's book has done nothing to alter, that the early days of the American colony afford an unpromising field for the work of the novelist and the poetaster. A hardness and baldness invest them which are essentially unpicturesque. Hawthorne's wonderful touch, indeed, could veil these rigorous outlines with a beauty rich and indefinable as October haze, but no imagination less potent than his should essay the task. Mr. Seton makes no such attempt. His "Romance of the Charter Oak" gives us bare and ugly reality, sketched from records more or less authentic. We confess to having risen from its perusal with an increased respect for the nineteenth century. It has its faults, and very bad ones, but on the whole they seem to us to war less against the comfort and progress of individuals than the faults of two centuries ago. Better by far that there should be a little too much incense and genuflexion in one church, a vague and rambling theology in another, neither of which we are bound to attend, than a weekly sermon on damnation listened to under

penalty of law, and divided into forty-two heads, from any one of which should an auditor take refuge in sleep he is liable to be awakened by having his nose tickled with a peacock's feather in the hands of the "tithing man." Better that rogues should combine to "water the stock" of a railroad than honest men to souse old ladies in the Connecticut for the crime of reading Shakespeare and wearing cap-ribbons. Better even a James Fisk, who, fortunately, is to most of us no more than an unsavory newspaper eidolon, than an "Elder Barebones," brought forcibly into collision with our everyday lives, to denounce ringlets and ruffles, invent improved ducking-stools and patent "cages" for Sabbath-breakers, and invoke eternal punishment upon his average fellow-man. For the rest, Mr. Seton's book contains a good deal of quaint information, which will give it a certain interest for many, despite the essentially unquaint manner in which it is conveyed.

Curiosities of the Law Reporter. By Franklin Fiske Heard. (Boston: Lee & Shepard).—This is a curious little book, with odd stories and bits of legal gossip and scandal, mainly from among the old reporters, and about the earlier judges and treatise-writers; but if we do not mistake, what is new in it is not good, and what is good is not new. Still, the book may have its use in showing laymen that lawyers are content with very simple fare for their intellectual recreation, and that the tradition that it is the right thing to laugh at a certain passage is often the best, if not the only, justification for the grin from the bar that responds to the joke from the bench. Mr. Heard has culled a few of the extravagances of our own and even of some English judges in their reported opinions; but we think this a mine that would have yielded a richer harvest if he had worked it more industriously. The publishers announce a new book by the same author on the legal acquirements of Shakespeare. We trust it has had at least the preparation to which, it appears, we owe the "Curiosities"—namely, "twenty years' profound reading."

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The Nation.

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The Week.

THERE has been a Civil Service scandal during the week, which is worth notice, in the shape of a complaint addressed to the public, through the *Independent*, by the Rev. Dr. Strang, an American missionary in Egypt, touching the conduct of our Consul-General there, Mr. George H. Butler, a nephew of Mr. B. F. Butler, and the successor, be it remembered, of such men as Mr. Thayer and Mr. Hale. It appears from Dr. Strang's statement that the Consul-General, among other peccadilloes, forced the consuls and vice-consuls to purchase their appointments from him, through the instrumentality of a Jew named Strologo, with whom he presumptively shared the spoils. The belief of the American community is that the only man who obtained his appointment without paying for it is a gentleman who entertained the Consul-General "in a three days' drunken revel." He, Butler, and Strologo afterwards made a tour together in the upper country, and the simple Egyptians were a good deal astonished to find that the entertainment most relished by the American dignitary was exhibitions of dancing-girls *in puris naturalibus*. In some places their demands even shocked the Egyptian police, who are not purists. Dr. Strang also accuses Mr. Butler of lending his official aid to the prosecution of a notoriously fraudulent claim against the Egyptian government. We ought to add that Mr. G. H. Butler was a very notorious person in this city before his appointment, and that it would take a great deal more proof than is forthcoming to satisfy people that the President knew nothing of his character when he appointed him.

The gloomy forebodings with which we spoke last week of the condition of affairs in the Woman's Rights camp were only too fully justified a day or two later by the commencement of a libel suit against the *Christian Union*, on the part of Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull, who complains and alleges that she has suffered damage to the extent of $250,000 by reason of allusions to her in a tale of Mrs. H. B. Stowe's, published in that paper, under the pseudonym of "Dacia Dangereyes," in which Mrs. Stowe expresses plainly the opinion that Dacia's adhesion to the woman suffrage movement, and the love and admiration she excites among the other sisters engaged in it, do not encourage the belief that the enfranchisement of women will "purify and elevate politics." We are greatly afraid the suit will never be tried, but the bringing of it will serve as a useful advertisement for Mrs. Woodhull's *Weekly*. Mrs. Stowe, we believe, is pretty sick of the "movement," and, if we are not misinformed, Mr. Beecher does not consider it savory, though their names are still trumpeted on the platform among those of the faithful.

The circumstances of Mr. Vallandigham's death—he accidentally shot himself with a pistol—would have been sufficient to moderate the post-mortem judgments passed upon him by his opponents; but his last political act had done so much to heighten their respect for him that it has been left for another generation to speak of him with a frankness which is now unnecessary, and which might seem harsh. We have attempted elsewhere to trace in his career the better side of American politics and politicians. In his early training there was nothing remarkable. He received such an education as a Western college affords, or did afford thirty years ago; taught for some time at an academy in Maryland; edited a political paper at Dayton, Ohio, and practised law at the same time; and followed the latter profession in the intervals of office-holding, both in his own State and in Congress, down to the day of his death. They must be few who are not glad that death came to him in the shape it did, rather than as a consequence of his reckless, violent, and—posterity may have to say—wicked conduct during the rebellion.

A Philadelphia subscriber has favored us with an angry letter respecting a paragraph in the *Nation* of June 8, on a political movement in that city which arises out of a quarrel over the "Public Building Commission." He defends with unnecessary eagerness the personal character of the members of the Commission, which we did not attack, and which has nothing to do at present with the matter as viewed from our standpoint. He assures us, moreover, that "there are two sides of the Public Building question, entirely distinct from the question of local politics with which you have entangled it." We have never doubted the existence of two sides to every question; and the "entanglement" of this one with local politics is none of our doing, but is the work of some of the best citizens of Philadelphia. When we see men representing the best elements of both political parties, such for instance as Alexander Henry and Richard Vaux, prominently co-operating in any movement of which the avowed object is to rescue the people of a large city from the domination of the "men inside politics," by electing the best candidates to office, our sympathies are inevitably enlisted in favor of the attempt, and we shall not fail to watch it, in the hope that it may be wisely conducted and may achieve whatever success it deserves.

The bonding of towns in the interest of railroad enterprises has been carried in Vermont to a finer point than, so far as our knowledge goes, in any other State. The clumsy process of a public vote, after open discussion in town meeting, has, in a certain place, been superseded by taking round a paper for the signatures of registered voters. The parties who give themselves this trouble, to save people the greater inconvenience of going to the polls, are, of course, the railroad managers or their agents. They thus have a clear field for an *ex-parte* statement of their case, and, as they labor with each voter separately, find it not difficult to persuade a majority of them to sign the document which is to bind the town. Whether or not they are at the pains to make a thorough canvass, not omitting to solicit any voter, whether known to be for or against the proposed action, we are not informed. They might, however, just as well stop when they have secured the requisite number of signatures, inasmuch as they have usurped all the other prerogatives of a self-governing community. Be this as it may, the credit of the town is declared pledged, and apparently the effort will be made to have it assume the bonds which it has in this way incurred. We are assured, however, that the case will be brought into court sooner, and there we cannot doubt what the judgment will be.

The excitement in the cotton market is the chief feature of interest in commercial circles. The importance of this staple is so great that the prospects of the crop directly or indirectly affect all our chief commercial and financial interests, and hence the market is watched with as much attention as the gold market used to receive in days gone by. The very conflicting accounts concerning the weather at the South—we must do the *Financial Chronicle* the justice to acknowledge—are explained by the fact that the correspondents of that journal report every shower or fall of rain during the day, while the officers of the Signal Bureau telegraph only the condition of the weather at specified hours. There can be no doubt, however, that the unfavorable aspect of the weather has been generally exaggerated by the speculative fraternity, and that the rain of which such dread accounts have been given has been less severe than during the same period of last year. The Agricultural Bureau, which had an excellent opportunity to distinguish itself, succeeded in combining almost every possible variety of blunder. Its report leaked out a week or more before its official publication, and, although repeatedly denied, materially affected the market. When published, its results were found to agree very nearly with the early statements of its contents, while some of its facts are impugned, and the conclusions drawn from them seem scarcely tenable.

The true state of the case seems to be this: Under the low prices prevailing this spring, and somewhat influenced by the incessant preachings of economists of the Greeley school, many cotton planters confined their cotton to the most favorable fields, putting corn on the poorer soils. The extent to which this has been done is variously estimated at from five to fifteen per cent. of the total acreage of cotton planted last year. But it would be a grave error to anticipate a corresponding reduction in the yield. The smaller acreage includes all the choice lands; the lesser area will be better cultivated, and, more important than all, the labor will suffice to pick all the cotton raised, which has scarcely ever before been the case. Beyond this fact of reduced acreage, nothing is positive. The weather is not unfavorable, and it is too early to form any estimates concerning the crop probabilities. There is reason enough, outside of the weather, for the advance that has taken place in cotton. With a supply of one million bales in excess of last year, the stocks on hand, in spite of wars and revolutions, have increased only about 300,000 bales, showing that with peace a supply even equal to that of last year would not satisfy the consumption at recent low prices. This is unquestionably the true reason of the advance.

Besides the cotton movement, the foreign commerce of the country shows a liberal export of tobacco at advancing prices, and of breadstuffs and provisions at lower figures. The crop advices from the continent of Europe are more favorable; and at home the prospects are for a more than average crop. General trade is dull; real estate dull and feverish, with occasional spasmodic movements; coal and iron dull and declining. Even the continued activity of the new railroads is unequal to the supply of iron from our domestic furnaces, and the protected smelters are clamorous for more "protection" to save them from loss. The imports continue very heavy, and the foreign exchanges consequently firm.

The examination of prisoners and seizure of documents prove pretty clearly the correctness of the belief that the International Association was at the bottom of the Paris insurrection, and the best observers concur in the opinion, which has been more than once expressed in these columns, that its failure, so far from bringing the Association into discredit with the classes from which it derives its support, will help to swell its numbers and resources. To have played such a conspicuous part and for three months held the French army at bay, although it was by a mere stroke of luck they got the means of doing so, will give the leaders a great prestige with the mass of their followers, and raise their expectations to a pitch they have never reached. A writer to the London *Times*, who professes to have the evidence in his hands, sets down the numbers of the members of the Association at 2,500,000, scattered through the various European countries. The Berlin correspondent of the same paper, an unusually well-informed and accurate observer, and himself a German, says that although the German press shrinks from acknowledging it, there is no doubt in men's minds in Germany that the Parisian horrors were the work of socialism, and not, as people there try to believe, simply the result of French folly and bloodthirstiness; and there is just as little that socialist ideas have got a strong hold on the German working-classes, and are operating now in producing strikes in increased numbers and bitterness, and in creating growing hostility between class and class, which will end God knows how. Bismarck affected to treat the declarations on this point of a socialist deputy from Saxony with scorn the other day in the Reichsrath, but he probably did so because he could not think of any better way of dealing with them, and not because he thought there was nothing behind them. One good result of the alarm is visible already in the exertions of some of the Berlin manufacturers, headed by Dr. Engel, head of the Prussian Statistical Department, to promote the system of industrial partnerships—that is, the admission of workmen to a share in the profits. It cannot be said too often or too earnestly to all politicians, capitalists, financiers, and philanthropists, that unless, while it is yet time, they give their earnest attention to the substitution of cooperation, in some form or other, for the present mode of dividing profits with the laborer, we shall witness in every country the alienation of the working-classes not only from the employing class, but from the very principles on which our civilization rests, and such a disorganization of industry as a barbarian invasion would hardly bring about.

The question of the extradition of the Communists has been agitating the public mind in European countries, and especially in Belgium and England, ever since the fighting ceased. Belgium and Spain promised, on the demand of the French Government, to deliver up the refugees as criminals. Switzerland said that each case should be decided on its merits, and in England the matter is under advisement. There can hardly be a doubt, however, that the offences of the Communists are sufficiently political in their character to entitle them to the right of asylum. Their means, no doubt, were horrible, but then, if any foreign government undertook to decide what operations in civil war are justifiable or military merely, and what criminal, it would make the offer of refuge to political offenders which every constitutional government holds out farcical. There is hardly any ground on which the present French Government might demand the surrender of Pyat and Grousset on which they might not also demand that of the elderly criminal who is enjoying himself at Chislehurst, is the recipient of attentions at the hands of the royal family, and was presented the other day with a blasphemous address from a batch of clergymen, hoping he would go back and save France from an "infidel republic." There is not a member of the Central Committee who is not far more respectable than he; and that so much blood of the poor, and ignorant, and miserable should be flowing in the gutters of Paris while he was being patted on the back by courtiers and ministers of the Gospel in England, is one of the spectacles which do much to shake the faith of the masses in our system of morals, and make them ready tools in the hands of every incendiary and adventurer who gets a hearing from them.

The testimony of observers of the late events in Paris is unanimous, absolutely unanimous, as to the large part which women played, not in the fighting only, but in the awful atrocities by which the fighting was accompanied and followed. The women of the Commune not only defended the barricades, but they played the leading part in setting fire to the houses and in plundering when the fighting was over. Moreover, they assassinated officers and men by felon shots after the surrender, and it seems to be well authenticated that a body of them treated soldiers to poisoned wine. In fact, the troops met with no such red-hot hate from the men as that which the women showed them, and the correspondents testify to the extremely "ladylike" and respectable appearance of many of the furies who were taken in the act of throwing petroleum. But this is not all. When these ladies were taken, as they were taken, in bands down to Versailles by the troops, they were received by large and infuriated crowds thirsting for their blood, and eager to mob them, and in these crowds the women were again foremost in the display of diabolical rage. On this point, too, the testimony is overwhelming. The Versailles women have equalled the Communist women in stimulating the savagery of the men. Even the wounded Communist prisoners were assailed by them with the bloodthirstiness of Indian squaws on roasting-day. One correspondent saw "a young and pretty woman" strike at a disabled prisoner with her parasol as he lay on the stretcher. Now, according to the theories to which our friends of the Woman's Rights agitation treat us, the strong interest felt by the women in this conflict, and the large and unprecedented part they have taken in carrying it on, ought to have lent it a character of peculiar gentleness. The Communist women ought to have been found in the hospitals during the fight, manning the fire-engines when it was over, and throwing themselves between the Versaillist bayonets and their lovers and husbands and brothers. Down at Versailles, too, the hapless Communist prisoners ought to have met looks of pity in every female face, and the "women of order" ought to have worked might and main to stay the conqueror's murderous hand in the last awful hours of the conflict. Women have purified literature and the drawing-room, as our friend *Harper's Weekly* tells us; so they will also purify politics, take the bitterness, hatred, and malice out of its strife. Now, we respectfully invite the champions of the suffrage movement to say whether they think, on the whole, such facts as are turning up bear out their theories. In those cases in which the com-

mon run of women (not the Howes, Motts, Livermores, be it remembered) have taken an active and interested part in political movements, have they helped to humanize and refine the struggle; or have they helped to give it fresh fierceness, and kindle about it the very flames of hell? Do the facts of experience favor the belief that it is well for women to take part in that portion of the work of life which consists in debate and contention, or, in other words, in struggling for power? What about the Southern women?

Elections are once more the absorbing theme of public discussion in France, with Paris as usual for the principal battle-field. The Left of the National Assembly was among the first to publish a manifesto, in which monarchy, the monarchical majority in the Assembly, the late misrule of the Bonapartists, and the intrigues of the Clericals and Legitimists in favor both of the Bourbons and the Pope, were severely denounced. This document was received with applause by a number of journals, but its effect was weakened by an address issued by the Radicals, which endeavored "to excuse the Commune." Eighteen journals thereupon united in constituting an electoral committee for the support of non-partisan candidates "whose careers are guarantees that they will support law and order." This programme was rejected by the distinctively Republican portion of the press as covertly aiming at the restoration of the throne, and a counter-manifesto was issued, declaring the Republic to be the only rational and legitimate expression of the national sovereignty, and monarchy to imply its abdication. The signers of this appeal promised their support to candidates pledged to uphold the *status quo*. The Internationals, too, in spite of the crushing defeat they lately suffered, were bold enough to appear with electoral programmes, one of which, whose genuineness it is permitted to suspect, even went so far as to "accept the responsibility for the conflagrations."

Among the chosen or self-constituted candidates belonging to the various parties are mentioned Generals Cissey, Faidherbe, and Uhrich —the last "as a permanent protest against the annexation of Strasbourg to Germany"—About, now a most violent defender of order; the once prominent imperialists, Magne and Abbatucci; old Odilon Barrot, who, in 1848, powerfully though unwittingly contributed to the overthrow of the throne of Louis Philippe, and in vain endeavored to save it for the Comte de Paris, the king's grandson; and the Duc de Chartres, the younger brother of the latter. Some of these electoral details, however, may belong to the unsifted class of "personals" of which the Cable has of late been so prodigal, and which embraces, among others, the multifarious versions of the arrest, execution, surrender, suicide, disappearance, reappearance, etc., of such noted Commune chiefs as Billioray, Grousset, La Cecilia, Pyat, and Cluseret, about whose fate something more definite ought to be ascertainable by this time.

"The men of the Fourth of September," as the members of the "Government of the National Defence" are called, are becoming every day objects of greater and greater execration in France, as might naturally have been expected, and the Assembly at Versailles is growing more and more impatient over having any of them in the Ministry, particularly Jules Favre, who, after vowing magniloquently that the Germans should never have a "stone of a fortress, or an inch of territory," has himself signed the treaty of peace. There is, of course, just now a general outcry that they ought to have made peace after Sedan, when they might have got far better terms than they got at last, besides avoiding the tremendous disasters of the winter campaign; and Prince Napoleon, who has kept very quiet ever since the war broke out, has very dexterously stepped in just at this juncture, when he is sure to have a strong force of public opinion with him, and has written Favre a letter, heaping reproaches on him and his colleagues, first, for having overturned the regular government in the presence of the enemy; next, for having themselves tried to govern at a most momentous crisis, without an appeal to the country; and lastly, for having governed without capacity or success, and brought ruin on the nation. The letter is an admirable piece of vituperative rhetoric, and almost every one of its reproaches is well-grounded; all that can be said against it is, that it is a singular document to come from a Bonapartist. But it is true that the country ought not to tolerate the presence of Favre and his colleagues in power one minute longer than can be helped. No punishment is too severe for men who, finding themselves converted into a provisional government by a street mob, deliberately took on themselves the responsibility, in virtue of authority thus bestowed, of carrying on a bloody war without consulting the nation, or giving it a chance of expressing an opinion. We greatly fear, however, it is Favre's and Gambetta's want of success, and not their usurpations, which has damned them in French eyes.

The Germans celebrated their victories over France by the triumphal entry of selected portions of their armies into Berlin, and by a number of more or less antiquated monarchical pageants and festivities, on the 16th and 18th of this month. The capital of the German Empire was crowded with deputations from all its provinces, and with various visitors from all countries, and the whole affair proved, in the language of the day, a brilliant success. The main feature of the display was the unveiling of an equestrian statue of Frederic William III., the father of the Emperor, who was, of course, the real lion of the occasion. Of his military advisers, the Minister of War, Von Roon, was elevated to the rank of Count of the Empire, and Count Moltke was made Field-Marshal of the Imperial Army. No new honors were bestowed upon Prince Bismarck. That the great majority not only of the witnesses of the celebration, but of the German people, felt both happy and proud on those days can hardly be doubted; but it is almost equally certain that the liberal minority must have been not a little mortified by the strongly feudal aspect of the ceremonies. That minority was, besides, still smarting under the blow dealt its not over-sanguine political expectations by the late imperious intervention of Bismarck in the debates on the Alsace and Lorraine Bill. The Emperor, in his speech from the throne closing the session, on the 15th, endeavored, it is true, to soothe the excited feelings of the opposition, and his utterances, during the celebration, were all dignified and expressive of moderation and love of peace; but the growing conviction of the men of progress in Germany that the victories and union of Germany are to be paid for by considerable sacrifices of freedom, and that the temporary dictators of Alsace and Lorraine are to be, for a time, also the dictators of the new empire, can, we presume, not easily be repressed.

Spanish finances, which have been for forty years a byword and a reproach, show at last some symptoms of revival. The floating debt, which was $125,000,000 when Isabella was driven out, has been reduced to $85,000,000. The revenue has fallen off since the revolution, as is not wonderful considering what the state of the country has been, by over $10,000,000, but then the expenditure has been reduced by nearly $24,000,000; the interest on the public debt, however, has increased by $1,700,000 (we give the round numbers). The most favorable symptoms in the situation as it stands at present are an increase in certain branches of the revenue, a rise in the public funds, and the reintroduction of Spanish securities upon the markets of London, Amsterdam, Frankfort, and Paris, from which they have been excluded with disgrace for many years, and their appearance in places like Lisbon, where they had previously been totally unknown; the returns from the customs, too, have notably increased, in spite of a considerable diminution in the duties, to which we drew attention in the *Nation* at the time (March 25, 1869). The new government found duties levied on 736 articles, and struck 400 of them from the list, and lowered the rate about 25 per cent. on the remainder, besides abolishing the navigation laws. The new tariff came into force only August 1, 1869, and the result has been very remarkable. Not only have the total returns risen in amount, but the importations of the raw material, in certain branches of industry, which were notably opposed to the change—the cotton manufacture, for instance—have greatly increased. The importations of wool, cotton, and raw silk have nearly doubled, and those of coal, which only reached 181,381 tons in 1868, reached last year 246,449.

THE LESSON OF VALLANDIGHAM'S CAREER.

ANY ONE who is inclined to take a gloomy view of the tendencies of American politics can hardly help having his courage strengthened and his hopes revived, when he looks at the career of the late Mr. Vallandigham, and reads the judgment upon it that his untimely end has called forth.

There could hardly be a better sign of the radical healthiness of American political life, and a better justification of the confidence with which the great body of the people look into the future, than that career, in spite of its faults, nay, in virtue of its faults, affords. It is a very great thing, in the first place, that in a time of such excitement as that in which Mr. Vallandigham first made himself notorious, men should have been found as ready to profess unpopular opinions as he showed himself, without incurring any worse penalties than those which overtook him. In no other country, and in no other state of society, could a man have risen up as he did to denounce a cause for which his neighbors were perishing by the thousand, without having any worse thing to fear than contemptuous exile. But it would be unjust to him to say or insinuate that his course was in any degree influenced by a knowledge of the lightness of the punishment that awaited him. His audacity was in no degree diminished by the good-natured scorn of the Government. There is nothing in the man's character, as we now know it, to warrant the belief that he would have flinched in the least degree from the expression of his opinions even if the gibbet or the shooting-party had stared him in the face. He had, beyond all question, civil courage in the highest degree; and when we say this of any man who lives in a community in which the temptation to go with the crowd is strong, and to most natures overwhelming, it is to accord him the very highest praise. To say it of any man is to say that he plays one of the most useful parts that a man can play in a democracy. He is a valuable citizen who gives form and substance to what the mass of his countrymen are thinking and feeling. He is a valuable citizen too—hardly less valuable, we were going to say—who tells them boldly what they would hate to think, and can hardly bear to listen to; and it is an excellent symptom that such men have never been wanting at any period of American history, have never failed to be listened to, and even in the worst times have suffered little, if anything, in mind, body, or estate. If we wished to give any one a vivid and true conception of the smallness of the extent to which, after all, the working of the machinery of constitutional government was interrupted by the war, and of the small importance even of the temporary disregard of constitutional forms, as long as the political habits of a free people are unshaken, we should put into his hands an edition of Vallandigham's speeches during the late war, and an account of his trial and condemnation by a court-martial.

His conduct during the war, however, was by no means what was most remarkable or most instructive in his life; the most valuable and the most *symptomatic* incident in it was undoubtedly the readiness to adapt himself to altered circumstances which was displayed by the "new departure," which he originated and supported in his last days. The high spirit, the self-confidence, the pugnacity, the strength of conviction, which made him during the rebellion the bitterest of copperheads, would in European politics have made him what is there called "an irreconcilable." He never would have forgiven his persecutors, and, so far from receding from any of his original demands, would have added something to them every year he lived. He would have created for himself a system of morals in which to hate and conspire would have been the first duties. He would in his own eyes have gradually grown out of an humble martyr into an avenging angel sent to smite and to revile. He would no more have thought of accepting the constitutional amendments, or of modifying any opinion that he ever had held about the causes, conduct, or results of the war, than of betraying his mother. He would therefore have passed the remainder of his days as a fomenter of disorder, and an apostle of distrust and confusion; he would have managed to shake the confidence, no less of his enemies than of his disciples, in the political system under which he lived, to beget even among the law-abiding that doubt about the future which, still more than the machinations of the lawless, helps to ruin free governments.

He had, however, in spite of his fury and his bitterness, that happy want of logic, that inbred consciousness of the falsehood of extremes, that invaluable and never-failing perception of the fact that government, instead of being the end for which society exists, is simply a means of making our lives comfortable and the free exercise of our faculties secure, which is the chief political characteristic of the race to which he belonged, which has done more for the United States than climate or soil, or coal or iron, or river or forest, and which, and not fleets or armies or constitution or laws, will form to the latest ages the great guarantee of their liberty and prosperity.

In ceasing to fight when fighting was useless, in ceasing to argue when the judge had decided, in accepting accomplished facts, in concentrating all his interest in the present hour, he proved himself to be a real politician in the best sense of the word—the kind of politician to which the great mass of the American people belong. The way in which the South succumbed after the war, the suddenness of its overthrow and the completeness of its submission, were signs of political ability such as no other people have ever shown, and these marks of capacity were equalled by the total absence from Northern dealings with it of the usual indications of rancor. Indeed, the only expression of "Latin" wrongheadedness and folly to be met with in the discussions which followed the war was the talk about "repentance," as a condition precedent of pardon and amnesty, and even that did not last long, and was only heard of from few mouths. The tendency to fancy himself the vicegerent of the Almighty, and to expect his enemies to put their necks under his heel, and confess their sins and wickednesses, which is the besetting sin of the Frenchman when he finds himself in power, no American ever displays, or displays long, without exciting laughter among the bystanders. Even "the Apostle John of Salvation by Impeachment" has to put his tongue in his cheek nowadays when he begins to talk of "a change of heart" on the part of Southerners as necessary to a complete restoration of civil government at the South. The disfranchisement has been maintained foolishly long, as we think, but still on the good old ground of expediency; not as a bit of divine chastisement, but as a measure of public safety. Mr. Vallandigham, with all his wrongheadedness, never lost his sight of this purely mundane character of the politician's mission. His business is to persuade, and not to preach; and if he finds he cannot persuade, his duty is to make the best of it.

There is another lesson, which we do not say is to be learnt from Mr. Vallandigham's career, but which, certainly, it brings prominently before us, and that is the virtue of talk in politics. If the other nations of the world had only a tithe of the faith in it, as a redresser of wrongs, and an amender of constitutions, and an assuager of malice, and reconciler of differences, the greatest fountain of human misery would be dried up. We have, perhaps, too much of it. If a large band of American Blatherskites would go abroad as missionaries and teach the European heathen how much better it is, and how much more effective in the long run, to inflict speeches on each other than to cut each other's throats, we could certainly spare them, and they could make a most impressive statement of their case. The sword settles things, to be sure—settles many things which nothing else can settle—but it does not settle them with that completeness with which they are settled by the tongue. There are often sects and parties which would face a world in arms, and fight while a man was left to stand behind a hedge or a barricade; but any party which finds the majority of the stump orators on the enemy's side, and finds that it is being denounced steadily, week in and week out, by the *Tom-tom*, the *Blatherskite*, and the *Blanket Sheet*, cannot keep up its courage long. It may be that the foe has neither logic, nor wit, nor knowledge, but if he has the longest tongue, the game is tolerably sure. The noise, if it does not bring conviction, sooner or later brings weariness of the subject, and a passionate desire for a quiet life. Thousands of Democrats who are now going to acquiesce in the changes wrought by the war, are no more convinced of the constitutionality of them, or of the expediency of them, than they ever were; but the damnable iteration is too much for them. The immortal mind may be never so mulish, the nerves give way at last.

THE FUTURE OF CAPITAL.

The London *Spectator* said, the other day, what we must all acknowledge, melancholy as it is, to be true, that, if the performances of the Commune do nothing else, they will do a great deal to secure a more persistent and earnest attention from the public at large for the reconciliation of labor and capital. The rising of June, 1848, caused Louis Napoleon to provide a substitute for the national workshops, by reconstructing a large portion of Paris at the public expense. The Fenian risings produced the state of mind in England which at last made it possible to disestablish the Irish Church and to amend the Irish land-laws. It is very likely now that the bloody work in Paris will do much towards convincing people—not that the theories of the Commune can or ought ever to be embodied in legislation—but that the fact that large bodies of men hold such theories is a serious fact which it will not do to slight or ignore, and with which intelligent and philanthropic men must make some attempt to deal. There is nothing of which the world is at this moment so greatly in need as peace and harmony between classes; no great advance in civilization beyond the point we have already reached is possible till this is brought about in some way. Two systems of industry have been tried thus far, the protective and the competitive, and neither of them has settled or shows any sign of settling the relations between labor and capital on a satisfactory basis. Under both, the capitalist is growing very rich and powerful; under neither is the condition of the workingman ceasing to be precarious and uncomfortable, and under neither does the contrast between his condition and that of the employer become less striking and exasperating. If we take any of the great branches of industry which the steam engine has called into existence, coal, iron, cotton, and wool, we find that, taking the civilized world as a whole, while a very large number of great fortunes have been made in them by the capitalist class, and while the habits of that class have grown very luxurious, and nearly all the good things of life, including political power, have largely fallen or are falling to it, the condition of the working-people engaged in them has not materially changed, or, at all events, has not improved in anything like the same degree. Their houses are perhaps a little better, their clothes a little cheaper, and their savings a little larger than they used to be, but the workingman's share of the pleasures and graces and refinements of life, and, above all, the distance which separates him and his family from want, has not much increased within fifty years under either the régime of free-trade or protection. In this country, the contrast between the laborer's condition and that of the capitalist is not so striking, or to the workingman so offensive, as in Europe, because, partly owing to the state of society here, and partly to the natural resources of the country, the passage from the one class to the other is easy and constantly made; but the tendencies which people are deploring in Europe are at work here, though less actively. We have our trades-unions, labor reformers, and so on, just as they have in Europe, but we have also fertile waste lands which they have not in Europe; and this takes the fizz and sparkle out of the preachings of our demagogues and blatherskites for the present; but the waste lands will not last always or last long, and we are almost as much concerned as any people in having the labor question settled out of hand.

We do not believe, as our readers know, that anything is likely to be done towards this desirable consummation by legislation; we believe liberty to be the only sound and safe and permanent basis for industry, the liberty to buy and sell, and make and mend, where, when, and how we please. We believe, too, that any attempt to provide by law any other measure of a man's deserts in the social state than the amount of his own labor, or the value put on the product of his labor by his fellows in free and open market, would in the long run be destructive to civilization, or at least to *our* civilization. A society in which the majority decided what I was to do, and how much I was to get for it, and in what manner I should expend my earnings, might exist, and enjoy a certain kind of prosperity, we freely admit. But it would not be a healthy society, or a society through which humanity at large would advance. It would not be a society in which human character would gain in strength, or foresight, or persistence, or in which human intellect would gain in power or flexibility, or in which the stores of human experience would be enriched. It would be a dull, dead, monotonous, bald, and barren society, fat and well clothed, no doubt, but with few aims or aspirations above those of a settlement of beavers or prairie-dogs. We hold, therefore, that any men, or body of men, who seek to substitute such a state of society for the one in which we now live, are to be opposed by all moral and mental agencies at our command, as long as they confine themselves to agitation and argument; and whenever they attempt it by force, as they do in France, we hold that if war be ever lawful for any object whatever, it is lawful to wage war upon them, and destroy them to any extent that may be necessary to secure peace. Of all the pernicious and immoral talk of the day, none is, to our mind, more pernicious, absurd, or immoral than that which claims a peculiar sanctity or reverence for the folly or violence of workingmen, or poor men, as such, and which excuses and defends, in a workingman or a poor man, crimes and absurdities which would damn any other men to infamy, and convert any other men into public enemies. Doubtless, at the bar of Supreme Justice a murdering ruffian like Rigault, the Public Prosecutor of the Commune, who spent his last night on earth arranging for the slaughter of innocent "hostages," will have all proper allowances made for his trials and temptations and congenital imperfections; but it behooves the sober, sensible, industrious members of the human race, to whose care civilization is committed, to remember above all things, in dealing with such people, that it is not their duty to measure out to Rigault and the like of him abstract justice, as they are not competent for any such task, but to see that he and his fellows do not imperil those great foundations on which human society rests—men's certainty that they will enjoy the fruits of their labor, their confidence in the permanence of the leading social conditions around them, and in the gradualness and peaceableness of all changes. To introduce complete uncertainty about the future into civilized life is to take from it the feature which more than all else distinguishes it from savage life, and to kill useful human activity at its very roots.

The elevation of the working-classes will come from co-operation. It is only in this way, that is, through the combination of labor and capital in the same hands, that whatever is now offensive in the difference in the life of the laborer and capitalist will disappear; and co-operation will only become possible through the workingman's growth in intelligence and self-restraint. It is through co-operation, and not through hate and levelling laws, that workingmen will finally come to dress like capitalists, go home to comfortable and well-ordered homes, and refined and rational amusements, as capitalists do, and get a share of the enjoyments other classes get from leisure, books, and travel. Nobody now takes anything from the workingman except what he surrenders through want of thrift, foresight, self-restraint, and mutual confidence. But there is no doubt that there is a long interval of time to be bridged over before co-operation becomes so general as either seriously to affect the condition of the laboring population in any country, or to reconcile them to the contrast between their life and that of the capitalist class. We have undoubtedly many years of envy, hatred, malice, and heart-burnings before us, and, during that period of transition, undoubtedly the larger portion of the responsibility for it all will necessarily fall on the capitalist. His resources are greater; his training is better, and his crosses are fewer and easier to bear. There is, it must be admitted, something grotesque in the comparison sometimes made in the labor discussions between his "anxieties" and those of the laborer. It must be remembered, too, that it is quite plain that he cannot secure himself peace and quiet by preaching the laws of political economy. This has been thoroughly tried both in France and England, and has failed. In both these countries, the working-classes have constructed a political economy of their own, in which Adam Smith counts for very little, and at the bottom of their system, though less apparent in some places than others, is the theory that capitalists are drones living on the proceeds of other men's labor, who ought to be either banished from the body politic altogether or else despoiled of a large portion of their yearly gains. In England, the latter doctrine is gaining most ground, under the influence of the hostility excited by the large idle and now almost useless class of landed proprietors. In France, and particularly in Paris—owing largely, we believe, to the ex-

tent to which that city is the resort of men of wealth who give themselves up wholly to sensual indulgence, under the eyes of a large body of excitable workingmen, who are also extraordinarily eager for sensual enjoyment themselves—the utter extirpation of the capitalist class, and the prevention of the accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals, is sought with almost satanic energy. The Positivists, who have come to the support of the Commune, have provided an honored place for the capitalists in their system, namely, the directorship of industry, under the superintendence or inspiration of the Board of Sages, who are to form the spiritual power in the Comtist society, and who are to impel them to self-abnegation, public spirit, and good works. This is unquestionably the nearest approach that has been made to a solution of the question in what way the working-class hostility to capital can be assuaged, until such time as the working-classes become themselves owners of capital. The rich men of all countries will have to be coerced by public opinion into a deeper sense of the responsibility which wealth imposes on them than the mass of them as yet show. Extravagant and ostentatious living must be discountenanced by the great body of the community more than it is now. Giving, and giving freely, to charities, to institutions of learning, to all sorts of enterprises which have the moral and physical culture of the mass of the people for their object, must be insisted on more earnestly as a duty, and an imperative duty, and not treated, as it is now, as a work of supererogation, which an honorable man may let alone if he pleases. In short, the facts of society—the temper and condition of the working-classes, the share which they have in creating wealth, and which, though not recognizable legally in the distribution of wealth, the capitalist to whom the wealth comes is morally bound to remember—must be taken into account by rich men in regulating their lives. Mr. Peter Cooper, who may be pointed out as almost an example of what the capitalist ought to be in a better social state to which we trust we are yet coming, made the other night in his address at the Cooper Institute a touching and admirable statement of the principles which ought to govern the relations of the two great divisions of industrial society—and they may be formulated by saying to every rich man, after he has pocketed his half-yearly dividends, "You have now got your rights as an owner of capital; but the minute you leave this office your duties as a social being begin, and you are no more entitled in the forum of morals to neglect them than to fail to pay your pecuniary debts; and they are all the more imperative because the best interests of society forbid their being enforced by law."

DYNASTIC FUSION IN FRANCE.

THE exceedingly meagre report transmitted to us by the Cable concerning the admission of the Orleans Princes to their seats in the French National Assembly—an admission which was carried by so immense a majority that we must suppose members of all party shades to have swelled the vote—has failed to inform us whether that fact had or had not been preceded by the lately announced but not generally credited fusion of the two French branches of the Bourbon family. But whether finally consummated or not, this fusion movement is of sufficient political importance, in the present distracted and uncertain situation of France, to deserve a retrospective elucidation.

The beginning of the movement can be traced back to the latter part of 1848. The terrible battle of June had destroyed in the minds of most conservative men the confidence in the future of the French Republic. Some hailed in the rising star of Bonapartism the promise of a final restoration of order; others looked for a more solid basis upon which firmly to reconstruct the French state and French society, the very foundations of which seemed to be crumbling away. Some ultra-conservative Legitimists and Orleanists hoped to find this basis in a revival of the monarchico-hereditary principle, to which they unitedly devoted their energies. But the two last representatives of monarchy, the heads of the Bourbons proper and of the house of Orleans, lived not only in exile, but in antagonism to each other, and nothing short of a cordial co-operation of the adherents of both could possibly achieve the desired restoration. The young prince in whose favor Charles X. and his childless heir-presumptive, the Duc d'Angoulême, resigned their rights to the throne when driven from it by the revolution of July, 1820—the Comte de Chambord, formerly called Duc de Bordeaux, and dynastically Henry V.—saw in old Louis Philippe, whom a similar political whirlwind, in February, 1848, forced equally to resign his crown to a grandson and to flee, but a justly-punished family apostate, rebel, and usurper. Nor was the head of the house of Orleans in the least inclined to stoop to repentance, and acknowledge that his accepting the royal leadership over the victorious *bourgeoisie*, in 1830, was an act of criminal usurpation, and that the principle of monarchical liberalism which his house represented, in opposition to the divine-rights theory of the elder branch of the family, was now to be given up as exploded. As long as Louis Philippe lived, the desired fusion was impossible, though men like Guizot, Duchâtel, and Salvandy worked for it, and even General Lamoricière promised to support it.

In the summer of 1850, many distinguished Legitimists and Orleanists—Berryer among the former, and Thiers among the latter—made respective political pilgrimages to Wiesbaden, where the Comte de Chambord appeared, and to Claremont, where Louis Philippe was living in exile. No approach had been effected between the two camps. But towards the close of that summer Louis Philippe died; the Comte de Chambord had a solemn funeral service performed for him at Wiesbaden; and Berryer, with some friends, subsequently went to Claremont to persuade the queen-widow to give her adhesion to the scheme of union which would render her grandson, the Comte de Paris—whose father, the Duc d'Orleans, was accidentally killed in 1842—the heir-presumptive to the Comte de Chambord, the childless Bourbon pretender. "Let us give"—that was Berryer's romantic *mot* for the purpose—"a child to that father, and a father to that orphan." The old lady, the most unselfish and noble-hearted woman that ever shared a throne, was ready for conciliation; but her daughter-in-law, the mother of the Comte de Paris, protested, and was upheld in her opposition to the scheme not only by such of the more liberal Orleanist party leaders as Thiers and Rémusat, but also by two of her brothers-in-law, the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville, the ablest surviving members of the house of Orleans.

The two other sons of Louis Philippe, however, the Duc de Nemours and the Duc de Montpensier, were much more anxious to bring about the reconciliation, which they regarded as the surest way for a return of their family to the Tuileries. Shortly after the proclamation of the Second Empire, the Duc de Nemours, having made some previous overtures to the Comte de Chambord, personally repaired to Frohsdorf, near Vienna, where the latter resided, to pay a visit to his "cousin," or, as the Legitimists told the story, to pay homage to his "king." The interview was very cordial, and was followed by the journey of Chambord to Claremont, where he was affectionately received by his "aunt," the widow of Louis Philippe. This visit was repaid by one made by Montpensier at Vienna, in 1855. With all this, however, fusion was no accomplished fact, for the Duchess of Orleans, the mother of the prince who was to be adopted by Chambord for his legitimate successor, persisted in her opposition to it, and the Comte de Paris himself followed the advice of his mother. In 1858 the Duchess died, but at that time the throne of Napoleon III. seemed firmly established. France needed no "saviour of society." Most of the Legitimist chiefs had long adhered to the Empire, and fusion had become altogether an idle talk, unheeded alike by the public of France and by her imperial despot.

The opposition to the Empire which began to manifest itself, and gradually assumed a more and more threatening form, in the latter half of the reign of Napoleon III.—whom it finally drove into the fatal abyss of the Prussian war—was carried on in a desultory way by liberals and radicals of every shade, but was not participated in by either Legitimists or Orleanists under any distinctive banner. Fusion had been forgotten. And when Napoleon, in September, 1870, finally sank under the load of well-merited hatred, misfortunes, and contempt, there was no monarchical party which could boast sufficient strength in the nation to assume the lead and attempt to retrieve its fallen fortunes. The republicans took up the flag of France, which had been trailing in the dust, but they fast exhausted the confidence of the people in their leadership by the frantic yet powerless efforts they made to drive back the invader. A strong monarchical reaction had set in when Paris surrendered, of which the elections of February 8, 1871, gave overwhelming evidence. Protesting against this reaction by an insurrection equally senseless and furious, the Reds of Paris only succeeded in reawakening the terrible reminiscences of the Reign of Terror and of the days of June, 1848, which dishonored and killed the first two French Republics. The third would immediately have collapsed with the fall of Gambetta had there been unity among the royalists—for imperialism was then still entirely paralyzed. Efforts were

therefore made to create that unity by accomplishing the work of fusion, and they are said to have succeeded, in spite of increased difficulties. For the last events in France have made it patent that the chasm between liberalism and conservatism in France is wider than it ever was, that no compact between revolution and the past is possible, and that the Orleans Princes, if subscribing for the sake of the future to a union with Chambord, the desire of the peasants and priests, must resign themselves to march for years in the wake of a reaction, revolting both to themselves and the better classes of France, among whom they still number so many friends—in fact, all they have.

PRINTING FOR THE BLIND.

An American custom, which has given occasion to more or less philosophizing on the part of foreign critics of our democracy, is the prevalent custom among our rich men of devoting large sums of money to the establishment and support of institutions of public utility—of colleges such as Vassar and Cornell; of free schools like that to which Mr. Peter Cooper has given more than half-a-million; of libraries like that endowed by Mr. Peabody, Mr. Astor, and very many more of our men of wealth; of professorial chairs, hospitals, academies of art, astronomical observatories, and innumerable other means of promoting the general advancement and welfare. To ostentation, no doubt, some of this beneficent activity is to be ascribed. The prominent citizen of Boston does not stand alone who, the other day, would agree to give fifty dollars to aid the French, in case the money raised were forwarded to a committee on the other side of the water, but would promise to double or treble his subscription, if the money, instead of being so expended as to do most good to the starving Frenchmen, were used to freight a ship which should be distinctly understood to have sailed into Havre, on her mission of mercy, from the port of Boston. That the cargo would be much belated, and made absurdly costly, was of no consequence to this sympathizer, so long as the stars and stripes were kept flying over it, and people in general knew to whose charity the French were indebted. But, if the class to which this gentleman belongs is not so small as it might be, it is, nevertheless, smaller than two or three other and better classes. Probably the men are numerous among us who, as our European critics say, merely by reason of our peculiar social conditions, are inclined towards enriching institutions of learning and charity, rather than towards keeping fast hold of their wealth. We are not, for example, much given to building and planting for coming generations of our children; nor are we very apt to devote much of our care and labor to the aggrandizement of "the family," an entity in being long before us, and long to outlast our individual lives. That development of the will, of individuality, of the distinctive personality of each man, which has taken place in so marked a degree in this country; which shows itself in a spirit of self-reliance and self-help that scatters the American family over three-quarters of a continent, and seldom allows more than a single generation to root itself in a given place; which causes each young American to see in himself a man who is to make him—this spirit also causes him to see in himself when made the man who has made him, and who has a perfect right to do what he likes with his own handiwork. We fight for our own hand more than other people, and feel at liberty to dispose of ourselves and our own as we please, even as we allow others to do the same. Yet the experience we get in our struggles, and the consequent sympathy with others similarly engaged which we learn to feel, and our American belief in the equality and fellowship of all men—these would seem to be sufficiently strong to counteract, in a great measure, the hardness and selfishness which our ways of life might, perhaps, be expected to produce. At all events, it is observed that, for whatever reason, there appears to be among us an unusually frequent exhibition of that munificence which bestows private wealth upon the public, to the end that benefit may accrue to the community at large. In the latest particularly noteworthy instance of benevolence which has come to our knowledge, it certainly is neither a desire for ostentatious display nor for gratifying the sense of power which seems to be the actuating motive, but rather a genuine feeling of commiseration for the afflicted, and a generous wish to alleviate a heavy calamity. We refer to a proposal recently made by Mr. S. P. Ruggles, of Boston, to Doctor Samuel G. Howe, of the same city, and through him to other physicians in charge of blind people.

It is going on forty years since Mr. Ruggles, then a practical printer, and, though a very young man, an inventor who had shown great talent and skill in mechanics, entered upon his duties as an assistant in the Boston Asylum for the Blind. This institution, founded in 1832, and, in point of time, the first of its kind in the country, was in the beginning of its usefulness when it secured the services of Mr. Ruggles, who in no long time made it, in some important respects, the first institution of its kind in the world, and one had in respect everywhere by instructors of the blind. Mr. Ruggles seems to be one of those inventors—different from the kind whose history makes most impression on the popular mind—whose inventive insight is accompanied by a singularly clear perception of the means proper to the attainment of his ends, and also by a wonderful expertness in the manipulation of his instruments. "All tools seemed made for him," and when he wanted others that had not been made, he made them, and with a neatness, skill, and despatch which are said to have been almost as remarkable as his powers of original invention. The heavy curse of the inventor—

"The lone inventor, by his demon haunted"—

of Pallissy, after years of discouragement, feeding his furnace with his house walls, his furniture, his child's cradle, and still drawing out his vases from the oven to find that the secret is not yet his; of Goodyear, starving for years, with wealth just within tantalizing distance, till one day a lucky accident gives him the clue which had eluded him so long—this curse of baffled endeavor and hope was never laid upon Ruggles, and from the beginning of his active life, whether when in his youth inventing a new printing-press or the other day selling for a small fortune a patent right to his newest improvement on the sewing machine, his career has been as prosperous as laborious. When he began his work at the Boston Asylum, the books used by the inmates of that institution were made after the method practised in Europe, and had the defect of being so bulky as to be unwieldy, and the vastly greater defect of being so costly that the literature of the blind—a class of readers more than any others dependent for pleasure and profit on the press, perhaps the very greatest means of pleasure ever bestowed upon man—was so miserably limited that the blind may almost be said to have had no books. Mr. Ruggles set to work to produce for his pupils books of convenient size, and so cheaply printed as to bring a variety of subjects within the reach of their readers. But to effect this it would be necessary, he soon saw, to invent a new kind of type, a new kind of paper, and a new press; and probably it would be necessary for him not only to invent these, but to manufacture them himself, and to make some of the instruments with which to proceed to their manufacture. With his type he was soon successful, though his success was not gained without much labor. But, having the advantage of constantly submitting to his pupils the impressions struck off from the types in the various stages of their progress toward perfection, his labor had for its result the production of a form of printed character very much better adapted to the use of the blind than anything produced in Great Britain or any other European country. "The Americans have revolutionized printing for the blind" was the European verdict, and this favorable judgment the types did much to win. Not all, however. His type being secured, Mr. Ruggles began printing, and almost immediately he had broken two of the strongest printing-presses in use. To make a press adapted for his particular purpose was therefore his next work, and he invented a press of an entirely new construction, of very great strength, and capable of turning off as many sheets in an hour as the ordinary power-presses of twenty years ago. This press, by the way, he so contrived that it could be used by the pupils. The next obstacle in the way of cheap literature for the blind was the lack of paper at once soft and flexible enough not to crack and break when embossed or printed in raised letters, and, on the other hand, so hard as that the letters should not flatten down and lose shape under the finger of the reader. This difficulty, after a long time and many experiments with gums, resins, gelatine, and various kinds of paper, was at last surmounted, and from that time forward the American system of printing for the blind superseded all others. Maps for his pupils next engaged Mr. Ruggles's attention, and in cartography, too, he effected a revolution for which the blind are under great obligations to him.

We have not space to speak at any length of this gentleman's other services, and have hardly left ourselves room to speak further of his benevolent offer already mentioned—an offer, by the bye, which it is somewhat strange not to hear more about from the gentleman to whom Mr. Ruggles first made it known. The letter in which it is made is dated at Boston, on the 27th of last November. "I have been thinking," the writer says, "that I should like to do something more for the benefit of the blind in the way of improving their school apparatus, and printing and binding their books. Having in the early part of my life devoted several years exclusively to the study of

the wants and necessities of the blind, and having always felt a deep interest in their welfare, I have very naturally continued from time to time to observe and study their requirements." He goes on to say that for ten years he has devoted most of his time to making inventions; that works for the blind have occupied a very large share of his closest attention; and that he is sure he can make for their use books which shall be very much less bulky than those now in use, very much cheaper, with much superior paper, and in every way very much better; that since 1835 several arts have been invented—as electrotyping, stereotyping, and others—which will be of great service to him in the cheapening and improving the books in question, and that, these things being so, and he having a great desire to see his own and other men's inventions made useful to an afflicted class of persons, in whom he takes a great interest, he—if the directors of American institutions for the blind give their approval—will fit up a completely equipped printing establishment, supplied with everything necessary for map printing as well as book printing, and with all the conveniences for electrotyping and stereotyping, and furthermore will himself oversee and manage, acting as superintendent without salary. The directors of the various asylums are on their part to do merely this: They are to appoint a publishing committee which shall represent all the asylums in the country, and this committee is to tell Mr. Ruggles what books and maps it will have printed, how many copies of each are to be struck off, and how they are to be distributed among the various asylums and schools. As we say, it is half a year and more since this letter was written, and nearly as long since a printed copy of it was sent to most of our institutions for the blind, but no definite action upon it seems to have been taken by those in authority. There is not the least doubt as to the sincerity of Mr. Ruggles's offer, nor as to his ability to do all he promises. His capacity as an inventor has made him a man of sufficient fortune; and he retains a warm interest in the unfortunates for whom some of his earliest and most successful, though not his most lucrative, efforts of invention were made.

It is to be hoped that the friends of the blind to whom the knowledge of Mr. Ruggles's proposed benevolence may come, will recollect that even among very useful philanthropists there may sometimes be such things as ill-founded dislikes, and petty grudgings, and prejudices, which work nobody any good; and that remembering this they may take the trouble to look to it that everybody, including themselves and their blind protégés, has fair play.

PICTURES IN BOSTON.

BOSTON, June 15, 1871.

THE summer exhibition of paintings at the Boston Athenæum is one demanding more than formal notice. The collection has been made with an object, and, though imperfectly attained, the effort is praiseworthy. An attempt has been made to gather together portraits, especially those by Copley and his predecessors, and the result is a larger collection than has graced these walls for many years.

Before speaking specially of Copley's paintings, a word may be said about the earlier portraits here exhibited. No. 208, a portrait of Dea. Barnard, dated 1728, is attributed to Peter Pelham. This artist was probably the first educated painter who settled in New England. He came from London, presumably a relative of an earlier English artist of the name, not improbably belonging to some obscure offshoot of the great Pelham family. In Boston Pelham lived for nearly a quarter of a century, and engraved some eight or nine mezzotint portraits with a skill unrivalled in this country until within the present generation. Two at least of these engravings bear the inscription that Pelham painted the original, and one of these, that of Rev. Cotton Mather, is now in the rooms of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. As Mr. Barnard was a deacon of Cotton Mather's church in 1727, when the pastor's likeness was taken, and as the portrait of him is especially firm in the drawing, there seems to be good cause for assigning this portrait to Pelham.

Another artist, evidently an amateur, was John Greenwood, who painted in 1748 the little portrait of John Cutler (No. 209).

In the first room, on entering the gallery, will be found seven of Pelham's mezzotints; one, that of Rev. Thomas Prince, being from an original by this same John Greenwood.

In fact, it would hardly be a wild surmise to imagine that Peter Pelham was the instructor of Greenwood, Richard Jennys, jr., and Nathaniel Hurd, the latter two being engravers. Lastly, Pelham undoubtedly was the first instructor of his step-son, John Singleton Copley, whose first public appearance is here shown in the mezzotint of Rev. Wm. Welsteed, published in 1753, when he was only fifteen years old.

Two portraits (Nos. 222 and 223) are very favorable specimens of the limited skill of John Smibert, the companion of good Dean Berkeley, whose stiff and feeble delineations were received with thankfulness in their day doubtless.

A much better artist, however, is here represented in Nos. 224–230. This is J. B. Blackburn, who had passed into such utter oblivion that he has been but a name. No particulars of his origin, Christian name, place of residence, or length of stay here have survived. Three of these portraits are dated 1755; one at Hartford is dated 1756. Of his merits further mention will be made.

The name of John Singleton Copley is familiar to all interested in American art. Although born in Boston in 1738, he was not of New England stock, his parents, Richard Copley and Mary Singleton, being both recent immigrants. It was doubtless owing to the second marriage of Copley's mother to Peter Pelham that the artistic talent of Copley received so early a development. In truth, necessity probably forced an early use of his talents, for in that way we interpret the appearance of the mezzotint signed by him at the age of fifteen, and sent out a few months only after Pelham's death. How soon after this Copley first commenced as a painter, we cannot say. No. 250, a portrait of his step-brother, Charles Pelham, must, however, have preceded by some years the portrait (No. 245) of Gen. Brattle, which was painted in 1756.

To close this recital of personal matters, No. 247, the well-known "Boy with a Squirrel," which Copley sent to England from Boston about 1760 and which was exhibited at the Royal Academy—this admirable picture is a portrait of Henry Pelham, Copley's half-brother, afterwards an engraver of considerable repute. No. 242, "The Red-Cross Knight," contains the portraits of the artist's two daughters, Mrs. Greene and Miss Mary Copley, and his son, the famous Lord Lyndhurst.

To return to a consideration of the artistic merits of the collection. Two things will strike every observer; first, that Copley was far ahead of Smibert and Blackburn; second, that he was absolutely a great portrait-painter. Enough examples are here shown to make it evident that he possessed that innate appreciation of form and color which academic culture may assist but cannot create. Despite the disadvantages of his early life, the lack of instruction, of opportunities to learn the possibilities as well as the limits of his art, it is evident that his genius enabled him to advance rapidly step by step, and to lose little by the enforced necessity of self-reliance.

The earliest dated portrait by him is a large one of Gen. Brattle (No. 245), dated 1756, when the artist was but eighteen years of age. The picture is crude in color, but the effect of the whole is decidedly good. The portrait of Henry Pelham (No. 247), painted four years later, shows a great advance, and the remainder of the American pictures, painted before Copley left this country in 1774, are all in the same strongly marked style. Perhaps the two portraits, No. 237, Lady Wentworth, and 249, Mrs. Bourne, are the least interesting; but those of Miss Hooper (No. 239) and Mrs. Sargent (243) are admirable. These two occupy the post of honor on the walls, and fully justify the praises so long bestowed on the artist. The figure in that of Mrs. Sargent possesses a solidity that is lifelike, and the flesh of the face and hands is firmly and forcibly painted. The drawing of the arms and hands is indeed one of Copley's best characteristics; and another is the ease which he imparts to his figures. Take, for instance, the four portraits of the Gill family (Nos. 256–259). The positions are all natural and easy, but without the slightest mannerism of arrangement.

The greatest deficiency shown in these pictures is in the lack of gradation of tones in the flesh tints. There is a want of the delicate half-tones which should melt gradually into the shadows. The shadows, indeed, of the flesh are uniformly too dark and too strongly defined. An example can be seen in the defining shadows of the hand in almost every one of Copley's portraits. Possibly the colors may have darkened, as these shadows seem always to be formed of the same pigments.

We fear, however, that it must be conceded that Copley was better qualified to paint the strong features of men or to reproduce the wrinkled front of age, than to catch the delicate outlines and marvellous tints of childhood and youth. In respect to drapery, however, Copley is almost unrivalled. Satins and laces occupy a large space in his picture, and are delineated with unmistakable fidelity. A curious contrast is afforded by two pictures here placed together—No. 244 (Mrs. Rogers), by Copley, and No. 226 (Mrs. Erving), by Blackburn. The dresses are almost the same in color, but Copley's is silk, and the other is a nondescript.

Blackburn, however, is second here only to Copley. In some respects, especially in delicacy of touch, he is superior. His draperies are marked by roundness of curves, suggestive of woollen textures, and this peculiarity is sufficiently strong to be a great assistance in identifying the works of this artist. Blackburn signed his pictures J. B. Blackburn in small letters, hardly larger than these types, in a color closely resembling the background. Hence many pictures have passed as the work of another which really bore his name.

As a rule, this collection has few examples of misapplied ascriptions: We strongly demur to the assertion that Copley ever painted No. 260 (Lady Erskine), and the Beale pictures (Nos. 233–235), though beautifully painted, seem not to be in Copley's style. Compare them with No. 246 (Mrs. Hay), a fine example of his later manner.

As to the other portraits, those of George Shirley and his wife (Nos. 200 and 201) were probably painted in England, as were those of Gov. Joseph Dudley and wife (Nos. 206 and 207). No. 205 is also a foreign portrait, said to be that of one of the Patteshall family of Plymouth colony. No. 203 is a superb portrait, artist and subject alike unknown, but well worth preservation for its artistic merits. The few Allstons may be left for the admiration of those who find merits therein hidden from the common eye. No. 219 contains two heads by Stuart, delightful from their fresh color and animation.

Lastly, the more general collection has some noteworthy pictures. No. 81, a very large flower-picture, by Hammer, the Swedish artist, is a thoroughly realistic representation. Your readers will remember his "Home of the Bees," which was exhibited everywhere. No. 85, a large landscape by the Comte de Bylandt, is a fine rendering of trees and sky. No. 72, "La Curée," is the well-known picture by Courbet, now infamous as a leader of the Paris Commune. The *genre* pictures, No. 63, by Baugniet, and No. 59, by Pécrus, are very good, as is also the striking picture, No. 66, by Pratére. The works of local artists are few; among them are some by Virgil Williams, Gay, Cole, and Norton. In fact, this part of the exhibition has been neglected in the desire to make the portrait collection full. The result is creditable to Mr. Ordway, who has had charge this season, and who has given us such a sight as will hardly be excelled for many years.

Correspondence.

THE CONDITION OF LABOR IN MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Your paper of June 8 contains an editorial upon the "Labor Question in Massachusetts," based upon the late report of General Oliver, Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, to the Legislature. That report has made the same impression upon your mind that it has upon my own, viz.: that if the inferences drawn by General Oliver from the statistics compiled by him are true, "the condition of the working-classes in Massachusetts is a declining one." I think if you had analyzed his statements of wages and were more conversant with the facts in the case, you would continue to consider such an inference "incredible," and would find that there is no foundation in fact for such a conclusion.

It is impossible to make a complete review of this case within the limits of this communication, but it seems necessary that some denial of this charge should be made.

It is not to be doubted that the condition of the working people of Massachusetts might be much better than it is. I believe it to be true that the effect of a vicious currency and a bad tariff combined is to restrict production, and, consequently, consumption; to increase the general cost of subsistence; and if not now to make the rich richer, certainly to make the poor poorer than they would otherwise have been; and generally to make the contrast between employer and employed more striking, and therefore to promote antagonism between laborer and capitalist. Such, I doubt not, have been the effects of the legal-tender notes, and of the continued imposition of a monstrous tariff long after the excuse of war has ceased.

But it does not follow that the condition of the working people is absolutely bad. On the contrary, it may be safely asserted that, in spite of these causes, and of the large migration of the native population to more fertile lands and more lucrative occupations than are now open to them in Massachusetts, and the substitution of a mixed population of uneducated Irish, Germans, French Canadians, and other foreigners, who have never had the training of the school, the newspaper, and the town-meeting, there is no other equal population in the civilized world in which general comfort is so widely diffused, progress so clearly marked, or whose savings from past labor are so large.

The great difficulty which is met in the attempt to reform the currency and tax systems is in the fact that the mass of the people are so busy and so well paid that they cannot give time or attention to such questions. They can better afford to adjust themselves to a bad system than to give the time and the effort needed to improve it. It may possibly be true that it would not now be easy to establish the magazine published by the operatives some years since in Lowell, and referred to by you. You say: "We are filled with a conviction that there is a radical wrong somewhere which has brought about this change from the time when Lowell factory-girls earned handsome marriage-portions with two or three years' labor, and found time, after working hours, to write, edit, and read a very respectable newspaper." The facts are, that at the time you refer to, the hours of labor in cotton factories were much longer; the labor, owing to the less perfect character of the machinery, much harder; and the wages of weavers, the special class who, then as now, constituted the larger and better educated portion of factory operatives, less in proportion to the price of board and clothing than they now are. At that time the farmer's daughters, who had been taught at our common schools, could find no better employment than to work in a cotton factory. The reason they are not there now is because there has been such great progress in other employments, in which they can now earn very much better wages, and live in far greater comfort.

Had the class of persons who now work in our factories then attempted to live in Massachusetts, they would either have been common laborers or could have found no subsistence at all within the State. That our factory population is not equal in education to the standard of a few years since is true, but it is also true that the condition of those now in the factories is better than it was, or could have been, in Ireland, Germany, England, or Canada. The danger is that employers will not guard sufficiently against the tendency of ignorant parents to overwork their children. It has been, and, I trust, long will be, the function of Massachusetts to welcome the ignorant and oppressed of all lands, and to establish in their minds the ambition to lead a higher and a better life than has been possible for them elsewhere; and this function I believe she is performing to-day as effectively as she has before.

The inference drawn from this report that "the number of men who emerge from the condition of workingmen is extremely small," is not in accordance with the experience of those who are engaged in active business or in manufacturing, if it is intended to indicate a less number than usual in other times. On the contrary, I can now name more men who have emerged from the condition of workingmen and who now have the control of large establishments, than I have ever known before. If it is intended to be inferred that because 17,000 persons work in cotton-mills at an apparent average of 80 cents a day, they are, therefore, very much underpaid, such inference is not in accordance with the facts, as a single glance at the table of wages and the prices of board will prove. Any good overseer can now command $3 to $3 50 per day. Any good female weaver can command wages that will give her from $3 50 to $4 50 per week over and above the cost of her board, and weavers constitute by far the larger proportion of the factory operatives. A considerable portion of the 17,000 cited are young persons and children whose pay is important to the welfare of their family, ranging from $2 to $4 per week. It is not denied that these young persons are overworked, and that there is urgent need of the general adoption of the half-time school system. These wages do not promise affluence, and, so far as families are concerned, they yield little or no surplus; but so far as single operatives are concerned, they are sufficient to yield a large annual increment to the savings-bank deposits. The inference that you have drawn from General Oliver's report, "that very few persons die while they are operatives, because, finding their health give way under their toils and exposures, they leave their employment and cease to be operatives," has no warrant in my experience and I believe no foundation in fact. I have not had the same opportunity which a resident agent has to form an opinion upon the effect of factory work upon health, but it has often been a subject of close enquiry, and I have never seen any reason to believe that factory work was specially arduous or injurious to health, nor can I find any cause for ill-health in the large and necessarily well-ventilated rooms of a modern factory. Even in the hot-dressing rooms, which are now abolished by the adoption of a new machine for sizing warps, humane and considerate agents have failed

to find any special cause of ill-health if the men there employed took ordinary care when passing into the outer air.

That men have been marked and prevented from obtaining employment for the *sole* reason that they have belonged to eight-hour leagues is not warranted by any facts within my knowledge, and I do not believe it is true. That families are turned out of their houses because they cannot agree upon wages is true, and for the simple and sufficient reason that a large portion of the tenements belonging to factories are let at merely nominal rents, and must of necessity be retained by the owners for the use of those only whom they employ; and if the owners undertook to provide house and home upon the same terms for those who did not work for them or who could not agree about wages, they would soon fail.

Your citation of the man who was so stupid and inhuman as to advocate fourteen hours a day labor for the alleged benefit of the workmen, as an indication of the general spirit of employers and an explanation of the growing frequency and bitterness of strikes, is an absurd libel on a class of men in whose number are comprised those who are most efficient in all the efforts undertaken for the improvement and welfare of the people. That man stands alone in the extreme folly of his statement.

While thus denying the truth of the impression derived from the text of this report, I am far from holding up factory labor as a very desirable occupation if it can be avoided. It is not very arduous, but it is very monotonous; and, while I am utterly opposed to all attempts to impose legal restrictions upon either adult operatives or employers as to the hours of labor, I do not hesitate to say that eleven hours per day is too long for the class of operatives yearly growing larger in number—namely, those who will probably be permanently operatives. To the class of farmers' daughters who formerly worked in our mills, intending to remain but a few years, eleven and even twelve hours' work did little or no harm; but I have no doubt that eleven hours of confinement per day, as a permanent rule, will cause any population to cease to be progressive; and I trust and believe the day is not far distant when by common consent, and not by the arbitrary force of law, the rule shall be changed from eleven to ten, as it has been in the past from thirteen to twelve and from twelve to eleven.

I have taken cotton-spinning as the main subject of this letter, because it is best known to me, and because factory operatives are in the next grade above common laborers and domestic servants as to wages. If the reader of General Oliver's report will disabuse his mind of the inferences of the General himself, and will regard only his facts, I think he will find that the wages paid in almost all the other employments examined are sufficient, not only for a good subsistence, which is all that the very large majority of people born into the world ever attain; but also sufficient to account for the rapid increase of savings-bank deposits, and of small houses bordering all our lines of railroad, and clustered together in Springfield, Worcester, Fitchburg, Lynn, and other similar places, where great factories may not be most obvious, but where the infinite variety of domestic industries are to be found which protective tariffs can neither build up or break down, but only impede a little.

One word more as to the "rapid decay" of agriculture in New England. This rapid decay is accompanied by a greater abundance of food; by the increase of market-gardens; by the establishment of numerous cheese factories; by increased attention to stock-breeding; by vastly increased abundance of small fruits; and it is also marked by the rapid conversion of common Irish and German laborers into small landholders, as well as by the employment of a few German emigrant women in market-gardens who have been bred to field-work and know no other occupation, men commanding too high wages for such service.

In fact, the so-called decay is simply the change caused by railroads and immigration, and while it renders the State less pleasant to live in, and has entirely broken up the old country society which seems to have been so pleasant a feature of New England life in bygone days, it can by no means be considered a decay of the State.

In thus defending my native State from unwarranted aspersion, I by no means ignore the difficult problem which this change in the construction of society imposes upon us. We do not fear to deal with it, or to expose its worst features by means of the Bureau of Labour statistics and its able but somewhat sentimental report. We only ask that many things which to us are evidence of our partial success in dealing with difficult economic problems shall not be perverted into indications of decay, wrong, and oppression, and thus made the bases of further meddlesome legislation.

What we most need in order to abate the antagonism which now marks the relations of labor and capital, is the restoration of the specie standard and the adjustment of the tariff in such manner as shall cause it to cease to be a most oppressive burthen upon the cost of general production. It cannot be too often repeated, that by force of these unjust laws the poor grow poorer, but, as the burthen of taxation, whether it be imposed by a vicious currency or a bad tariff, finally diffuses itself, and ends in an increased cost of all production, it cannot now be claimed that we have even the small benefit of the rich made richer. The whole effect of these acts is now dead loss. E. A.

Boston, June 18, 1871.

Notes.

Messrs. Judd & White, New Haven, announce a selection of twenty-three from the practical and descriptive sermons of the late Rev. Prof. E. T. Fitch, D.D., of Yale College, to be published early in July.——A "Condensed School History of the United States, constructed for definite results in recitation, and containing a new method of topical reviews," by Wm. Swinton, A.M., of the University of California, is to be issued shortly by Messrs. Ivison, Blakeman & Co. The appearance of this work is a sign that the publishers, who were lately in litigation with Messrs. A. S. Barnes & Co. in regard to it, have made a satisfactory arrangement with the latter, who publish, we believe, a text-book by the same author called "Swinton's Comprehensive United States."——Messrs. Hurd & Houghton announce a new edition of Cooper's Works in thirty-two volumes 8vo, with Mr. Darley's illustrations, and in the best style of this house. Subscriptions will be taken only for the complete series, at $2 25 per volume. Other new works in preparation are: "Poems," by the late Wm. H. Burleigh, with a memoir by his wife; "Songs from the Old Dramatists," with music and notes; and "Montfort Hall," by Catherine A. Warfield.

—There are two notions about Harvard College very widely spread in other parts of the country, which, however well-founded they may have been at one time, have become wholly erroneous. One is that it is mainly a Unitarian college, and the other is that the majority of the students are from Massachusetts. The fact is, that of 608 students 452 are from the New England States generally, and 156 from other parts of the Union, and that so far from a majority of the students being Unitarians, two-thirds nearly belong to Trinitarian denominations. The following table is believed to be substantially correct at the present time:

Unitarian-Congregationalists	233
Episcopalians	150
Trinitarian-Congregationalists and Presbyterians	111
Baptists	35
Methodists	18
Universalists	12
New Jerusalem	10
Roman Catholics	7
Other denominations and unascertained	32
Total	608

Much less than half the students attend the college chapel on Sundays. Those whose homes are in Boston or the neighborhood attend church with their families if their families are church-going; the others go to the two Episcopal, one Methodist, one Trinitarian-Congregationalist, one Unitarian churches which are close to the college, or else to the two Episcopal, two Congregationalist (Trinitarian), one Unitarian, one Baptist, one Methodist, and two Roman Catholic churches which all lie within a mile of the college, and in which the college provides sittings at its own expense, and monitors to note absences and tardiness, and, we hope, to keep the students awake. There are, moreover, two voluntary religious societies among the students. In fact, the students represent very fairly the religious condition of the community from which they are drawn.

—Herr Roth, of the Cincinnati *Volksfreund*, writing to that paper from Wisconsin, says that the entire southeastern portion of that State is, with the exception of a few localities, almost wholly German, and that in the remainder of the State the American element is steadily retreating before the German increase, which is maintained by immigration. In the country, he says, it is with difficulty that instruction in English can be had for the children, and that the Americans themselves use more German in their conversation than the Germans do English. In some settlements, twenty-five or thirty years old, one does not hear a word of English spoken, and might readily suppose himself not in America. If the present movement of population continues, as it is likely to, in a few years, says Herr Roth, the Germans from having a majority in the State will possess it all—they and the Scandinavians together, let us add. In Chicago, just over the border, the Germans have one-fifth of the forty members of the city council, but are

disposed to complain that they are not fairly represented. In Cincinnati, the German population has increased but 6,000 in the past decade, against 13,000 from 1850 to 1860; and it is evident that this city is out of the line of foreign immigration to this country.

—It is generally supposed that the system of mutual aid in legislative and deliberative bodies, which is known as "log-rolling," is an American invention, owing in part to the happy American name which has been given to the process. But Pascal, in the "Provincial Letters," calls attention to the fact that not only was the practice known in ecclesiastical bodies in his day, but its lawfulness was the subject of discussion by the Jesuit casuist, Escobar. "Is it simony," asks the reverend father, "for two monks to pledge themselves to each other in this fashion: Give me your vote to make me provincial, and I will give you mine to make you prior"? And he answers, "By no means." The same learned theologian treats of a question which is of a good deal of interest both to legislators who take bribes, and to legislators who recommend persons for office, and afterwards go to the head of the department and request him to pay no attention to what they have said. The point Father Escobar examines is whether "it is simony to promise money for a church benefice when in reality you have no intention of paying it." And he decides that it is not, "since it is only feigned simony, which is no more real simony than false gold is real gold." It thus happens that you may recommend a worthless fellow for office, but if at the time of writing the recommendation you determine that it shall not help him to get the office, you are not guilty of abusing your influence. A small popular edition of the works of the Jesuit casuists would, indeed, do something to relieve many worthy politicians from a good deal of perplexity.

—Yankee enterprise seeking employment might do worse than select Italy as a field; and in Italy, the marble industry promises a fortune to whoever will rescue it from the present wasteful and uneconomic prosecution of it. Almost all that is known or needs to be known of that branch of it which is carried on in the region about the river Magra and the Gulf of Spezia, will be found in a work lately published by Barbèra at Florence: "L'Industria del Marmi Apuani," by Professor Carlo Magenta. The quarries at Carrara, Massa, and Serravezza have been worked for centuries, furnishing marble, at first for building, as in the Pantheon, and afterwards for statuary; yet the means of getting out the stone are in some respects as rude as in the days of Cæsar, and in others fall far behind the scientific processes in vogue in other countries. The use of machinery in quarrying is almost unknown; the roads are wretched; the stone is tediously drawn over them by bullocks in two or four-wheeled carts, and not long since a huge mass falling from a cart killed thirteen of the poor beasts who were drawing it. There is, too, no co-operation among the proprietors, who in Carrara alone number, as lessees of the communal quarries, 178, and as owners of private ones, upwards of 300. Transportation at the same place engages the services of 450 persons, 300 yoke of oxen, and 425 carts, and out of 10,000 inhabitants 3,000 get a living from the marble industry The business of the three communities first-named, derived from more than 600 quarries, amounts to $2,500,000 per annum; and marble is shipped to England, New York, Havana, Rio Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, and even to Australia. Yankee capitalists who should introduce at Carrara the best machinery, build railroads to the nearest port or lines, and then get the duties on imported marble removed or abated in this country, could hardly fail of their reward. In 1866, our tariff imposed on marble sawed in the form of tablets not only a duty of so much per square foot, but in addition fifty per cent. *ad valorem*. Prof. Magenta urges his Government to appeal to ours against this heavy burden on Italian labor.

—Less anxiety might have been felt with regard to the fate of the Louvre collections amid the fires of the Commune, had the public been aware of the disposition made of the works of art by the "administration" of the museum. Mr. Alfred Darcel, well known as an archæologist and draughtsman, and a curator of the National Museum, writes, on the 25th of May, to the *Journal de Rouen*, assuming that the great majority of the works of art were probably uninjured. He says that before the news of the disaster of Sedan was known in Paris, the *Direction des Musées* received orders to send to the arsenal at Brest the most precious works of the Louvre. They had sent off the contents of the "salon carré," the "little" and "long" galleries, *i. e.*, the principal paintings of all schools represented, and the full series of Italian, Dutch, and Flemish masters, and the older French ones, when, on the 4th of September, "they saw the Empress pass through the galleries on her way to exile." The government of the National Defence ordered the work stopped; but meanwhile, all the smaller works of art, antique and mediæval, were hidden in passage-ways within the walls, or enclosed, with the papyri, with the remainder pictures and drawings and the most precious statues and bas-reliefs, in the vaulted cellars of the building, considered as good as casemates by the engineers. Reservoirs for water had been established on the quay outside and also within the building, apparatus for extinguishing fires had been provided for each room, and day and night watches of firemen, guards, and curators had been organized. The pictures and statues of the Luxembourg Museum had been also deposited in the vaulted basements of the palace of Mary of Medici. This was the arrangement of the national collections at the date of the 2d of March, when the Prussians entered the courts of the Old and New Louvre; but on their departure a part of the works of art remaining in Paris were restored to their places, especially the drawings and the more modern French paintings, and certain galleries were again opened to the public and to students. Notwithstanding the military occupation of the Louvre and Tuileries, which took place on the 19th of March, and notwithstanding the appointment by the Commune of special delegates, the curators managed to remain within the place, and prolonged their watch over their trust, until forcibly relieved on the 17th of May. At the Luxembourg, the pictures and statues remained in the vaults, the officials in charge having ingeniously made use of every pretext to delay any public exhibition. A general distrust of the future seems to have been felt by those interested in these matters, and the artistic conscience will be relieved at learning that, in Mr. Darcel's unprejudiced opinion, the art delegates of the Commune assumed their office on purpose to protect the museums against rascalities which they vaguely dreaded. As to the Palace of the Tuileries, its artistic contents at the date of the fire were of relatively small value. After the 4th of September, the most remarkable works of art had been taken to the Garde Meuble, and thence removed to the Louvre.

—General Faidherbe, whom the close of the war left with a respectable reputation as a commander, published last year, after Sedan, a pamphlet on the reorganization of the military service of France ("Bases d'un Projet de Réorganisation d'une Armée Nationale"). The main feature of his plan is the personal service of every male citizen, not physically incapable; to which he joins the corresponding obligation of the state to support the dependent family of the husband or father while under arms. Into the details we shall not enter any further than to note that he provides for instruction in the common branches of learning as a part of the training of the army, and would allow no one who had not passed through its ranks to have a vote. The picture which he draws of the condition of the Imperial army on the eve of the war is as frank as he could venture, at the time he wrote, to make it.

—M. Gabriel Monod, of whose first article in *Macmillan's Magazine*, relating his experience as a volunteer in one of the French ambulances during the campaign on the Loire, we have already spoken, has a second and highly interesting one in the June number, in which he discusses the morale and mental qualities of the French army and peasantry with the same extraordinary candor. Of the old soldier—the man who had nearly reached the end of his seven years, and had contracted the garrison vices and *insouciance*—he speaks in terms of strong reprobation. The cavalry he rates higher than the infantry, and the marines than either. During the whole campaign of the Loire, he says, the Pontifical Zouaves—young men of good family and ardent Catholics, from the western provinces—and the sailors were "the only men who conducted themselves *sans peur et sans reproche*." The Mobiles, he says, "were generally incapable of supporting the hardship of the campaign or standing against regular troops, and their ignorance and want of all interest in political or patriotic questions, and of anything like elevation of sentiment, was to their disadvantage." Of the *francs-tireurs*, he says they were a complete failure, Frenchmen being too gentle by nature to permit of their prosecuting a guerilla warfare effectively. Moreover, most of the *francs-tireurs* did not know the country in which they were operating. "The majority were merely anxious to get rid of all discipline, and of the hardships of living in the open air, and of the dangers of real fighting," and wandered through the country without any control. "Whole corps were composed of mere thieves, who stole the plate from the churches, and used their muskets to break open houses." Of the feeling with which the French went into the war, he says:

"The bulk of the nation, though not desiring war, and in fact regarding it rather with dismay, felt no moral disapproval at the injustice of the Emperor's pretext for the declaration, and quickly came to regard the idea of a march to Berlin with satisfaction; while the soldiers were

delighted that the war was not to be against friends, as it had been in Italy, but against enemies, so that plunder would be no longer a crime. These feelings, base and childish as they were, changed into mere fury on the news of our first defeats, and of the actual invasion of France. Men who had openly spoken of ravaging and conquering the Rhine provinces, at once raised the cry of sacrilege, and talked of the violation of the sacred soil of France, and of the torch of civilization being in danger. The Germans were stigmatized as barbarians and savages, and no language was bad enough for these furious patriots, no slander or falsehood too strong. These exaggerations only increased with the advent of the Republic; so that instead of a people animated by one grand desire to perish in resistance to an unjust invasion and an unrighteous conquest, the country for the most part displayed arrogant fury and a ferocious appetite for vengeance."

The campaign showed, he said, also considerable decay of warlike feeling, "but no development of morals, religion, or education to keep pace with it." It "opened his eyes to the ignorance of his countrymen, and their lamentable want of moral and religious ideas." The ignorance of the troops was something "appalling." He "doubted, if they knew what 'Alsace,' 'France,' or 'Germany' meant." There was nothing approaching to religious feeling amongst them, not even superstition. He came across one really pious man, "though ignorant and childish enough," and he was the laughing-stock of his comrades.

"True piety, the mystical attempt of the mind to reach a higher and invisible world, was unknown. It is impossible, for instance, to imagine an army of Frenchmen singing with heart and voice a religious and patriotic song like the German hymn, 'Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.'

"The case would have been different if our soldiers had had even strong moral convictions; but while they scoffed at priest and church, they were equally ready to laugh at purity and every other home virtue. The ordinary talk of the French soldier is of that broad kind which we call *grivois*—the pleasantry of an easy, cynical, shallow habit of mind, which, with a certain air of innocence, is never happy unless it is endeavoring to destroy and defile everything higher and holier than itself. It is fortunate for the listener if the talk does not drop from this into something filthier still. . . . Even honesty was not too common amongst these debased characters. It is for the peasants to say whether the French soldiers respected their property more than the Prussians did. Had the tables turned, and the French army marched into Germany, I doubt if our conduct there would have been more creditable than that of the Germans has been in France. Certainly the women would have suffered far more. Amongst us, respect for women is a thing almost unknown, nay, it is too often all but ridiculed."

At the same time, M. Monod rates the character of the men, where not brutalized by ignorance, very high, and says "that their manners were gentle, and they had a strong feeling of justice and injustice, and of compassion for the weak, a quality in which the Germans were too often wanting." He says the ignorance of the officers of geography "surpasses anything that one can conceive of." His account of the behavior of the peasants in Normandy and the Beauce is something shocking, but we have no room to quote farther. The whole article is, owing to M. Monod's position and antecedents, a most interesting contribution to the literature of the war, and it goes to swell the body of proof, which accumulates every day, that it matters little what form of government is now set up in France; that she will have no rest until there is a complete renovation of her morals and manners, from the very bottom, through education and suffering.

—The utter fruitlessness of the French naval operations on the coast of Germany during the late war has caused not a little wonderment, though the general result was predicted by all who were acquainted with Prussia's experiments in land defences. That the Prussian fleet, however, should have cut no greater figure than it did in the presence of two such dispirited, purposeless, and irresolute adversaries as were the squadrons under Admirals Bouet-Willaumez and Fourichon, was not easily explicable, and, in fact, is but just beginning to be explained. A work which gives between two covers both the French and the German point of view has been published at Bremen: "Die Campagne von 1870 in der Nord und Ostsee." It consists, first, of the articles contributed towards the end of November to the *Moniteur Universel* by René de Pont-Jest, who had been deputed to watch the operations by sea, on account of the public clamor over their futility, and was attached to Bouet's squadron in the Baltic. He was, of course, able to speak as an eye-witness only of what happened in those waters; but his narrative is in defence of both admirals. It is supplemented by the corrections and additions of a German naval officer, and the whole is accompanied by a map of the mouths of the Jahde, Weser, and Elbe. Some of Pont-Jest's disclosures are very curious. The declaration of war found the French fleet wretchedly unprepared for duty, and the Minister of Marine, Rigault de Genouilly, had the courage, alone of all the Emperor's councillors, to tell the truth and confess he was not ready. The degree of backwardness may be inferred from the fact that one of Admiral Bouet's complaints—he was not on good terms with the Minister, and complained more than was always necessary in an officer supposed to know his business—was that, some time after he had been at his station, he had not received the maps of Denmark, which were indispensable to his operations on the German coast, where all the buoys and landmarks had been carefully removed.

—As for the German navy, the truth is that it also was quite unprepared for the war, though the same censure cannot be applied to the German as to the French Government on this account. It was, and still is, a growing, not a fully developed service, and, as is well known, in numbers and weight of metal the French navy was doubly and trebly its superior. Nevertheless, people had been led to expect great things of certain vessels, notably of the *König Wilhelm*, which popular writers had represented to be capable alone of annihilating the French fleet. It shared, however, the ill-luck of the *Kronprinz* and the *Friedrich Karl*, in having a foul bottom and disordered machinery; and their operations were additionally hindered, as were those of the German ships generally, by the fact that there were no reserves to take their places if disabled, and no opportunity for the iron-clads to reach the only available dockyards for repair. To take the offensive, therefore, against a vigilant and cautious blockading force, which indeed endeavored by all means to draw them out into clear water, would hardly have been prudent in the German commanders, whose first and highest duty was evidently to guard the harbors and coasts against invasion. This they did most effectively, causing the French to despair of making a landing, and actually preventing them from coming within gunshot of the shore. Such is the substance of the German naval officer's refutation of René de Pont-Jest's argument, that, if the German admirals had had more pluck, the French would not have earned the reproaches heaped upon them for their inefficiency. Though this brochure professedly treats only of operations in the North Sea and on the Baltic, it gives the German official report of the engagement between the *Meteor* and the *Bouvet* off Havana—the only engagement of the whole war which could be dignified with the name of sea-fight, and which left no room for imputations on German valor.

—Bishop Hefele's "History of the Council of Constance" (the seventh volume of his "Conciliengeschichte") has successfully vindicated the Emperor Sigismund from what has been the great stain upon his memory—the alleged violation of his safe-conduct granted to Hus (this is the spelling insisted upon by the author). "Hus came to Constance" (we quote from a review in the *Academy* of May 15) "as he himself repeatedly states, without any other safe-conduct than a verbal promise of protection on his journey from the emperor, which was faithfully kept. The written safe-conduct reached him after his arrival in Constance, and was undoubtedly violated by his imprisonment before the Council had given him a hearing, but it was not violated by his execution after he had been heard and condemned. It guaranteed him against all violence on the road to or from Constance, in the event of his return, but it did not, and could not, guarantee him against the sentence of the supreme tribunal, which he went there for the express purpose of appealing to, nor was it so understood at the time either by the Emperor or by Hus and his friends. He had himself repeatedly declared his readiness to abide by the judgment of the council; and if he anticipated, as he probably did, a favorable decision, that does not prove that an adverse sentence was unjust, still less that its execution was a breach of faith."

WASHBURN'S "PARAGUAY." *

The American public had almost a right to expect from Mr. Washburn the "Notes of Personal Observation and Reminiscences of Diplomacy" which he presents to them in the volumes before us. He had been the most prominent, the most active, the most abused of all the representatives of foreign powers in Paraguay during the terrible contest which that formerly so little known country—a miniature inland China, with nominally republican institutions, and ruled by enigmatic dictators—waged against ten times more numerous enemies, to the utter ruin of its Hispano-Guarani population. He had arraigned before his Government several of its highest naval functionaries as faithless to their duty, and had met with severe recriminations. He had been blamed, both for abusing his powers in defying the authority of President Lopez, in the very agony of his

* "The History of Paraguay, with Notes of Personal Observations and Reminiscences of Diplomacy under Difficulties. By Charles A. Washburn, Commissioner and Minister Resident of the United States, at Asuncion, from 1861 to 1868. In two volumes." Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham. 1871.

death-grapple with Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic, and for doing too little to prevent that bloodthirsty tyrant from wreaking his rage on innocent men—like Masterman and Bliss—who had a claim to protection under the United States flag. It was Mr. Washburn's duty to justify his actions before the people, as he did before the Government, and to lay before the world the knowledge he had gathered concerning Paraguay, its unfortunate people, and its last rulers; and he has fulfilled this double duty to the best of his ability, and, we may say, satisfactorily. He has, however, attempted more—he has undertaken to write a "History of Paraguay," and this task he has only poorly executed.

Mr. Washburn's personal recollections are intensely interesting, as descriptive of a people, a struggle, and a despot without a parallel in history, and of thrilling events and strange perplexities that need not the slightest exaggeration to be highly sensational; but it is these very recollections that almost entirely unfit him for an historian, even if on other grounds he were qualified for this vocation. He is embittered and revolted, and but too justly so, by what he has seen, learned, and suffered, and his whole book, though intended to present a continuous narrative of historical facts, intermixed with descriptions and anecdotes, resembles a Congressional report by a "committee on outrages" much more than a history. Mr. Washburn is perfectly correct—the testimony in this respect is now overwhelmingly unanimous—in all he says of the atrocious character of Francisco Solano Lopez, the President and Marshal, who slaughtered off his nation on the battle-field, and his generals and advisers, his brothers-in-law and brothers, by the hands of torturers and executioners. He may be right when he tells us that the elder Lopez, the predecessor, and, as he asserts, only the putative father of Francisco Solano, was a wicked usurper, a mean hypocrite, an unparalleled extortionist, a treacherous villain who knew no truth, and "had no shame in lying." He may be equally right, thought we doubt it, in representing Dr. Francia, the first dictator of Paraguay, Carlyle's "lonely Francia," the man who created that state, as not only incomparably more selfish and treacherous, more tyrannical and cruel, than his successor, the elder Lopez, but as "a man remarkable only for the absence of every human feeling or affection"—a man whose acts show "no glimpse of talent, of learning, or of any redeeming feature whatever." And all he says of the younger Lopez's cowardice, of his and his brother's profligacy, of the false and cruel disposition of his chief mistress, Madam Lynch, of the general depravity and remorselessness of his tools, whether priests, officers, or spies, or of the stupid imbecility of his enemies—though much of it seems exaggerated—may all be literally true. But, as the author of a history, he has no right to tell us all these things a hundred times, which he does, to the great torment of his readers.

Diffuseness is altogether the most striking defect of the thousand or eleven hundred pages which Mr. Washburn devotes to the memory of Dr. Francia and the two Lopezes, and an inclination to accept exaggerated accounts appears to us the next. Thus we cannot make up our mind to receive as quite exact, what he unreservedly asserts, that full nine-tenths of the entire population of Paraguay perished by the sword, or from overwork, disease, and destitution, during the war so wantonly begun by Lopez in 1865, and terminated with his death in March, 1870; that at one time, before Itapiru, "one-half of his troops at least" were "sick with the measles," and "twenty thousand men, or more than a third of the Paraguayan forces . . . died there and then;" or that recruiting went on "until all from eight to eighty, who were not in prison, were forced into the army." Justice to the author compels us, however, to add that his seemingly most extravagant statements of fact do not go much beyond what concurrent evidence furnished by other sources renders almost undeniable. To the most appalling, but sufficiently, if not perfectly, authenticated facts, belong the human hetacombs sacrificed by Lopez in 1868, from fury, suspicion, policy, or intoxication. And yet this monster was probably not entirely devoid of true sentiment when he, about the same time, used these words to Mr. Washburn, in answer to a proposal to end the hopeless contest by a voluntary exile under favorable circumstances:

"He would fight to the last, and fall with his last guard. His bones must rest in his own country, and his enemies should only have the satisfaction of beholding his tomb; he would not give them the pleasure of seeing him a fugitive in Europe or elsewhere; he would sooner die than be a second Rosas. If the worst came, it was to be no surrender, but all were to fight until they were killed; that he was prepared to resort to more extreme measures than any one imagined, if necessary; it was better to fall after his whole people had been destroyed than treat on the condition of leaving the country. Unless he should succeed and come off conqueror, there was no future for him, nor did he want to live. Whatever of glory and fame would result from the war, long protracted against odds infinitely superior, was already his, and he would never be deprived of it; his fame in history was, at any rate, secure. It was not his ambition to rank with any South American hero, like San Martin, Bolivar, or Belgrano; they were persons for whom he had no respect, nor had he any desire to be classed with men who had made such a contemptible figure in history; but it was his ambition to have his name enrolled on the same page of history with those of Washington and Lincoln; that he would, if necessary, crown his triumphs with an act of heroism, and perish at the head of his legions. He had labored so long for his country, and with such self-abnegation; had been sustained by his people so bravely, and with such free and spontaneous will, that all these things must justify him in history, and give him a place such as no South American hero ever had. He said it was glory enough for him, while living, to have three nations making war so long against his single arm. . . ."

Mr. Washburn, of course, "could hardly believe that the man was in earnest when he spoke in this way; that he could really be such a dolt and fool as not to know that the people who were fighting under his orders were but abject slaves, and obeyed only from fear." He thus relieves himself of the difficulty of attempting the solution of the double enigma which the character of Lopez and the ready obedience unto death of his whole people presents to other observers. Nor does he much trouble himself with many other "things that appear mysterious and utterly inexplicable," and the solution of which, he believes, can be expected only from the Paraguayan Padre Maiz, an intimate follower of Lopez, who survived him. "He may perhaps explain why Lopez killed so many of those who were, as all supposed, his most faithful and able officers. He may tell, too, why he killed his brothers, and flogged and otherwise tortured his mother and his sisters. He may also possibly be able to tell whether or not Lopez ever believed in the existence of the conspiracy which he pretended to discover, and for alleged complicity with which so many hundreds were executed." Our author also admits that "it is not the purpose of this work to give anything like a history of the war," and that "the writer had few advantages beyond people who were not near the scene of it that would enable him to describe the events as they appeared to those who were in the respective camps of the belligerents."

Haste in execution is visible throughout the work, and especially in the compilation of the earlier history, in which the author has been aided by others. Hence, not only endless repetition, but also repetition with contradictions. Thus we read of Dr. Francia's relation to the priests, that "he did not resort to the plan practised by his successors of extorting from them the secrets of the confessional, or compel them to disclose to him what they had extorted in the hour of death" (vol. i., p. 281); that the system of espionage he had established he "did not carry so far that he could tell the innermost thoughts of his subjects"; and that "Carlos Antonio Lopez improved on this by adding the power of the confessional to his other enginery of power" (ii. 54); and also the statement that he, the very same Francia, "did not object to people confessing to the padres, but the padres must then confess to him all they had heard in the confidence of the confessional," and "that these requirements greatly scandalized the bishops and some of the priests" (i. 213). The story of the persecution of Garmendia by Francia is twice fully told, and the details are far from agreeing (i. 291 and i. 392). Of the elder Lopez, we hear that he was born "about the year 1787" (i. 338); that in 1841, when he succeeded Francia, he was "about forty-seven years of age" (i. 337), and again, that early in 1844 he was "about fifty-one years of age" (i. 351). The younger Lopez is stated to have been "born July 24, 1826" (ii. 47), but after the treaties "with France, England, Sardinia, and the United States"—treaties concluded in 1853 (i. 351)—he is made to be "about twenty-four years of age" (i. 405). And these are not the only contradictions of this kind we have noticed. A vastly more curious specimen of chronological inaccuracy is presented in the following narrative of the origin of the elder Lopez (i. 338–9):

"He was born near the Recoleta, at a distance of a little more than a league from Asuncion, about the year 1787. The family was one of the lowest in the country, and . . . of disreputable origin. Under the old Spanish régime there lived in Asuncion a man by the name of Juan Bautista Goyez. When past middle age, and after Francia became dictator, he was employed by him as a clerk or accountant of his treasury, a position which he held for many years. He was never married, but lived with a mulatto woman, by whom he had one child that he acknowledged and treated as his own. When grown to womanhood, this child married a poor journeyman tailor of mixed Spanish and Guarani blood, by the name of Cirilo Lopez. . . . He [Lopez] continued . . . to follow his occupation of tailor, either as journeyman or master, being mainly dependent upon the work of his hands for the support of his family. This family, in due course of time, consisted of six sons and two daughters, of which Carlos Antonio was destined to be the President of the future Republic."

To which we must add, by way of comment, that Francia was made dictator in 1814, and that we are thus told in this genealogical narrative that Goyez, who was "past middle age" in or after 1814, "after Francia

became dictator," was the grandfather of six boys and two girls, one of whom, "Carlos Antonio," was born "about the year 1787"! In spite of all these defects, however, we cannot refrain from recommending Mr. Washburn's work as both very interesting and very instructive.

FAIRBANKS'S HISTORY OF FLORIDA.*

THE historians of all the Gulf States possess a veritable heritage of wealth in the chronicles of the early Spanish conquerors and explorers. For Florida alone, some ten or a dozen of them may be appropriated with effective results. The accounts of Hernando De Soto's expedition are laid under heavy contribution not only by all the States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, but also by Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas; while Cabeza de Vaca (not Cabeça, which is a French form of the name), having already done duty for Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, and New Mexico, stands good for the initial chapters of the future histories of a large group of States yet to be created between Arkansas and the Pacific Ocean.

While crediting the author with industry and intelligent appreciation of his subject, we nevertheless feel inclined to the opinion—under the Vicar of Wakefield's celebrated canon of criticism—that this history would have been better if the author had taken more pains. At page 16, Ponce de Leon (1512) is represented as hearing in a general and uncertain manner of the existence of land to the northwest of the Bahamas, and Mr. Fairbanks thinks that these islanders "had, doubtless, some intercourse across the calm southern seas with their neighbors of the main." This is rather indefinite, particularly as the author may be supposed to have had access to the published Fontaneda (Simancas) MS., one of the memoranda attached to which states: "Columbus discovered the Islands of Yucayo and Achiti; a part of Florida was discovered by other persons residents of Santo Domingo." The valuable notes of the translator of the Fontaneda MS. also go to show that Florida was already known to the Spaniards in 1510.

A passage at page 22 fills us, we must confess, with some alarm, as foreshadowing the possible repetition on a very large scale of the Pocahontas legend. Our author recounts the fate of some Indians captured by De Ayllon, in 1520, and impressively adds: "They were of an unconquerable spirit, and their successors upon the soil of Chicora, the gallant sons of Carolina, have vindicated their claim to be considered their descendants in their spirit of independence and bold assertion of their rights and liberties." We never before heard that any such claim was at any time made by these "sons" of well-known English, Scotch, French, and Irish descent, much less that it was disputed and subsequently vindicated. As to the unconquerable spirit of the Indians, Mr. Fairbanks relates in the next paragraph that "they all died of care and grief."

What Verazzano (p. 27) has to do with Florida is not very clear if, as the author states, he "came upon the coast of North America in about latitude 35°," and coasted as far north as Cape Cod.

At page 47, the author relieves the monotony of abridgment with this remarkable statement:

> "The discovery of the Mississippi has for a long time been erroneously attributed to De Soto; but Cabeça de Vaca and his companions had rested upon its banks before De Soto set out on his expedition; and upon some high bluff by that wondrous stream should be erected a column bearing the simple inscription:
>
> ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEÇA DE VACA
> IN HOC LOCO PRIMUS OMNIUM EUROPÆORUM FUIT,
> A.D. MDXXXV."

There are serious objections both to the matter and form of this inscription. If there be any credit of discovery in the case, it should in justice be divided among De Vaca and his three companions—all equally deserving of the honor. Now, one of these was Estevanico, an African, and, in the present condition of the average Mississippi mind on the subject of the late constitutional amendments, every one will at once perceive the impropriety of erecting columns with Latin inscriptions to perpetuate the name and memory of a negro. As to the *locus in quo*—for *in hoc loco* expresses precision of locality—it is utterly impossible to designate it, and we are moreover of the opinion, for good reasons, that Vaca and his companions never "rested on its banks," nor in fact ever even saw the Mississippi.

Vaca's entire narrative is very defective in indications of his line of travel, which is made out—when made out at all—more from his mention of natural products, fruits, and animals, than by description of localities. He most probably coasted the Gulf shore of Louisiana until he passed by the mouths of the Mississippi. His route can be traced with reasonable certainty until he reaches a point on the coast west of Mobile Bay, and near the mouth of Pearl River. In what follows he neither refers to nor describes any river that would impress one who saw it for the first time as would the Mississippi. True, he speaks of passing a river "the water reaching to the breast. It might be as wide as that at Seville, and its course was very rapid." This description of the Guadalquivir would hardly answer for the Mississippi. Further on, he says, "we crossed a great river coming from the north." But this also could not be the Mississippi, for the reason that he has previously described the fruit of the *mesquite* (of the family of the mimosæ and a species of *algorobia*), a tree not found east of the Mississippi, and only reached when near the Rio Bravo del Norte in going west. It must also be taken into consideration that the delta of the Mississippi in De Vaca's time was considerably north of its present position, as may be better understood by comparison of a map of the present day with the De Lisle map of 1685, so that De Vaca and his companions might have gone by water due west along the coast without interruption.

Mr. Fairbanks's fifth chapter—on the route of De Soto's expedition—is especially disappointing. The march of De Soto has well been styled wonderful, as well from its duration as from the vast extent of territory traversed by it. So wonderful was it found that the accounts given by Garcilasso de la Vega and the Gentleman of Elvas were received with scepticism by several historical scholars until the modern discovery of a third relation—that of Biedma—fully confirmed the truth of the strange story. Next in interest to the history of the expedition would be an intelligible tracing of De Soto's route by modern landmarks; and it is not at all creditable to Southern scholarship that so little has been done in this matter, if we are to accept Mr. Fairbanks's fifth chapter as the résumé of their labors. We already possessed substantially the same information in Mr. Buckingham Smith's notes and in the notes of the Louisiana Historical Society's republication of the Biedma narrative. Of course each succeeding year adds to the difficulty of such a task. Fifty years ago it could have been done with the aid of the Indian tongues and traditions, then spoken and current. Even now, knowledge of local topography and a little industry could do much. There are many localities mentioned by the De Soto chroniclers that might be as readily recognized as the junction of the Coosa and the Etowah, where the town of Rome now stands.

Mr. Fairbanks has a chapter on the expedition of De Gourgues to avenge the massacre of his countrymen by Melendez. It is fairly written, to the extent of the information supplied by his authorities. But the author does not appear to be aware of the existence of fresh historical matter upon this subject. Late investigations in France have added very materially to our knowledge of De Gourgues and his expedition. Thus, for instance, Mr. Fairbanks states (p. 143), "Of the faith of De Gourgues, we know nothing." But it is now well settled, from the letter of De Gourgues, Bishop of Bazas (29th April, 1790), and other sources, that he was a Catholic. It was as a Frenchman, not as a Catholic, that he avenged the Melendez massacre; it was as Spaniards, not as Catholics, that he executed the murderers. He is represented (p. 145) as addressing his men concerning "the shame that rested upon France for leaving so long unavenged an act so wicked and base as the murder of the Huguenots and the destruction of the French colony." The word Huguenots is not in the original,* nor is there in the whole account, which is satisfactorily ascertained to have been written by De Gourgues himself, any reference whatever either to Huguenot or Catholic. He looked upon the matter as a purely national one, and the inscription on the tablet placed over the Spaniards hanged by him was: "Je ne faicts cecy comme à Espaignols, ny comme à Marranes, mais comme à traistres, volleurs et meurtriers." The word Marranes has in some versions been incorrectly made *mariniers* (sailors). It is a term of reproach specially applicable to Spaniards, and signifies that they are suspected of having had Moorish or Jewish ancestors.

Mr. Fairbanks's volume is valuable as bringing within a moderate compass a history of Florida down to the close of the Seminole war, but we trust he will find some subject on which to expend his abilities of more importance than "the events of the late civil war" in Florida.

* "History of Florida from its Discovery by Ponce de Leon, in 1512, to the close of the Florida War in 1842. By George R. Fairbanks." Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

* "Icy le cappitaine Gourgue, ayant assemblé tous ses gens, leur declare comment il avoit entrepris ce voiage pour aller à la Floride vanger sur les Espaignols l'injure qu'ils avoient faite au Roy et à toute la France. Il leur met au devant la trahison et la cruaulté de ceulx qui avoient massacré les Françoys, etc."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 1871.

The Week.

A STRIKING illustration of the way the Republican managers in various parts of the country try to dodge the tariff question has been afforded by the Iowa State platform, which favors "a reasonable degree of protection," but is "unalterably opposed to any system of legislation which favors one section of the country, or department of industrial enterprise, at the expense of another." A correspondent informs us that the resolution was reported to the convention by ex-Governor Stone, "with a wink," but the fact is, he need not have winked at all. This class of resolutions is well known to all persons who frequent conventions, and is greatly enjoyed internally by those who have an average sense of humor. The truth is, we suppose, that in Iowa, as in many other States, the great body of the Republicans are revenue reformers, but the managers, or men of experience, are old Clay Whigs, and we owe the double-faced sentiments of the platform to the desire of the elderly gentlemen to humbug the young ones in honor of their old chief. We doubt if the process can be carried on much longer.

The Ohio Republican platform eulogizes highly the past services of the party; recognizes the three constitutional amendments as accomplished facts, and as valuable and valid pieces of legislation; declares that duties on imports should be levied in such manner "as not to prejudice but promote the interests of every section and branch of industry as much as may be possible;" warmly commends the Administration for its impartial execution of the law, for its faithfulness and honesty and economy in the collection of the revenues, and for its management of our foreign relations, as exhibited in the negotiations with Great Britain, and expresses its continued confidence in the President; condemns the granting of public lands to corporations and monopolies, and declares that the public domain should be reserved for actual settlers; calls for the adoption of a "thorough system of civil service reform;" hopes that "the enmities and resentments of the war may soon be ended," and that the treatment of Unionists at the South may soon be sufficiently improved to "encourage the removal, in proper cases, of political disabilities for participation in the rebellion," an ingeniously mild and distant allusion to the possibility of a general amnesty; recommends the calling of a convention to amend the State Constitution, and thanks and commends Governor Hayes.

The Southern Outrage Committee have been looking into the state of affairs in Alabama, and have had before them Mr. Richard Busteed, the United States District Judge, who certainly draws a picture of the condition of society in his jurisdiction which might make the teeth of any inhabitant of the Northern States water. He denies that there has been any obstruction to the execution of the laws or of the process of the court, except in one instance, and in that case it was the Republican State Auditor who disobeyed an injunction, and had to be locked up and fined. The people of the State have a "deep-seated conviction," he says, "that the laws are not equal and impartial," and yet all classes pay the greatest respect to the judicial authority, and obey the laws without flinching. What makes this conduct seem all the more wonderful is that, according to the Judge, "the character of the persons holding subordinate official positions under the State Constitution is generally notoriously bad, both as to intelligence and honesty." Of the Rev. Mr. Lakin, who has given very alarming testimony before the Committee, saying among other things that thirty-three indictments had been found and tried in Judge Busteed's Court for violations of the Civil Rights Bill, while, in fact, only one had been found, and none had been tried, the Judge not unwarrantably, and it might be added, mildly, remarks that "he is a man who is apt to make wild statements without accurate basis."

We have ourselves received some curious and instructive, and, we may add, trustworthy information with regard to the state of things in North Carolina, which helps to shed light on the value of the Force Bill, particularly as it comes from the military officer engaged in executing that law. He confirms the stories of Ku-klux outrages on perfectly inoffensive persons, and says that in the town in which he is stationed, the mayor and town officers having gone out on the 1st of May, nobody has taken the trouble to elect others, so that the town is now without a government, and without police, except such as the United States troops furnish, which is of course feeble and ineffective. The result was that, previous to the arrival of the troops, the citizens passed the nights in the streets rioting, mediæval fashion; and though as much as a hundred discharges of firearms were sometimes heard in the course of a single night, nobody ever complained of anybody else. In fact, none of the inhabitants any longer give themselves any concern about the preservation of order, and, when informed that they must take the matter in hand, decline with serenity. The Republicans are mostly "low-down people," and, far from concerning themselves about affairs of state, are too thankful to escape notice. Most of them, our correspondent says, "sleep in the woods and unknown places" every night—or, as the French express it, *ils ne deconchent pas mal*—as a measure of personal safety—a custom which would destroy any man's zest for "politics." He speaks of the belief of the Republicans that the presence of the troops can permanently restore order as a "delusion," and characterizes the whole state of things as "very discouraging—almost hopeless."

General N. B. Forrest has also appeared on the scene as a witness about the existence of the Ku-klux, and declares to a newspaper correspondent that he has travelled much of late in Alabama and Tennessee, and has been able to find nobody "who knew of any such organization," and had no hesitation in "asserting that, did it exist, the inhabitants with whom he came in contact would have apprised him of that fact." He has also "travelled extensively in all portions of the South, and as far as his judgment and personal observation lead him to believe, he can safely assert" "that no such band has an existence in any of the Southern States." Now, this testimony may be worth little, or much, or nothing—in our opinion, it is worth little—but it is not to be answered as the *Tribune* answers it, by saying that Forrest "is a man who has schooled himself so thoroughly in treasonable practices and habits of thought, that, if he has any convictions of duty, they would teach him to conceal the truth, and assert its opposite in any dealings with the Government of the United States," and that he ought to have been hanged for his share in the rebellion. Forrest has been before the Southern Outrages Committee, and there confessed that at one time—that is to say, during the last Presidential campaign—he did belong to a secret political organization, called "White Camellias," or "Pale Faces," which the *Tribune* insists was in reality the Ku-klux Klan; but how are we to reconcile Forrest's confession in this instance with the assertion that "his convictions teach him to conceal the truth," etc.? If he lied for certain when he said there were no Ku-kluxes, how do we know he did not lie when he said he had been a "Pale Face" or a "White Camellia"?

Since the 5th of June, a General Indian Council has been sitting at Ocmulgee, with the view of organizing a federal form of government for the various tribes living in the Indian Territory. There are about sixty delegates, representing the sixty thousand of population; and one of the most interesting and hopeful features of the occasion is the voluntary attendance of several chiefs of the wild Indians on the Plains, who were cordially received by their semi-civilized brethren. Thus far, little progress has been made, except in good feeling. The constitution submitted last December to the tribes to be embraced in the confederation has failed, for one cause or another, to be accepted, or even generally considered; and the present effort is to get a temporary government established under it, and leave it to be amended as need

shall arise. To call the proposed government, however, a confederation is not to be strictly accurate, although the tribes are independent of each other and do not speak a common language. The movement is really toward unity, the tribes merely furnishing a natural division into electoral districts. As such, it cannot fail to be regarded with the highest interest, and its success will be among the brightest ornaments of Grant's Administration. Indeed, one has only to imagine the probable consequences for the Indians of Tweed's taking possession of the National Capitol, to confess that herein lies one of the weighty reasons for resisting the Democratic return to power.

Dr. Lanahan, the assistant agent of the Methodist Book Concern, soon after he took office, brought the most damaging charges against the business management of the enterprise, such as impropriety in the method of keeping the books, discrepancies between the figures in the ledger and the figures in the annual accounts presented to the Conference, and erasures and alterations without any explanation, all involving large amounts; and he offered to prove all these charges before a competent tribunal if an opportunity were afforded him. The persons in charge were, however, determined that no such opportunity should be afforded him; so he was first of all put on trial for giving scandal by making the charges, and then, when he sought access to the books and papers, it was denied him; and when he applied to the courts for a mandamus, to compel the production of the books and papers, he was tried for making the application, and actually condemned, and the Bishops recommended to remove him from office. The Bishops, however, are equally divided, so he remains in his position. We can only say that anybody who contributes money to the Concern, not only while these charges are unexamined, but while the examination of them is persistently and dexterously evaded, must not only be a very queer Christian, but a very queer owner of money. There has been nothing more discreditable in the history of the New York Ring than the whole affair, and the apparent calm with which the Methodist laity have looked on at it is not the least singular part of it.

As might have been foretold, Mr. B. F. Butler has come to the defence of "the Commune," and says the fight was all for municipal independence—he is so knowing about French politics—and declares solemnly that "none of us can foretell what has been the result on the future liberties of mankind by the crushing out of the Commune." Some of us certainly are in blessed ignorance about the matter, and some of us do not care particularly one way or the other; but we advise Brother Butler to keep his spirits up. "The liberties of mankind" are in no such danger as his pensive and somewhat melancholic cast of mind leads him to imagine. If anybody were to get up in the United States and proclaim that whenever an American city came to the conclusion that the legislature was not going to give it such a charter as it would like, it was entitled, before uttering one word of protest or remonstrance, to close its gates, declare war against the government, seize the spare cash in the banks, lock up the clergy, and fill the streets with barricades, and let loose the convicts, and put Bohemians, crack-brained people, and loose fishes in all places of trust and profit—and then, after fighting a while, without a chance of success, to fire the public buildings and charge the sewers with gunpowder—and any city were to follow his advice, there would not be in the whole Union a more furious defender of order than this same Butler. He would be levying troops, and marching, and vowing vengeance on "the rebels" all over the country; and after the troops had let him into the city, and he had the inhabitants at his mercy, he would surpass any Versaillist of them all in ferocity, if the government let him have his way, and, when all was over, would run for Congress on the credit of his severity.

The *Tribune* seems to be beset with complaints from women of the way they are ogled and insulted in public places, by men of various ages, either when following lawful callings, such as soliciting advertisements for newspapers, or when simply passing to and fro in the streets or in public conveyances. One woman asks impatiently whether "they must be condemned to pass through the streets with their eyes cast down, instead of the free gaze which belongs to American women?" At the bottom of all this trouble is undoubtedly the desire which a large number of women feel, not only to engage in all the occupations in which men engage, but, as a natural consequence of this, to be freed from all the conventional restraints which immemorial usage has imposed on female speech and behavior. These restraints have all been put in force under the influence of the theory that there is such a thing as sexual passion, which powerfully influences the conduct both of men and women, but particularly of men, and which, therefore, in the interest of purity, imposes on one sex a certain guardedness of manner when in the presence of the other sex, whether in the parlor, workshop, or street. One of the beautiful discoveries of the new school of social philosophers is, however, as we have repeatedly pointed out, that there is no such thing as a natural sexual passion; that the feeling which passes by that name is simply a bad habit, somewhat like smoking and drinking, which men can drop if they please, and which, for the convenience of women, they ought to drop, so as to enable the two sexes to stand towards each other on an exactly equal footing, and without other dangers than such as result from quarrelsomeness or cupidity. Women could then stare at anybody they pleased in the street, as they have a natural right to do, and go about with men just as if *they* were men. The working of the new doctrine into practice is, of course, attended with inconvenience; but it is making its way. Before long, man will gaze at woman with the same emotions with which he gazes at a landscape or a field of wheat; while woman will look on man as she looks on a grain elevator or a locomotive.

It was for some years apparently the belief of Congressmen, and, we might add, of Mr. Boutwell as well, that the credit of the United States in the money markets of the world was whatever Congress pleased to enact that it should be—that is, if Congress directed a loan to be made, it could fix the interest which should be paid, as if nobody had anything to say in the matter except the House and Senate and President. This peculiar view of the matter long afforded food for mirth to the epicureans and enemies of progress on both sides of the water. These hardened cynics are now, however, requested to take notice that this position has been abandoned. Mr. J. B. Elliott, the well-known accountant of the Treasury Department, has at last been directed to find out what the credit of the United States really is, and has been during the past ten years, by a series of calculations based on the market price of their bonds. He has accordingly gone to work, and has come to the conclusion that, from 1854 to 1861, the Government was able to borrow at from 3½ to 5 per cent.; that in 1861 its credit was marked by 8 per cent.; in 1869, by 7½ per cent.; and that at present its borrowing power is measured by from 5 to 5 1-5 per cent.

The financial world has been ruffled, though scarcely surprised, at the bursting of one of the stock bubbles, so industriously blown in Wall Street during the past year, by a class of men who seem determined to disregard all consequences in their greed for dishonest gain. Rock Island shares, which sixty days ago sold at 103, were run up to 130 and over, and when the bubble burst fell back to 110, causing the failure of a prominent operator, of fifteen or sixteen of his brokers, and heavy losses to bankers and other legitimate dealers. The outside public, which, as we have repeatedly pointed out, has almost ceased to speculate, fortunately did not suffer. Mr. Boutwell at last acknowledges that his funding schemes have proved a failure. Our own national banks, acting under Treasury pressure, have converted about sixty-five millions, but no other portion of the holders have been able to see the force of the Secretary's recommendation to exchange a six per cent. bond for one bearing only five. To punish their stolidity, it is now announced that Mr. Boutwell will pay off a portion of the bonds, in other words, will give the ungrateful holders, as a punishment, one hundred dollars for what they offer to sell for ninety-nine. And this is called finance. Mr. Boutwell evidently believes that there are no other securities in the world except American bonds, and that, if people cannot get our sixes, they will be compelled to take our fives. The financial condition of France is unfavorable to the peace of Europe. No Government that can now be formed can hope to grapple with the

crushing problem of the indemnity. It is the blunder of Bismarck's career. The Bourse, which in the worst days of the Commune stood at 48 to 50 for the Rentes, advanced only to 53 on the success of the Versaillists, and has since fluctuated between 51 and 52. The prospect of the new loan is evidently not bright, although the whole influence of Germany is now—strangely enough—exerted in favor of its success.

The accounts of the growing cotton crop are still very conflicting, but seem in the main more favorable, especially from Texas and the other Southwestern States. The price has been steady, with some tendency to a slight decline. The accounts of the grain crops have been less favorable, not only with us but all over Europe, but the liberal stocks in our markets have prevented any advance, while the export has been large. The total exports for the week are equal to the average of the height of the season, but the foreign exchanges nevertheless continue adverse, the coin shipments are large, double-eagles are again at a premium of three-eighths per cent., and there is evidently a settlement of international accounts going on, such as conservative merchants and bankers have been hoping for for two years past, in order to ascertain how much of our foreign trade and finance relations is sound and permanent, and how much mere speculation. It is difficult to foresee the result.

The French National Assembly has passed the Loan Bill without opposition. The loan will be issued at 82f. 50c., payable in seventeen instalments. During the debate, M. Thiers made a detailed statement of the financial condition of France, which, he said, was "difficult but not disastrous." The German war had cost the country $600,000,000. The deficit of the fiscal year 1870–71 reached $326,200,000; of this the Bank of France had advanced $266,000,000, so that the immediate deficiency for the year was $60,200,000. To this, however, must be added $87,200,000 for expenses incurred in the suppression of the Paris insurrection. Thus the total deficit was $147,400,000, which he proposed to meet by increased taxation, without resorting, however, to either an income tax or to measures of a prohibitory character. He was sanguine of success, and even expected the Government to be able to set apart annually two hundred million francs for the sinking fund, an announcement which was probably received with livelier applause than confidence. All furloughed treasurers, receivers, and collectors have been recalled to their posts to receive subscriptions, the lists for which were opened on the 26th. The urgency is the greater, as the first instalment of the war indemnity, made payable thirty days after the re-establishment of the authority of the Government in Paris, is just falling due. Retrenchments in the expenditures are to be made on a grand scale, and first of all in the navy department, thousands of sailors being dismissed.

In his speech on the Loan Bill, M. Thiers, while referring to the disastrous military operations which have so terribly deranged the finances of France, again reflected upon the course pursued by the Tours and Bordeaux Governments, though somewhat more leniently than he did in his remarkable speech on the abrogation of the proscription laws, delivered twelve days earlier, in which he designated the war measures of Gambetta as "the most ill-conceived that have been employed at any time, in any war," and his policy as a "politique insensée," a "politique de fous furieux" (a policy of raging madmen). M. Thiers's opinion of Gambetta, however, does not appear to be shared by our Cable reporters, to whom he still seems to be a statesman of first magnitude, all whose movements and utterances, authenticated or rumored, must be duly recorded. Thus they have, during the week, successively informed us that "Gambetta refuses to acknowledge the mandate of the Assembly," the latter having "ceased to exist when it voted the ratification of the treaty of peace"; that "Gambetta is in Malta"; that "Gambetta declines to run for the Assembly, because, he says, the present Chamber is an illegal body"; that "Gambetta offers his services to the Republic"; that "Gambetta has arrived in Paris," and "has accepted the candidacy to the Assembly from one of the districts of Paris"; and that "Gambetta arrived at Bordeaux on Sunday," and "adheres to the views of Louis Blanc." The despatches about the Longchamp review, the trial of Rochefort, Assy, and Rossel, the courts-martial in general, and the movements of the Orleans Princes, are just as multifarious, and of about the same historical value. The latest concerning the Princes, on the authority of the *Figaro*, is that they will "proceed to Frohsdorf," the residence of the Comte de Chambord, "where they will await the decision of the country in silence." This may not be true, as many a thing asserted by the *Figaro* is not; but "fusion" seems, after all, to be, to a degree, a fact. "The decision of the country" is expected to be rendered early in July, through the supplementary elections, concerning the result of which it would be idle to speculate after the indefinite indications telegraphed to us.

The gist of M. Thiers's speech of June 8, which we have alluded to above, is contained in the following remarks, addressed chiefly to the Conservative portions of the Assembly: "We have received from your hand a government *de facto*, the Republic. We have received the mission to make peace, to preserve order, to surrender the administration of the country into hands more worthy to manage it, to form an army, . . . to re-establish the credit of France as well as we could. We have received this mission, and also the mission—and I have accepted no other—to maintain the form of government we found in existence. . . . What you meant then was this: Representing the sovereignty of France, you had no intention to avail yourselves of the whole of it; you would not add to the revolution in the *personnel* of the government a revolution in the form of government itself. You have granted the Republic the fact of its existence, nothing but the fact; but this you have granted it. You have reserved to yourselves the future; you were right in so doing. . . . . What was our leading idea in Bordeaux? It was this: There are two tasks to execute; one which unites us, and one which divides us. Fortunately, the task which united us was the urgent one, the task which divided us could be delayed. . . . My rule of conduct is this: I shall not betray the future; I shall not betray the present; when I shall discover the one or the other to be imperilled, I shall separate myself from those who might cause the peril. . . . To precipitate the solution would be to plunge France into civil war. . . . We have obtained a truce between the parties. What is my duty, resulting from it? It is to cause, by impartial justice towards you all, that truce to last as long as possible." These are noble and assuring words on the morrow of the beastly attempt at revolution in Paris.

Count Beust's "Red Book," laid before the united Delegations of the Vienna Reichsrath and the Hungarian Diet, and his personal declarations, represent the dual empire of Francis Joseph to be in perfect peace and the best understanding with all powers in Europe. What the chancellor especially emphasizes is—and he is believed to be more sincere in this assertion than in what he says in regard to Russia—that his government is far from harboring any hostile design against the German Empire—the creation of his rival. This peaceful disposition meets, of course, with the applause of both grand divisions of the empire. The eastern, or Hungarian, has lately been unpleasantly affected by the resignation of its Minister of Justice, Horváth, the only non-noble member of the Andrássy Cabinet, equally esteemed for his character and abilities. The western, or Cisleithan, is in an incomparably more dissatisfied mood, the conciliatory efforts of the Hohenwart Ministry having as yet led to no compromise between the Reichsrath and the principal Slavic provinces, Bohemia and Galicia, and only created a breach between the German and centralistic majority of that assembly and the court, which now decidedly favors federalism. The Emperor, in his answer to an address of the Reichsrath expressive of a want of confidence in the Cisleithan cabinet, openly took side with the latter against the former, and the impression prevails that the Reichsrath will have to yield, as its continued opposition could not fail to lead to a dissolution, or something worse. The government counts upon the unconditional support of the Poles, to whom it has made special concessions, and expects that the Czechs, too, will this time be satisfied with a partial fulfilment of their demands for autonomy, which would anyhow be a great triumph over their Teutonic associates in the Empire. A *dénouement* is expected soon to come, but the question is, will it be final?

THE REPUBLICAN PROGRAMME.

THE campaign in Ohio is interesting, not only as likely to furnish a good indication of the strength with which the Republican party will go into the Presidential contest next year, but as presenting us with the first explicit declaration from an authoritative source which we have had for a long time of what the party means to do if its lease of power should be renewed. The speech made by Senator Sherman to the Convention at Columbus last week was the first attempt made by any Republican orator, within two years at least, if our memory serves us rightly, to pass beyond a recital of the claims of the party on popular gratitude into the wider and less inviting region of promise. We have been told, many people begin to think too often, what the Republican party has done for the country during the last ten years; but whenever we turn to the future, and ask what it is going to do for the country hereafter, we are usually treated to an account of what the Democratic party will do if *it* gets a chance, which is doubtless an important and interesting subject of consideration, but hardly "the main question." Besides, there is no such thing as "gratitude" to a party. Gratitude, in order to exist, has to have a determinate object, and a party is not a determinate object. It is not even a body of persons capable of description. A "party" is nothing more than a concurrence of opinions, and to request us to be grateful to it, and to continue to lodge the government in particular hands under the influence of this gratitude, is very like asking us to be faithful to the "voices of the night" or "the spirit of the age." The only use of telling people what a party has done by way of influencing votes at an election, is to give them an idea of what it will do if it is allowed to retain the reins of government; and the misfortune of the Republican party has been that its advocates, when recounting its exploits—have very generally confined themselves to facts which shed no light on the future whatever. To say that a party has fought out the war successfully, or has procured the adoption of amendments to the Constitution establishing the equality of all men before the law, gives us no clue whatever to its financial policy. A man might be a firm friend of emancipation, we all know, and a sworn foe of State rights, and yet utterly wild about the national income and outlay.

We do not wish to be disagreeable, but there is nothing like clothing an argument with circumstance, so we shall mention, in illustration of our meaning, that three very prominent Republicans—amongst the most prominent in the period immediately following the war: Mr. Sherman, of Ohio; Mr. Morton, of Indiana; and Mr. B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts—were, in the year 1867, as sound as a bell on reconstruction in all its branches; or, in other words, were as good Republicans as were to be found, and by no means the least influential. Yet, if we had listened to the teachings of those gentlemen in that year, we should, though all right on reconstruction, and brimful of gratitude "to the great party," etc., have been plunged into something very like ruin, on the very questions with which the party in power is now called upon to deal most seriously—questions of finance and taxation—as these statesmen would themselves now be the first to acknowledge. When we read over Senator Sherman's wise and forcible remarks at Columbus on the advantages of honesty, as the financial policy of a great, rich, and growing country, we asked ourselves whether this was really and truly the philosopher who, in 1867, gravely recommended the public creditor to submit to a reduction on the interest on his bonds, lest a worst thing—namely, the total loss of both principal and interest—should befall him, and never once rose anywhere to tell his countrymen at that critical moment, when the national judgment was still unformed and the national conscience was still groping its way unsteadily through the confusion of a first contact with novel economical and moral problems, that when a body of men has promised to pay a certain sum of money, and is able to pay it, there is for it no more escape, either in earth or heaven, from the payment of it, than there is for any individual in easy circumstances from the settlement of his butcher's bill. And when within the last few months we have come across the various bits of encouragement which have at different times been offered us by Mr. Morton and Mr. Butler to keep on voting the Republican ticket, in the sure and certain hope of a prosperous and happy future, who could help asking himself what better reason he had to trust these gentlemen now than when, in the year above-mentioned, they were abusing or frightening the bondholders, and urging the people to pay them off in depreciated paper money?

It is a saying of that profound thinker, Mr. Wendell Phillips, recently produced on the platform on various occasions, in giving advice to the newly enfranchised negroes, "Never forget or forgive at the polls." If we might be allowed to suggest a substitute for any counsel of this sage, we would say to all voters, whether newly enfranchised or not, "Don't be silly at the polls; forget or remember at them as seems most likely to serve your interests." Consequently, we are not calling up these errors and shortcomings of Republican leaders with a view either of making them objects of ridicule or of mistrust. We simply wish to show that the past performances of a political party give it no claim on the continued confidence of the people, unless they plainly indicate the mode in which it is likely to deal with new problems, and it may be, as in this case, entirely different ones from those with which it has had to deal in the past. And if Mr. Sherman had had at Columbus nothing better to offer us than promises or professions, there could be no more reason—nay, there would even be less reason—for heeding him now than there was for heeding him four years ago, when he was advising the public creditor to submit to a swindle, and dared not advise his constituents to refrain from committing it.

Happily, he has had on this occasion something to show on which sensible men may really pin their faith. He gives us, as a reason for believing that if the Republican party is kept in power it will improve the national credit, the undeniable fact, not that it has emancipated four millions of bondsmen, but that it has raised the value of the national promises to pay from sixty-nine to ninety-one cents on the dollar. He gives as a reason for believing that it may be relied on to reduce taxation the equally undeniable fact, not that it successfully put down the greatest rebellion the world ever saw, but that in the last Congress alone it has reduced taxation fifty-six millions. We wish the promises that he makes, that the tariff will be simplified and reduced, had the same solid foundation to rest upon. He says, too:

> "It is now sufficient for me to say that I am utterly opposed to continuing, at a high rate, the taxes on articles of prime necessity, in common use among all our people, merely to be able to reduce the taxes on those articles which enter into competition with our own industry. Nor is it wise by protective laws to force our home industries into unnatural channels. A reduction of duties on necessaries, large duties on luxuries, and average duties on articles competing with our own, this is the general idea which, in my opinion, should guide us in reducing our tariff, and they surely will guide me."

Although we may not attach much importance to this either as an opinion or as a promise, there can be no doubt about its value as an indication of the temper of the audience he is addressing; he clearly believes that the West demands revenue reform, and if he is not going to march in that direction, he will certainly turn his face towards it, and produce as good an appearance of marching as circumstances will allow. The saving clause, as we may call the following—

> "I am for the reduction of taxes by the repeal or modification of all that are excessive, but I am not in favor of following any wild theories of political economists to the destruction of any home industry, or to the diminution of our revenue, so as to endanger a deficiency"—

is, of course, what is to be expected in the speeches of all politicians not blessed with strong or clear convictions, and is of about the same value as the clauses so frequently found in party platforms, which express equally warm sympathy with laborers and capitalists, with the poor and with the rich, with the French and with the Germans, and equally strong confidence in science and in the rule of thumb.

Perhaps, however, what was most remarkable in the proceedings of the Convention, as well as in Mr. Sherman's speech, was the emphatic endorsement given by both to civil service reform. Unhappily, the record of the party on this question contains little to guarantee the sincerity of its professions. It has been ten years in power, and it has done nothing for the cause of civil service reform. It found a law in the statute-book making some sort of provision for such a reform, and it made no attempt to enforce it. It ridiculed and heaped odium upon its one or two officers who tried to do so. Many if not most of its

leading politicians have denounced the movement as the work of crack-brained visionaries; it received no sort of countenance in Congress until the close of the last session; and if it were not for the President's appointment of the Commission which is now at work drawing up rules and regulations for the government of the civil service, Senator Sherman's remarks on this subject, and especially those of them in which he throws the blame of the civil service abuses on the Democratic party, would be simply ludicrous. Coming, however, from so astute a politician, they do show one thing clearly, and that is, that the public wants to have the civil service reformed; but, to effect this, the public will have to see to it that such recommendations as the Commission may make are not pigeon-holed, but are acted on during the coming winter.

THE SUPREME COURT AND ITS THEORY OF NATIONALITY.

The theory which the Supreme Court of the United States shall at any time adopt in reference to the nationality of the Union, and its relations with the several States, must, to a very great extent, determine and shape the action of the court in construing and interpreting particular clauses of the Constitution, and in deciding upon the powers conferred upon the General and the State governments. It will be interesting therefore, as well as instructive, to ascertain with accuracy the position which that high tribunal now occupies, and to compare it with the doctrines which have been maintained by it at a former period.

The nationality of the United States which the court recognized and upheld while Chief-Justice Marshall was at its head, was based upon the declaration of the preamble that "We, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution." This theory, which went back no further than the text of the fundamental law, may have been logically deficient; and it may be historically difficult to conceive how a political organization—the people—which had no prior existence, should have been called into being at the very moment when the Constitution was adopted, and should have been the authors of that instrument. But the court was not troubled by these logical and historical defects. The foundation was deep and broad enough for all the emergencies which then arose, and upon it Webster as an advocate, and Marshall as a judge, built up a superstructure of constitutional construction which trembled only during the upheavals of the civil war. After the death of Chief-Justice Marshall, and the elevation of Chief-Justice Taney to the bench, a change took place in these fundamental notions. The one people was no longer looked upon as the source of power, as the authors of the Constitution and of the General Government. The organic law was constantly described as the work of States which had been originally sovereign and independent, but which had surrendered some portions of their sovereignty and certain administrative functions to the United States which they had voluntarily formed. It should be said in the most emphatic manner, that neither Chief-Justice Taney, nor the majority of the court under him, ever adopted the heresies which justified secession. With them the surrender once made by the States was irrevocable, and the union once formed by them was indissoluble. The court, however, was not a unit in upholding these doctrines. A large minority pushed the State-sovereignty dogma to its logical conclusions, and the contests which sometimes arose in the consultation-room and upon the bench were bitter and protracted. On more than one occasion the meagre theory of nationality which we have sketched was sustained by the casting vote of a single judge, who, appointed from a Southern State, had sat under Marshall, and had received lasting impressions from his massive intellect.

Shortly after the breaking out of the civil war, several vacancies occurred in the court by death and resignation, and President Lincoln was called upon to appoint a new Chief-Justice and four new associates. President Grant has recently added two associate justices, so that, of the old court, Justices Nelson and Clifford are the only remaining members. It was natural to suppose that a tribunal thus reorganized, with its fresh material taken from the ranks of those who were laboring in the field, in the legislature, and in the forum to sustain the Union, should adopt a theory of nationality different from that which their immediate predecessors had maintained, and which was hardly to be distinguished from the dogma of absolute State sovereignty. The war brought with it questions which far transcended in importance any which arose during the leadership of Chief-Justice Marshall, questions which required that the foundations of our civil society should at last be reached and built upon. The court evidently felt the great responsibility which rested upon them, and were not anxious to undertake the task. Several cases growing out of the Reconstruction measures which followed the close of the war, and which, it was supposed, involved the validity of these measures, were dismissed upon the ground that the question whether a given State government is legitimate or illegitimate is not juridical, but is merely a political one, and cannot, therefore, be considered by any judicial tribunal. A case, however, soon arose of such a nature that the court could not avoid the issue. In the year 1867, and before she was completely restored to her normal relations with the United States under the operation of the Reconstruction Acts, Texas commenced a suit in the Supreme Court against certain citizens of other States. The Constitution and the statutes of Congress provide that the jurisdiction of the court shall extend "to controversies between a State and citizens of other States." The objection was, of course, raised that Texas was not a State, and had no standing in court. No graver question was ever presented to this tribunal of last resort in constitutional matters. Its solution involved an examination into the nature of the Union and its government, the nature of the States and of their governments, the relations of these political societies to each other, and the effects of the war upon these relations. The decision of the court was pronounced by Chief-Justice Chase in a judgment remarkable for its clearness and for the cogency of its reasoning.

In this opinion the court, for the first time in its entire history, struck the solid ground of historic fact, and announced a theory which defines and preserves both the inherent nationality of the United States and the separate existence, necessity, and local rights of the several States. By this theory the States did not create the Constitution and the nation, nor is the people found in existence for the first time in the preamble. Historically, the nation preceded the Constitution; it took its rise with the first united movement of the colonies. The national idea springing out of their common origin, interests, and necessities found its first open expression in their resistance to Great Britain; it was strengthened by the war; it was triumphant in the Declaration of Independence; it was incorporated in the feeble Articles of Confederation; and it was finally perfected in the Constitution. The court has at last found a firm basis—firm because historically and logically true—upon which to rest the supreme nationality of the United States; and we believe that this theory, which was for a long time supported by only a few historical students, but which has now received the approval of the Supreme Court, will soon be accepted by all parties, and will become one of the first principles of our constitutional law. But while the court thus placed the nation upon a sure foundation, it defined the status of the States, and asserted their necessary existence and peculiar rights in a manner no less clear and certain. Historically, the States existed also from the beginning. The Constitution recognized them, and provided for the creation of new commonwealths. The Government which the nation called into being is built upon the States as separate societies; without them, it would vanish. They and their separate and local rights and powers are inseparably bound up with it, and cannot be destroyed without blotting out the present system. The Supreme Court has thus, in this judgment, placed the nation and the States upon exactly the same footing; whoever weakens the one, weakens the other; whoever denies the historic origin of the one, denies the same origin of the other. As we have in this theory the greatest security for the nation, we have also the greatest security for the several States, so that it may be adopted with equal faith by these who would maintain the supremacy of the Union and by those who would preserve local self-government. The opinion of the Chief-Justice was concurred in by all but three of the judges, and was adopted as a formal expression of the doctrines which were to guide the court in their treatment of the great questions of constitutional construction which might come before them.

The positions of this most important judgment have been repeated on several subsequent occasions, and they finally received the almost unanimous sanction of the court in the well-known case of Day and Buffinton, decided at the last term. As this case involved the power of the United States to tax the salary of a State judge, it again became necessary to examine into and determine the relations of the two political societies, the nation and the State. Mr. Justice Nelson delivered the opinion, which was concurred in by the entire bench, with the single exception of Mr. Justice Bradley. Again we are told that "both the States and the United States existed before the Constitution." The arguments of the Chief-Justice are reiterated. "The people," it is said, "established a more perfect union by substituting a national government, acting with ample powers directly upon the citizens, instead of the confederate government." We find here no trace of the exploded dogma that the originally sovereign States created the government, and surrendered to it some important functions. Fifteen years ago Mr. Justice Nelson would have probably used such language; but the court has moved during the last decade, and this progress has been conspicuously noticeable in its oldest members. Side by side with this strong assertion of inherent nationality, the rights of the States, as recognized in and protected by the Constitution, are maintained in the most emphatic manner. The true position is reached that the Constitution which created the General Government for the nation adopted the States and made them essential parts of the entire system, so that politically the central administration and the local administrations draw their life from the same source, and must stand or fall together. This theory is certainly a great advance upon the methods used by Webster and Marshall, and it should be able to reconcile all conflicting schools. If it can command the assent of such representative men as Justices Miller, Strong, and Swayne on the one hand, and Justices Clifford, Nelson, and Field on the other, it will surely be accepted by all parties, and by all good citizens, except the few Bourbons who will not learn the lessons of the war.

ENGLAND.—THE TICHBORNE CASE.

LONDON, June 16, 1871.

ONE topic of conversation at present engrosses the attention of all the world—by which phrase I, of course, understand a certain number of human beings in respectable clothing, who live within a circle whose centre is Charing Cross, and whose radius may be reckoned at about ten miles. I may, indeed, give a rather wider sweep to the title on the present occasion, and my proposition will still be true. The absorbing topic of which I speak is the trial which in future collections of *causes célèbres* will be known as the Tichborne Case. I know not how the interest taken in the story may spread across the Atlantic, nor how far I am communicating a piece of superfluous information, when I say that, if you wish for a story to rival the most exciting of sensation novels, or for a puzzle as amusing as that which has hitherto been raised over the authorship of Junius, you cannot do better than study the reports of this apparently endless case. The question is, as I may briefly notice, whether a very fat and vulgar person, 350 lbs. in weight, and of the illiterate Cockney type in his speech and manners, is or is not the same as the slim heir to an ancient family, who sailed from Chili for Australia some seventeen years ago, and was supposed to have been lost at sea. According to the story of the present claimant, he was picked up by a passing American ship, landed in Australia, and there led a vagabond life for twelve years and more, until he heard that he had become heir to the family estates of £25,000 a-year. Then he thought it well to return to his affectionate mother, who still survived, and who recognized him as her son. A number of old fellow-officers, servants, and relations were convinced of his identity after a time. Others hold out and maintain that the transformation supposed is impossible, and that the baronet is really a butcher, and even has been crammed by designing persons with the information necessary for his imposture. It is a very good rule for papers never to discuss such cases whilst they are still under trial; and, following the precedent, I shall say nothing more than that at present there is a very curious conflict of evidence. I am the more bound to silence, as it is highly probable that this letter will reach you and have time to be printed and returned to England long before the case is decided. The evidence is, as you may easily guess, voluminous, and examinations and cross-examinations spin themselves out to the most interminable lengths. The unlucky claimant is breaking down, according to his friends from ill-health, according to his enemies by way of shirking enquiry, and can only be tortured for a few hours in the day: in short, the boldest prophet can hardly name a day for the conclusion of the trial, and the less eager readers of news are beginning to break down. I hardly know whether or not to be ashamed of taking an interest in such a story. Undoubtedly, it matters very little to humanity in general whether A or B has the luck to enjoy the particular income in question; yet, after all, sympathies will not quite follow the precepts of philosophers, and if an amount of intellectual labor has been applied to solving mere puzzles, such as Junius and the Man in the Iron Mask, which would have sufficed for important scientific discoveries, at least it has produced a good deal of harmless amusement. Tichborne is, perhaps, coming up to replace Junius; for I think that few impartial people will doubt that Mr. Chabot and Mr. Twisleton have between them given an impulse to the Franciscan theory, which will pretty well serve as a *quietus* to that much-vexed problem.

And yet we have the further excuse that it is rather difficult to find other topics of domestic interest. Here are a couple of very respectable murders, as murders go nowadays, waiting for investigation, and, of course, for those who care, there is the regular supply of sporting and similar intelligence. But Parliament has become all but intolerable for the present. The policy of obstruction, of which I have already spoken to you, is being pushed to extremes. All the colonels in the House of Commons—and their name is Legion—rise night after night, talking endlessly, always repeating the same arguments against the Government measure. The majority has again rallied round Mr. Gladstone to meet these tactics. They vote doggedly and silently, and gradually force the bill forward. Every now and then the Radicals imitate a bit of the Conservative tactics. Six hours of talk were wasted two nights ago in discussing an amendment proposed by one of the Radical wing, which everybody knew could not be carried, and which was ultimately rejected by an immense majority; and yet the supporters of it professed to be anxious for the success of the Government measure. In short, what with Mr. Gladstone's loss of prestige, the jealousy which the Radicals entertain of his principles, the want of any strong feeling in the country on the army bill, and the absence of anything very satisfactory in the measure itself, the debates seem likely to last almost as long as their more popular rival, the Tichborne trial. It is totally impossible for anybody not familiar with a number of technical details as to British military organization to follow the ins and outs of the discussion; and I shall not trouble you with any details upon the subject. At present, it is enough to say that rumors are beginning to be heard of a probable intention of Government to divide the bill, and to pass during the present session only that part—by far the most important part, it is true—which relates to the abolition of the purchase system. Whatever may be the result, it is impossible to look without much annoyance upon the amount of time wasted during this session. The forms of the House of Commons provide innumerable entrenchments behind which a majority may successively rally in order to assist the passage of an obnoxious measure. When there is any strong popular excitement behind the majority, they may be carried by the moral pressure and the dread of constituencies. But when the feeling is at last conquered, as is the case at the present time, the obstruction to business becomes an evil of serious magnitude. We must have patience; but certainly this is the worst side of our system of parliamentary government.

Perhaps it is not out of place to notice the curious success of a couple of squibs, significant of the present state of feeling. I imagine that you already know the name, and, perhaps, have looked at the original of the little allegory about Dame Europa's school. Its success was enormous, measured by the number of copies sold, and it is said that the author has been so encouraged by his lucky hit as to have immediately adopted the profession of literature. He has published a novel, which—if I may judge from the reviews—will go a long way to discount any glory that he may have acquired, and will probably learn by experience the truth of the proverb about one swallow not making a summer. The other success of which I spoke is the story of the Battle of Dorking, which appeared in last month's *Blackwood*, and which is now published separately. It is very cleverly written, though, perhaps, the design counts far more in its popularity than the invention. The author narrates an imaginary invasion of England by the Prussians, and sets forth the various calamities likely to happen, in case of invasion, from the utterly unprepared and disorganized state of her militia and volunteers. Perhaps we are not very much frightened, though we have always a taste for alarmist literature. We fortunately have the Channel and a fleet which

is likely to present some difficulties even to German strategists, supposing that a war should ever take place between the two countries. Yet this little performance, like the other, may be quoted as indicating the existence of a considerable amount of disgust at the position occupied by the country in Europe, and a desire to make ourselves more capable of taking our own part in case of need. There would, indeed, be much to do before we could possibly join issue effectually with the vast military organizations of Europe. Whether it is desirable that we ever should do so, is another question; but, at least, our statesmen should aim at promoting absolute security at home; and I believe that if Mr Gladstone's Government had had the courage to bring in a vigorous measure for the purpose, they would have found no want of support.

Meanwhile, they have done one action, for which I, at least, and I believe a great majority of Englishmen, are sincerely obliged to them. The Treaty with the United States has, on the whole, given general satisfaction. There have been, indeed, some mutterings of discontent from those who think that we are making undue sacrifices of national dignity; but the greatest mass of public opinion is decidedly in favor of the general justice of the principles involved in the Treaty, and looks forward with sincere satisfaction to the prospect of a better state of feeling between the two countries. It is a subject on which it is difficult to speak without running into platitude; but I may be permitted a word of congratulation on an event which could have been so little hoped in the bitter feelings which existed a few years ago.

Correspondence.

MR. CHENEY'S REBELLION.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: There appeared in your issue of June 15 a dispassionate and clear article on the subject of "The position of Mr. Cheney and his friends in the controversy now raging between them and Bishop Whitehouse of Chicago." So well taken were its positions, that I feel that, if unanswered, it may have an influence prejudicial to Mr. Cheney. In justice to him, therefore, as one of his friends, I ask to be permitted a few words in your columns.

The argument of your article was in substance this: Mr. Cheney has been tried before an ecclesiastical court. He has been found guilty, and sentenced to deposition from the clerical office in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Therefore, he should submit, and his friends should not encourage him in refusing to do so. That he and they pursue a different course, you say "is, to the ordinary mind, perfectly incomprehensible."

In reply, I venture to fall back on the established axiom, that there is no rule without an exception. Revolution is certainly justifiable in extreme circumstances. In the present case, were the facts all known, I think you could not resist the conclusion that the action of the Bishop in pronouncing sentence may properly be called "persecution."

Suppose a law providing for a proper disposition of all small-pox patients, by removal from private houses. Suppose, in the jurisdiction in which you happen to live, a construction is placed upon that law which results in the practice of careless and dangerous disposition of the patients. Suppose your wife to be attacked by the disease, and the officers of the "law" to come, empowered to make such careless disposition in her case. Which would you feel to be your duty? To permit the gross outrage upon your sacred relation, or to oppose it with your life? I think the latter. Why? Simply because there is palpable injustice done. *This* the ordinary mind can understand. It can, I think, *also* comprehend that whatever may be said about your leaving the jurisdiction in which the law is so much misconstrued, to do so might not only be impracticable for many reasons, but, if practicable, would be to encourage such misconstruction.

The case surely becomes stronger when the attitude of resistance is taken in defence of a vital principle of Gospel truth.

So long as the human mind is constituted as at present, the right of revolution must be admitted in every organization. Just so long shall we be liable to be subjected to unjust enactments; and when these are pressed upon us beyond endurance, then we are justified in rebelling against them.

Mr. Cheney and his friends are satisfied that the Protestant Episcopal Church at large would not condemn him to deposition from its ministry. Therefore, his friends stand by him in his resistance of the verdict of a court, and the sentence of a Bishop, whose judgments are, in their view, subservient to a narrow and uncatholic policy. It is, in my opinion, one of the greatest misfortunes that the legislation of our church admits of no appeal from a diocesan sentence. Were such an appeal possible, we should be saved the disagreeable duty of a resort to rebellion.

B. O. D.

New York, June 19, 1871.

["B. O. D.'s" illustration is not a good one, because it does not take into account the purely voluntary character of the organization to which Mr. Cheney belonged. His case resembles that of a man who, having joined an association for the establishment of a small-pox hospital, and having solemnly bound himself, in case he had to resort to it for the treatment either of himself or his relatives, to abide by the rules and regulations of its managers, should, on his wife being conveyed thither, refuse to allow her to follow the prescriptions of the house-surgeon or take the doses prepared by the apothecary; and on being then requested to remove her, should set the officers at defiance, and call in assistance from the street to enable him to hold the ward against all comers. Mr. Cheney is a minister of the Episcopal Church because he chose to be so; and he chose to be so, we take it, because he believed the Episcopal form of church government to be of divine ordinance, and the most effective and convenient. He did not vow, in joining it, that he would obey the Bishop when he pleased; he vowed he would obey him as bishops are and have been usually obeyed; and he vowed it with the full knowledge that bishops are men, and afflicted with the usual infirmities of men. Nor did he undertake to submit his professional conduct to the jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical court in case its decisions were in accordance with what he (Mr. Cheney) believed to be the sentiment of "the Protestant Episcopal Church at large"; he undertook to accept its decisions as the judgments of the church; and he knew when he did so that there was no appeal from a "diocesan sentence." As we have said, we understand a man's leaving an organization because he does not like its ways; but that a man should justify disobedience to rules to which he has himself subscribed, on the grounds put forward by "B. O. D.," is, to our mind, considering that the argument comes from a body of educated men, a striking sign of the loose way of thinking on all matters of contract and obligation which the labors of the Sentimentalists have, during the last twenty years, been introducing into nearly every department of human conduct. "B. O. D.'s" observations on the "right of revolution" are another illustration of the same thing. The right of revolution is undoubtedly an ecclesiastical as well as a civil right; but revolution does not consist simply in rebellion; it means rebellion with the view of substituting a new government for an old one, either by displacing the old one, or by leaving its jurisdiction, and founding a new church, or a new state. A man who rebels simply with the view of releasing himself from the restraints of authority, or escaping the consequences of a particular sentence or enactment, and with no aim beyond this, is not a revolutionist, but a brigand, and can claim nothing but a speedy trial, and as lenient a sentence as the interests of society will permit. With ecclesiastical revolutions we are all perfectly familiar. The Anglicans made one when they threw off the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and set up another church government of their own; the English Puritans made another when they left the Anglican Church, on finding its rules intolerable, and established a church of their own, with different rules and a different court of last resort. The Free Church of Scotland and the New School Presbyterians did the same thing. But Mr. Cheney and his friends refuse to exercise the right of revolution, and insist on being simple rebels. They refuse to overthrow the old government, or secede and set up a new one, but they refuse also to obey its laws. Mr. Cheney will not treat Bishop Whitehouse as a lawful bishop, or the sentence of his court as a valid sentence; and yet he will not provide himself with any other bishop, or select any court to which he will submit. He persists, in short, in establishing himself in "a state of nature," and living by such rules of eternal justice as he extracts from time to time from his own breast. "B. O. D." will find persons outside the Church by whom some other name than anarchical will be given to such conduct; but we do not think they will be persons to whose judgment on any other subject he would pay much attention. The *Protestant Churchman* assails our position also

on the ground that the Episcopal Church is "comprehensive," and permits many varieties of opinion within its limits. This may be true, but however "comprehensive" it may be, it *has* limits. Who defines them? If every minister may define them for himself, anybody may fill its pulpits, and preach any doctrine, which is, of course, an absurd supposition.—Ed. Nation.]

PAYMENTS UNDER THE LEGAL TENDER DECISION.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Your objections to the reconsideration of the acts of the Supreme Court of the United States evince you as one unlikely to be too much biassed in favor of those desiring to benefit by said reconsideration, but I beg to know if you agree with the lawyers, that a sufferer by the reversal of the Legal Tender Act is not entitled to any favor now that that august body reverses its reversal?

Could no part of any payment made in gold, under protest, on February 8, 1870, be recovered under the new act?—Truly yours,

K.

New Haven, June 20, 1871.

[As the *Nation* is not a legal journal, we suppose that "K." desires to know our opinion upon the abstract justice of her claim to recover back money paid after the first decision of the Supreme Court and before its recent reversal. We must say that, from the standpoint of equity and justice, the obligation to pay just what it was understood would be paid when the debt was originally contracted, seems to us stronger than any purely legal right that might exist to recover back what turns out to be an excess of payment under the last decision of the court. As a technical question, we agree with the lawyers referred to by "K.," that, as the payment appears to have been voluntarily made in gold, no amount of "protesting" at the time would change its nature and enable the debtor to recover it back, now that he discovers his mistake as to the law.—Ed. Nation.]

AN ARGUMENT FOR THE VERONESE.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Though unwilling to express an opinion respecting the much-vexed question of Shakespeare's "*runaways*," I think Mr. Spencer's most ingenious version should want no aid that it may derive from Shakespeare's handwriting. Please observe the scrawl appended to my note—the first letter is an *R*, the last syllable *way*. Would not the inspectors of Shakespeare's own writing of the word, if so written by him, be disposed to find *Runaway*, which they might improve by adding an *s*? Now, with the exception of the *o*, which is my own, the whole is just the way in which Shakespeare would have written Veronas, if he wrote as he has written his own name, which I find, in *fac-simile* of his autograph, with many others, at the end of S. C. Hall's "Book of Gems," London, 1836. I add, first, that the word *Verona's* makes the rhythm of the line complete, slurring the *e*; second, in the folio of 1632, I find *Veronessa* (not *Veronese*), which is a little more unmanageable, I think, for Mr. Spencer's purpose than *Veronese*.—Sir, your obedient servant,

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: I had no intention to intrude upon your columns again with regard to Shakespeare's "Runaway," but the above polite note, which came to me through the post-office, is evidently meant for you. It certainly goes some way to show that there was nothing in the probable manuscript of the poet to prevent the false reading of "runaways" for "Verona's."

There is nothing to say with respect to Mr. Hudson's preference for "runaways" over any other version, save to make the general remark that it seems to be a preference of that which is less obvious over that which is simple and satisfactory. It has often struck me that some of his critics went away from Shakespeare's path of thought in seeking recondite explanations for all he said, and metaphysical interpretations for all his figurative language. In spite of his profound depth of thought and his ethereal delicate fancy, there was a solid English basis of beef and beer at bottom of the entire man, a groundwork of hard, sound common-sense, firm and immovable as the bed-rock of a river. He often ran away with fancy, but never permitted fancy to run away with him. Hence, when Shakespeare claims to have dined on sack and pudding, and some one else tells me he means to say nectar and ambrosia, I think I am justified, by the character of the man, in holding to the more obvious diet. And hence, if there are no practical difficulties in the way, I am inclined to prefer an obvious "Verona's eyes," of which an ingenuous maiden so circumstanced would be poignantly conscious (and the poet was the very man to "put himself in her place," and sympathize with this consciousness), to a hypothetical "runaway's eyes," which require to be figuratively, and I was going to say metaphysically, interpreted, and about the meaning of which scarcely any two critics are exactly agreed.

As I said before, however, I am not a Shakespearean critic, and do not hold myself competent to decide even the least matter of debate concerning his text—much less a point so often disputed, and so absolutely in controversy, as the one referred to. Edward Spencer.

THE MASSACHUSETTS COTTON-WEAVERS.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: I am, and have been from the first, a constant reader of your paper. You very properly lay great stress on the importance of getting correct statistics. In your article on "The Labor Question in Massachusetts," you use the following language: "On the contrary, we are filled with the conviction that there is a radical wrong somewhere which has brought about this change, from the time when Lowell factory-girls earned marriage portions with two or three years' labor, and found time, after working-hours, to write, edit, and read a very respectable newspaper."

The idea intended to be conveyed is undoubtedly this: When the *Lowell Offering* was printed, many years ago, edited by one or more factory operatives, those employed to work in the mills could earn more money and had more leisure time than the operatives occupying their places to-day. You would find, by going to the books of the corporations, that the same class of help, say the weavers, make more money per week in gold to-day than at the time you referred to, and the number of hours worked per week has been reduced from about 72 to 66.

It is nearly forty years since I went from home to work in a cotton-mill, and I have been connected with the system in some way ever since. I dislike false statements, whether made in the interest of reform or conservatism. I only wish to add that I am confident that skilled labor was never so well paid in gold since my remembrance, for any length of time, as during the last two years in this vicinity. We might just as well be sorry that men are not born full grown as that all laborers are not "men of property and standing." D. G.

Notes.

Messrs. James R. Osgood & Co. will republish John Francis Maguire's "The Next Generation," a novel of about the time assigned for the Battle of Dorking, and in which the supposed logical consequences of woman suffrage are freely depicted.——"Tom Pippin's Wedding," by Mr. Pullen, author of "The Fight at Dame Europa's School," is among the announcements of Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co., and we believe it will disappoint nobody who rates at its proper worth the lucky brochure which preceded it, and which the publishers first applied to were only commercially mistaken in declining to touch. The same house will also issue the following works: "Wear and Tear; or, Hints for the Overworked," by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell; "The Life of John Bunyan," by D. Hurshel; and a "Life of Taulerus," by Peter Lossing.——Messrs. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. announce: "The True Life of Calvary," by Fisher Howe; "The Biblical Museum," by James C. Gray; and these tales: "Episodes in an Obscure Life;" "The House of De Valdez," by Frances Browne; "David Lloyd's Last Will;" and "The Clackitts of Inglebrook Hall," by Mrs. Prosser.——"The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson," compiled from family letters and reminiscences by his great-granddaughter, Sarah N. Randolph; and "Reindeer, Dogs, and Snow-shoes," a journal of Siberian travel and explorations, made in the years 1865-67, by Richard J. Bush, late of the Russo-American Telegraph Expedition, are on the list of the Messrs. Harper.——"Mount Washington in Winter," to be published by Messrs. Chick & Andrews, Boston, will give us an inside view of life on that peak as experienced by the scientific expedition which wintered there last season, all the while in communication by telegraph with the world below. The observations on the appearances of nature under such conditions may be expected to be novel and entertaining.——The American Philological Association holds its third annual session at New Haven,

commencing on Tuesday, July 25, at 3 P.M. The President, Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, will deliver the annual address on the evening of the same day.

—While Mr. Dall and his associates are exploring the islands and inlets on the west coast of Alaska, the best map of the Yukon River that has yet appeared (his own not excepted) has been published from the office of the Chief of Engineers, War Department. The survey was made under the command of Capt. Chas. W. Raymond, U.S.A., with the help of astronomical instruments, from July to September, 1869, and embraced the stretch from Fort Yukon to the sea—1,100 miles, or about one-half of the full course of this stream, the longest by far upon the western coast of America. The map is on the scale of $\frac{1}{600\,000}$, and is so minute in its details as to show even *caches* and graves. Included within it is an outline map of Alaska and adjacent territory, giving the relative position and, so far as known, the entire length of the Yukon and its tributaries, and a still smaller map of the Aleutian Islands. Captain Raymond's report of his reconnoissance (for the expedition was too limited in point of time to make an exhaustive and absolutely correct survey) is printed as Executive Document No. 12, Senate, XLIId Congress, and furnishes pleasant reading for midsummer, though any one in the habit of thinking of Alaska as one mass of ice and snow should make haste to compare this impression with two or three sentences on p. 14 of the Report: "The swarms of mosquitoes and gnats which abound on the river during the months of June and July proved a very serious annoyance. When the boat was not in motion, we were obliged to wear face nets and gloves, and on one occasion an attempt to make sextant observations failed completely from this cause." Capt. Raymond's chief errand was to ascertain if Fort Yukon lay within the territory acquired by the United States, since the Hudson's Bay Company had possession of it. He found that it clearly did, and hoisted the flag over it; but he is evidently of opinion that the value the place is likely to have for the commercial interests of the United States would not warrant a journey of a thousand miles to secure it. He sums up the capacity of the region for the fur trade by saying (p. 39) that the amount "will at most furnish a business for one company, and employment on the river for about fifteen men." The timber does not begin for a hundred miles from its mouth, and "cannot for many years become an article of commerce, because large supplies, superior in quality, and much more accessible, exist nearer the market." Much the same may be said of the fish, in which it abounds. As for agricultural resources, they do not exist, and "no valuable mineral deposits in workable quantities have been found in the vicinity of the Yukon River up to the present time."

—The loud complaints which arose against the British Post-office immediately after it had assumed control of the telegraph lines throughout the kingdom, soon died away; and though the transfer was made in face of the most formidable difficulties, the result has been a complete justification of the undertaking. When the subject arises again in Congress, as it can hardly fail to do, the report of Mr. Scudamore, Second Secretary to the Post-office, will furnish some very forcible arguments for consolidation in this country also. Some of his statistics are highly interesting. To show, for example, the great extension given to the public's facilities, he states that of all the messages handed in at Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester, from 14 to nearly 40 per cent. were at stations previously unsupplied with accommodation; while in London, deliveries which used to take hours are now made within an average of ten minutes. The cost to the public of inland messages, including porterage beyond the free delivery, has been reduced from 1s. 7d. to 1s. 1¼d. or 1s. 1d. Any sender of a message can now reckon the cost of it (the standard rate is one shilling for twenty words), and a great many messages are handed in prepaid; and the Government even goes so far (not without the protest of the stationers) as to furnish frequent senders with books of message blanks on which the names and addresses of the senders are printed, and in some cases of the receivers also, and to provide envelopes with printed addresses for those who receive numerous messages. Whereas the telegraph companies had but 1,869 instruments, the Post-office had, last August, 4,153; and whereas the former had but 2,514 clerks—viz., 2,035 males and 479 females—the Post-office employed, in the month just mentioned, 4,913 clerks and assistants, of whom 1,535 were females; the messengers not being counted in either case.

—Many of the women clerks were secured by recalling those who had been discharged on marriage by the telegraph companies. Of this class as a whole, it is said (we quote directly from the *Times*):

"They have the essential qualifications of quickness of eye and ear and delicacy of touch, are more patient than men during long confinement to one place, and take more kindly to sedentary employment; that the wages which will draw men from but an inferior class will draw women from a superior class, and hence they will generally write better than the former and spell more correctly; and that they are less disposed than men to combine for the purpose of extorting higher wages. Where the staff is mixed, the female clerks raise the tone of the whole staff. Civil servants expect their remuneration to increase with their years of service, even though from the nature of their employment they can be of no more use or value in the twentieth than in the fifth year of service, but women will retire for the purpose of getting married as soon as they have the chance, and only those will return to the service whose married life is less fortunate than they hoped. Mr. Scudamore concludes that if we place an equal number of females and males on the same ascending scale of pay, the aggregate pay to the females will be less than that to the males; and there will be fewer females than males on the pension list."

In the training-schools of London, it is stated that the average time occupied in instructing a male learner is two months, and a female three months. In little more than twelve months the department "added to the effective telegraph force of the country not less than 2,000 persons who knew nothing whatever of telegraphy prior to the transfer." Even the uncouth messengers, "apparently a set of irreclaimable scamps," were taken in hand, paid a rate per message delivered as their only wages, drilled in walking, and obliged to keep themselves clean. The social effect of the change thus appears not inconsiderable, while the throwing open the lines to the press without distinction or preference has produced a great increase in business, and cannot fail to improve the quality of the newspapers, and enlarge the intelligence of the people.

—From the English trade-organs we glean the following titles of works of interest already or soon to be published. The late European struggle is illustrated in "My Experiences of the War between France and Germany," by Archibald Forbes, a work in two volumes; "The Medical and Surgical Aspects of the Siege of Paris," by C. J. F. Stuart Macdowall; "The Campaign of 1870-71," reprinted from the *Times;* "Our Adventures during the War of 1870-71," by two English ladies, Emma Pearson and Louisa M'Laughlin; and "Modern War; or, The Campaign of the First Prussian Army of 1870-71," by Sir Randall Roberts, the London *Telegraph's* "special." The last two works are also in two volumes. Other historical works deserving attention are: "Outlines of Indian History," from the earliest date to the resignation of Sir John Lawrence, by A. W. Hughes; J. Murray Graham's "Historical View of Literature and Art in Great Britain, from the Ascension of the House of Hanover to the Reign of Queen Victoria"; and Col H. A. Ouvry's translation of Nasse's well-known work on "The Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages, and Inclosures of the Sixteenth Century in England." In the pursuit of genealogies, these two works will be found useful here: "The Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, Serving Men Sold for a Term of Years, Apprentices, Children Stolen, Maidens Pressed, and others who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations between 1600-1700," compiled with full particulars from MSS. preserved in the State Paper Department (London: John Camden Hotten); "An Analysis of the Domesday Book of Norfolk," by the Rev. G. Munford, who is also the author of "An Attempt to Ascertain the True Derivation of the Names of Towns, etc., in the County of Norfolk." Among books of travel, the Rev. Charles Kingsley's "At Last: A Christmas in the West Indies," is the most promising; and this one appears to be a pioneer in its way: "A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake; or, New Zealand to New York by the New Mail Route," by G. E. Ollivant. We conclude with a miscellaneous list: "The Life and Letters of William Bewick, the Artist," by Sir Thomas Landseer; "A Collection of Soldiers' Songs," by A. Wyatt Edgell; "Early Typography; or, Letterpress Printing in the Fifteenth Century," by William Skeen; "Memories of the Library of the British Museum from 1835 to 1871," by R. Cowtan, who tells how its books were got together and something about them; "Hamlet," an essay by Arthur Meadows; "How the French make Fowls pay a Profit of 500 per cent. per annum," by Kinard B. Edwards; and "Eight Years' Experience of Mothers' Meetings," by Mrs. Goodwin Hatchard (a religious work).

—Another great Englishman has, like De Morgan and Herschel, joined the illustrious dead of the present half-year. George Grote died on the 18th instant, at Clayhill, Kent, in the 78th year of his age. Like Herschel, too, he was of German descent, and exhibited in the great work of his life all the best qualities of the German stock. He was not a university man, nor, though bred for business, was he a business man in an American sense, or really more than a silent partner in the great banking-house of his father. He was a so called philosophical radical, but there was nothing

wild or visionary in his radicalism. Sydney Smith's saying, that "if the world were a chessboard, he would be a great politician," did him much injustice. He had an unusual proportion of strong Anglo-Saxon common sense. In 1832, he was a Member of Parliament for the City of London, and took a conspicuous stand in favor of the ballot. Soon after the Swiss secession of 1847 was so neatly put down by President Ochsenbein, Grote contributed to the *Spectator* a very able series of letters on Switzerland. His "History of Greece" took ten years to publish, and represents twenty years of preparatory work. His scholarship was of the Oxford rather than the Cambridge type—that is, he cared more for matter and historical knowledge than for grammatical minutiæ. His style, which was good in argument, was poor in narration, and grew worse as he grew older. Some of the "Plato" is hardly intelligible, and thoroughly disfigured with Hellenisms. The three great points of his Greek writings were these: (1) his rejection of all Greek history prior to the First Olympiad as myth; (2) his defence of the Athenian Democracy, both people and leaders, against the English and German Conservative writers; (3) his vindication of the Sophists (as lecturers on and professors of moral philosophy and ethics) against the received German conception of them. In his social relations, Grote was a most hospitable and genial man, universally liked by all who knew him. His wife (formerly Mrs. Harriet Lewin, and a very able and accomplished woman—author, among other things, of a "Life of Ary Scheffer") survives him, but he leaves no children.

—The recent death of the Rev. Thomas Toke Lynch, minister of Mornington Chapel, London, is a greater loss to religious literature than will be appreciated here, where his works were too little known. He had published "Memorials of Theophilus Trinal, Student" (1850), "Essays on Some of the Forms of Literature" (1853), "Lectures in Aid of Self-Improvement" (1854), "Among Transgressors" (1860), "The Mornington Lecture" (1870), a volume or two of sermons, and "The Rivulet" (1855). The appearance of the last-mentioned, a seemingly innocent volume of 100 original hymns, occasioned a furious pamphlet war, which made no little stir among English Dissenters at the time. The book and its author were violently assailed by Dr. Campbell, of *The British Banner*, and others. Newman Hall, Thomas Binney, and several more Independents of that stamp stood by their friend, Mr. Lynch, and he himself, during the progress of the controversy, levelled some hard blows at his assailants. He was a man of feeble body but indomitable spirit, a bold thinker and frank utterer of his thoughts, with a wholesome abhorrence of commonplace, and no little subtlety and refinement of mind and style; an intense lover of nature, and in some sense a born poet. The writer most like him, though with more versatility and popularity, is Mr. George Macdonald. Lynch's own favorite among his books was "The Rivulet," as it is that of readers who have taken the pains to understand it; for freshness of thought, deep experience, and quiet devotion of an uncommon kind, it is precious to not a few readers. It is in contemplation to reprint here some of the works of this perhaps the most persecuted Englishman, as he was one of the brightest teachers, of our day.

—Our London correspondent, in his letter on a preceding page, remarks that few impartial readers of Chabot's "Handwriting of Junius Professionally Investigated" can fail to be convinced that the vexed question of identity has for ever received its quietus, and that, accordingly, Junius and Sir Philip Francis were one and the same person. The work is a costly one, and, perhaps, not many copies have reached this country. We do not, for our part, happen to have seen it, and can only judge of its merits by the reviews of it in the English press. In spite, however, of the *Quarterly's* anticipatory endorsement of it, echoed by the *Academy*—which has been justly censured as a breach of professional etiquette, Mr. Murray being at once the publisher of the book and of the *Review*—we are of opinion that the Franciscan theory has, if anything, been weakened, certainly not finally established. At all events, we venture to assert that no impartial reader who will turn from the *Quarterly* and the *Academy* to the reviews in the *Athenæum* and the London *Times* (of May 22), will feel that the question has been settled, however much he may still incline to believe in Francis. The *Athenæum* brings out very clearly the weak points in Mr. Chabot's analysis of the Junian handwriting, and the general worthlessness of the testimony of experts of this class; while the *Times'* reviewer is especially strong in showing what a poor service it is to Francis to prove him the anonymous libeller and enemy of the men on whose favor he was intimately dependent, and the professed friend of men whom his autobiography shows him in private to have cordially hated and denounced. It is, in fact, more charitable to regard Francis as an impostor and a mystifier (after public rumor had thrust the unmerited honor upon him) than a coward and an ingrate; besides thus relieving ourselves of the necessity of explaining the marked inferiority of his compositions to those of the great unknown.

—Not long ago we briefly mentioned a work (Major Frank Bolton's "Telegraph Code," of which Messrs. F. B. Felt & Co. are the American agents) designed to reduce the expense and ensure the privacy of telegraphing, by substituting figures for words, a dictionary being provided to serve as a key. It is evident that the same or a similar system would answer for written correspondence, and there exists, in fact, in Munich a Central Pasigraphical Society, whose president, Anton Bachmaier, has just published an English, French, and German version of a Pasigraphical Dictionary and Grammar. These works, small as they are (18mo, containing together, in each case, only about 200 pages), nevertheless admit of intelligent communication within a range of 4,334 ideas, between two persons who understand not a word of each other's language, but who each possess a dictionary in the vernacular, and have studied the grammar—that is to say, the syntax—of the system. Pasigraphy thus, in the words of the enthusiastic editor, "reunites people whom languages separate," and makes, it must be allowed, a fair approach to that universal language which seems likely to be reached in no other way so easily. Mr. Bachmaier's works may be had by the curious of Mr. Trübner, Paternoster Row, London.

—We are glad to learn from *Trübner's Record* that the publication of the *Revue Celtique* has only been delayed by the war, and that it will be immediately resumed with the second number, which was almost finished when the war broke out. Renan contributes to it a note on the name *Abailard*. From the *Record* we borrow also our information in regard to two works on Alsace: "Geschichte des Elsasses von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart," by Drs. O. Lorenz and W. Scherer; and Volumes VIII. and IX. of the "Chronicles of the German Cities from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century," edited by Professor Hegel. The first-named is, of course, a book for the times, Dr. Scherer's part in it being the literary history of Alsace; the appearance of the second only accidentally coincides with the recovery of her ancient province by Germany. It embraces the Strassburg chronicles of Closener and of Jacob Twinger von Königshofen, of which latter the original manuscript perished in the bombardment of the city, along with a full series of MS. chronicles from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, which are irretrievably lost; and it shows, according to our authority, "that Strassburg from its very beginning, and as long as it had a history of its own, had proved itself to be a genuine Imperial German city; and that Alsace had understood its mission as the German frontier-land on the Vosges, viz., to keep the frontier watch of the German Empire against French lust of conquest."

— It can hardly be said that General Trochu has maintained his character for anything but honesty and patriotism since the publication of his exposure of the defects of the French military system. The limitations of his intellect were seen in his proclamations and promises during the siege of Paris, and in his weak, unsoldierlike, and (considering its possible consequences) almost criminal advice to the Parisians to shut their gates against the Prussian occupation after the surrender; and that he is a man of narrow mind was again shown in his late vindication of the Government of National Defence before the Assembly at Versailles. He there charged the disasters of the French arms upon English luxury and Italian corruption —two invasions of which the history has evidently yet to be written. If he is right, however, England has paid dearly for the French Anglomania, and Italy for the unnamed vices now traced back to her by her neighbor. Across the Channel, as across the Alps, there has been for thirty years and upwards a steady counter-current of nasty literature and indecent drama, which no passport or custom-house regulations could withstand. The ocean itself has been traversed by it, and our people been made the innocent victims of English and Italian guiltiness; the "Grand Duchesse" and "Belle Hélène" still defile our stage, and our print-shops still abound with seductive French lithographs of life among the demi-monde; and it is a singular comment on Trochu's absurdities that a favorite subject with these artists of the Mabille is the full-blown Englishman as the butt of frailty.

LIFE OF MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.*

We have so recently reviewed the second volume of the life of Gen. Greene, that it would almost seem as if nothing more were necessary now than to call attention to the completion of the work, with a word or two

* "The Life of Nathanael Greene, Major-General in the Army of the Revolution. By George Washington Greene, author of 'Historical View of the American Revolution,' 'Historical Studies,' etc." In three volumes. Vol. III. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton; Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1871. 8vo, pp. 571.

in recognition of the high merits which have distinguished every part of it. But excellent as each volume has been, this last volume is pre-eminently excellent. No doubt this is principally due to the subject-matter. So brilliant a military campaign as that here narrated might have lent fire to even a cold and sluggish pen. But it is a merit of the writer that he has been susceptible of so high a degree of inspiration. It is enough to say that the history of Greene's Southern campaign is every way worthy of its noble subject.

This volume has a unity of its own, being devoted—with the exception of a few closing pages—to the history of a distinct, connected, and complete series of military operations; not by any means an episode in the war, but a campaign which can be clearly described with hardly an allusion to contemporary events. The plan of the work, too, has a sort of epic unity and completeness, and has been evidently laid out with a good deal of care; while the varied succession of events gives to the history the greatest life and variety. We find here all the phases of military life, and all kinds of military history—descriptions of country and of character, battle, march, retreat, camp-life, hope, discouragement, with many entertaining episodes, all told in so apt and attractive a style as to make the volume one of intense interest. In the other volumes, there are many pages that one is tempted to skip, because of needless repetition or the unattractive nature of the quartermaster's work. In the volume before us, there is hardly a line that could be spared or that one would wish to alter.

The first chapter in the volume treats of the physical geography of the Southern coast—an admirable example of the correct treatment of geography in connection with history. As an illustration:

"But while the face of the country was abundantly watered, and a path seemed everywhere open from the sea-coast to the interior, the utility of these streams as channels of communication by no means corresponded to their size or their number. Those which emptied directly into the ocean were made difficult of access by sand-bars at their mouths which it required the guidance of a skilful pilot to cross. When the bar had been crossed and the river entered, a direct communication with the interior was in many of them still impeded by falls. And whenever the rain fell, as in those latitudes it often does, suddenly and in great quantity, the river presently rises with marvellous rapidity, and renders the passage from one bank to the other difficult and hazardous always, and often wholly impossible. We shall see these sudden swellings of the waters playing an almost providential part in some of the most critical movements of Greene's first campaign.

"Another obstacle to the navigation of these rivers is found in the marshes and swamps which line their course, extending sometimes one and sometimes even three miles inland, tainting the air with noxious exhalations, rendering the approaches to the waters difficult, and making it impossible to build upon their banks, as we build upon the banks of our Northern streams. The roads through them were always difficult, often impassable, and all around their borders, as well as in their deeper recesses, lurked the deadly rattlesnake and still more dreaded moccasin. Mosquitoes by myriads, thronging around the helpless traveller, annoyed him by their shrill song and poisonous bite. Years of the peaceful industry of a growing population were required to redeem these regions from the hands of a too luxuriant nature" (p. 3).

As an illustration of this, we find that in the movements just preceding the battle of Eutaw Springs, it was necessary for Greene to make a circuit of seventy miles to get at an enemy only sixteen miles distant.

This short and graphic chapter is followed by a brief account of Gates's disastrous campaign, and Greene's journey and first acts as commander. Then comes another remarkable chapter, containing an account of the brilliant group of subordinates who aided so largely in the successes of the Southern war—Morgan, Huger, Williams, Lee, Howard, Washington, Carrington, Davie, Sumter, and Marion. We wish we had room for the sketch of Daniel Morgan, perhaps the best of all these; but we must be contented with a part of the characterization of two men whose names are always associated, but who were very unlike—Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion. Sumter "comes before us tall, vigorous, dauntless, with a bold bearing and imperious brow, stern to look upon, fierce in his self-will, arrogant in his decisions, tenacious in his prejudices, resolute and vigorous in the execution of his own plans, remiss and almost lukewarm in carrying out the plans of others" (p. 122)—qualities that spoiled more than one well-laid plan of his commanding officer. Of Marion (p. 124): "His life forms one of those pictures upon which the mind loves to dwell, from the singular combination of rare qualities which it displays. . . . He was now twenty-six, small in frame, low in stature, but vigorous, active, and healthy. By nature he was taciturn and reticent, with nothing in the expression of his face to attract or interest a casual observer, but still inspiring confidence and commanding respect in those who were brought into intimate relations with him." "Without claiming for Marion those powers of combination which belong to the highest order of military genius, he must be allowed to have excelled in all the qualities which form the consummate partisan—vigilance, promptitude, activity, energy, dauntless courage, and unshaken self-control. While watching his enemy, he never forgot that his enemy might be watching him. He never permitted success to lull him into ill-timed confidence, nor failure to depress his energy. Fertile in resources, he was always prepared for sudden emergencies. Thoroughly self-possessed, he could always look calmly upon approaching danger. Quick in his conceptions, he was equally quick in the execution of them. As prudent as he was bold, he always chose his time and place with consummate judgment, and though constantly surrounded by vindictive enemies, and constantly exposed to death or capture by the restless genius and unscrupulous characters of the greater part of his own men, the lustre of his long and brilliant career was never dimmed by surprise."

Having thus introduced the heroes of his story, the author proceeds with a most vivid and interesting narrative, well illustrated, we will remark, with maps and plans. Throughout the volume he keeps to his old method of allowing the subject of the biography to display his own character, rather than analyzing it for the reader. And the characteristic that most strikes one who has thought of this Southern campaign especially as a brilliant one, and has been led by the earlier volumes to regard Greene as of a rather sanguine disposition, is the remarkable caution and thoroughness of preparation at every step. His invasion of South Carolina after the battle of Guilford is shown not to have been a mere headlong sally like that of Gates, but a piece of careful strategy. He even appears unduly anxious at times. We have been particularly struck with his instructions, on taking command, in regard to exploring the rivers (p. 66) and other preparations (p. 73)—which show the fruits of his experience as quartermaster-general, and the wisdom of which was amply proved by events which followed.

The character of this Southern war was largely affected by the dissensions among the people of the Carolinas themselves. The Tories appear to have been about as numerous as the Whigs; and from this resulted great perplexities, and excessive barbarities in the conduct of the war. But this dark picture is lighted up by examples of genuine heroism—Macon refusing to leave the ranks in order to take a seat in the legislature, until urged to do so by his commander; Lee asking to be put in "in some degree under Marion's command," for "it will please him, and I admire him"; Mrs. Motte giving aid in setting her own house afire, which was occupied by the British as a fort. There are also incidents of stirring adventure—the night expedition to John's Island, that to the Combahee, and the surprise of Wayne's camp by the Indians.

We learn little of the condition of the slaves or the nature of the slavery. There is some interesting discussion of the project of arming the slaves (p. 426). This had been suggested by John Laurens, was urged by Greene, and approved by Washington; but it was not possible to bring the people of the South to it. One is still more interested, in view of the fact that Greene himself became a slaveholder after the war, to learn what his opinions and plans were. It is certain that he disliked slavery, and it seems that he had devised a scheme for its gradual abolition, the details of which are unfortunately lost. His plan seems to have been that which was successful in England long ago—admitting the slaves to the tenure of land by copyhold.

The following passage contains a good specimen of Mr. Greene's narrative style: it is in the retreat of Greene, with Cornwallis in pursuit, after the battle of Cowpens, when Col. Williams, with the light troops, was covering the retreat, and keeping the enemy at bay:

"Day waned, and pursuers and pursued breathed more freely as they saw the grateful evening shadows deepen into night. 'We shall get some rest now,' said the men. But Cornwallis still held on, and Williams dared not halt. The night was dark, the wind was cold, and a drizzly mist filled the air. Suddenly the cavalry in advance saw the tree-tops before them lighten up as with the blaze of many fires. As the van pressed forward, the flames grew brighter, and presently a long row of watch-fires came into view. The hearts of the Americans sank within them. 'Alas, all this toil for such an ending! Has Cornwallis succeeded at last, and hemmed Greene in between the river and a superior army?' Then came a sudden impulse. 'If this is the main army, the army on which the safety of the South depends, we will throw ourselves upon the enemy, and buy our brothers' safety with our blood.' The noble words passed from mouth to mouth, and reached the ear of Williams. He turned to Greene's last letter. This had been his halting-ground two nights before, and some friendly hand must have fed the fires till now" (p. 171).

This volume contains frequent illustration of a point which has been much discussed of late—the low value of irregular troops even in warfare like this. It was on his "Continentals" that Greene placed his whole reliance; it was the militia who broke in battle, and the partisans and guerillas that committed the atrocities that disgraced the warfare of the South.

Of Greene's life after the war there is little to say; he died of a sunstroke in Georgia, in 1786. It is a pleasant picture of his life there that the following presents: "Not many years ago, there was an old lady living who remembered seeing him after the war play 'Puss in the Corner' with his wife; and his youngest son always recalled him as a tall man, who used to take him on his knee and teach him funny songs" (p. 531). Greene himself writes of his wife: "She is a great favorite, even with the ladies, and has almost rivalled me even where I least expected it; her flowing tongue and cheerful countenance quite triumph over my grave face."

In conclusion, we will say that this volume will add to the already high reputation of its author, and fully establishes his claim—if, indeed, it was doubtful before—to rank among the best American historians.

HAWAIIAN MISSIONS.*

WHAT religious missions have done for civilization, and what they have failed to do, will remain a point of controversy as long as theology and the doctrine of evolution fail to make up their difference. Dr. Anderson's philosophy, in the matter of the missions discussed in the present volume, is very simple. Providence opened the hearts of the islanders and the purses of the American church members. Providence guided the missionaries to the Hawaiian shores. "The Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" directed the energies of the faithful laborers in the field. "The Prudential Committee" shares with Providence the credit of the spiritual harvest.

But this theory proves, on examination, too simple to be tenable. It does not account for the comparative failure of other missions under the care of the same Committee and the same Providence. It does not explain why the Hawaiians should have adopted the religions as well as the vices of the foreigners—their manners almost as readily as their diseases; nor why, within the space of a generation, these savages, rather than others, should have gained laws, education, a fair amount of intelligence and of morality; nor why life and property are now quite as safe in Honolulu as in Boston. What are the reasons of this success in civilizing? and why has the main credit of it accrued to this particular mission, and so little to the Catholic, to the Puseyite or "Reformed Catholic," and to the Mormon missions in the same field? Though less successful in Hawaii, they have often distanced—the Catholic missions have commonly distanced—in the competition for proselytes, the efforts of "The Board" in other parts of the world. Yet each one of these missions is quite as well authorized to call itself "The Sandwich Islands Mission" as the particular one for which Dr. Anderson would claim the distinctive title. The more correct name of the mission described in the present volume—a mission which, though purely sectarian since the withdrawal from it of the Presbyterian churches, retains the undistinctive title that we have just quoted—would be "The American Congregational Board of Foreign Missions."

We should not advert to a question so unimportant as that of the name of this board of missions, did it not lead us directly to a central error of the present volume. The tone of Dr. Anderson's book is intimated in its title. In his estimate of its success, "The Board" is everything; and the natural causes which have led to the missionary victory are quite overlooked. The present account of the subject is, in brief, that as Von Moltke organized in Berlin his triumphant campaigns against the French, so the victory over heathenism was won in Pemberton Square.

The following causes, however, afford a truer explanation of the missionary campaign. The character of the islanders must first be taken into account. A kindly, docile, imitative race, long oppressed under the cruel system of the *tabu*, they were prepared to welcome any less exacting spiritual rule. Secondly, the precise moment for a change in the religious dynasty had arrived. The old system of the idols had fallen by its own weight, and by the influence of foreign civilization, less than a year before the first missionaries landed. They came not a day too soon or too late. Whether "providentially ordained" or not, their landing was most favorably timed. The islands had lately been united under the single government of the first Kamehameha. His successor gave official sanction to the mission which was first upon the ground. A Catholic mission, sent to the islands at a later date, was banished by the authorities, and re-established only by the aid of French military power. It ever afterwards labored, and justly, under the stigma of this armed interference; and the Protestant religion was the more readily accepted, in fact if not formally, as the religion of the state.

Again, the comparative nearness of the islands to the American continent, and their commerce, for nearly forty years before the establishment of the mission, with both the Eastern and the Western world, must not be overlooked among the causes that prepared the way for a missionary success. In the Scriptural phrase, the field was ripe for the harvest. When the laborers appeared, men of zeal and intelligence, they found an easier task before them than is found among the preoccupied minds of the Hindoos or the Chinese. Within the term of a single generation, their labors were so far complete that the whole population, above the age of infancy, could read, write, and cipher; while the schools, not here discouraged and repressed as in the Indian missions of the same board, became exceedingly popular. A larger proportion of the population could read the Scriptures than in New England; a much larger proportion than there became church members; and respect for religion was almost universal. Friends and enemies alike were astonished at this speedy transformation of the habits of an entire people, and the missionary reports described the Hawaiians, not untruthfully, as "a heathen nation evangelized."

Yet these facts, the pride of the missionary board, require some comment in order to prevent them from conveying a false impression. To be instructed, to be converted—these changes do not express the same fact when wrought in the crude material of the savage nature, as when brought to pass in the finer and firmer tissue of civilized minds. Only those who have lived among savages can estimate the inferiority of the material with which the missionary has to deal. He is required to mould the clay, rather than to work in the marble; and though the result may be defined by the same lines as those which bound the statue, yet the model is uncomely and perishable, and in constant danger of reverting to its original formlessness. It is said that certain Maori or native deacons of New Zealand, after their conversion to Christianity, behaved with great propriety until the occurrence of an unlucky civil war. The sound of fighting being heard one Sunday, they rushed out of church, joined in the fray, and, according to their old custom, roasted and devoured the victims at the close of the battle, in spite of the remonstrances of their pastor. A similar account comes this week from Fiji; and something of the same inconstancy may be observed in many of the results of missionary labor. It is a fault wholly due to the grain of the savage constitution, and in no way detracts from the credit due to the patient toils of the missionaries. The amount of actual result, of enlightenment, of heightened moral sense, among the savages, in spite of the deficiencies in the aboriginal character, is, as we can testify from long personal observation, very great. The labors of men like the Rev. Titus Coan have rarely been equalled in their direct effect for good. The Hawaiian mission has numbered many able men; and it is to them, rather than to the bureau in Pemberton Square, that the distinguished success is due which has made Dr. Anderson glad to write another history of Hawaiian missions.

The American Cardinal. A Novel. (New York: Dodd & Mead.)—There are three several hypotheses on which this book might be accounted for. The first is suggested in the publishers' advertisements: that it is the *bona fide* production of an Evangelical divine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, designed as a warning against "the Babylonian woe," and especially to countervail the influence of Dr. James Kent Stone's defection to the Church of Rome. This theory, however, is excluded by internal evidence, and by a decent respect for the Episcopalian ministry. The second hypothesis is that the publishers, instigated by reports of large profits received for the publishing of "Lothair," employed Dr. J. H. Robinson, or some other of the writers of dime novels, to get up something for the American market on the same subject, to be put forward under false pretence of the "eminent divine." But this is excluded by the known uprightness of the firm in question. We fall back, therefore, on the third hypothesis: that it was gotten up by some diabolical, deep-scheming Jesuit in burlesque of the Evangelical anti-Popery novel of the period, and especially of the Protestant Episcopal phase of papophobia, and palmed off on Messrs. Dodd & Mead as the genuine work of a clergyman of that persuasion.

Taking this view of it, we must say that it is extremely well gotten up, considering the difficulty of the work. For nothing is so difficult to caricature as the commonplace. We must do our Jesuit the justice to say that he has successfully caught and reproduced, with only enough of exaggeration to give effect to his work, the tone and style of the second-rate Sunday-school novel. His scene painting is as cheap, his plot as preposterous, his dialogue as prosy and feeble, and his moralizing as dull and

* "History of the Sandwich Islands Mission. By Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., late Foreign Secretary of the Board." Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 8vo, pp. 408.

dragged-in, as if the book was just what it is claimed to be in Messrs. Dodd & Mead's advertisement.

Another effective point in this satire is the perfectly legitimate caricature of that deep reverential awe with which anti-Popery writers often regard the Jesuit order as a supernatural power of evil. There is no such awe-struck veneration of Jesuitism to be found anywhere as among ultra-Protestants; and when we read here of "Jesuit bishops" with "magic eyes" and "mysterious fascinations" and unlimited command of cells and dungeons, and bars and bolts, we find the imitation of the average Protestant novel so close and clever as almost to deceive the critic himself. But caricature is sure to betray itself somewhere by overdoing. "The American Cardinal" takes off the imbecilities of a class of books to the life; but when it attempts to portray their malignity, it overstrains the point. We concede that the *odium theologicum* might tempt the aggrieved party to represent the Rev. Dr. Stone (as honest and intelligent a convert as ever followed a wrong premise to a wrong conclusion) as having been governed by base motives in his change. But to impute to "an Evangelical divine" a book attacking this gentleman, not only in his personal character but in his domestic relations, out of dislike to his theology, is, we would hope, sufficient to discredit the whole Jesuitical contrivance at once. "Evangelical divines" may sometimes do stupid things, and sometimes ill-tempered things, but the ingenious author of this book will hardly persuade those who know them that they would be guilty of such mean malignity as this.

We find similar overstraining in the details of execution. Protestant clergymen are, we admit, seldom well-informed about the Roman Catholic Church. But how absurd to represent one of them as supposing that "that church regards as void a marriage where the service is performed by any but her own priests"! And what could be more preposterous than to impute to a Protestant Episcopal divine of the Evangelical school that admiring description of the typical young clergyman dancing the *saltanello* at a ball in the costume of an Italian peasant! "The young gentleman did not sink the dignity of the clergyman in the gaiety of the dancer. He and Ada wheeled around each other in rapid circles, balancing their hands," etc.

Bating some such extravagances, the imitation is on the whole successful. But we cannot regard such insidious devices to injure the Protestant side of the question as among the legitimate weapons of controversy.

Outlines of History. With Original Tables, Chronological, Genealogical, and Literary. By Robert H. Labberton. (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.)—Mr. Labberton's "Outlines of History" is one of the very few school text-books which have a distinctive idea and character of their own. It is an attempt, and, in the main, a very successful one, to solve the problem which at present discourages all teachers of history—how to combine a general outline with fulness and interest of detail. The subject is so vast and indefinite that most text-books now in use fail of either the one or the other of these ends. They either present a dry skeleton of facts, which the pupil straightway forgets, or lose sight of system and perspective in attempting an animated narrative. A book which aims to teach just what the pupil ought to remember, and no more, is sure to fail in accomplishing even so much; for history differs from most other branches of study in this—it is impossible to remember isolated facts; they must be connected and illustrated by details in themselves indifferent, so that the mind may get hold of them and retain them. Just as pure nutriment must be mixed with matter which contains no nutriment, but which enables the stomach to digest the food, so in history the facts which are to be fixed in the memory must be combined with facts that are not expected to be retained, but without which the leading events would speedily be forgotten.

Mr. Labberton's plan to accomplish this end is an excellent one, and is carried out with great success. A series of chronological tables, arranged by periods, gives a succession of names or events, with dates equidistant from one another—ten years, five years, or two years apart, in different periods. The plan is to give the year to which the person or the institution may be most fairly assigned—thus, for 1300 we have Dante, and for 1500 Erasmus. These dates are four hundred and twenty in number. Then follows a sketch, alphabetically arranged, of all these names, admirably executed; then an appendix, giving an analysis of institutions, the causes of wars, etc., and sixteen genealogical tables of uncommon excellence. Thus the pupil's attention is directed first of all to the great names of history, and the succession of these names at regular intervals is made to convey a clear and correct notion of historical distances. The book may be used for regular lessons, assigning a certain number of dates for each day; or it is eminently fitted to serve as the basis of a course of lectures.

This work deserves high praise, both as regards plan and execution. Of course no two persons would agree upon the same names to be given; and if we take exception to any of the details, it will be understood as rather a difference in judgment than a point of censure. We must say that we find fewer of such points than we should expect. We are disappointed, however, that the appendix does not contain a chapter upon the ecclesiastical power, explaining the contest of investitures, and the whole career of the Papacy down to the Reformation. Again, the Council of Constance is mentioned only incidentally, the Council of Trent not at all. There is no mention, or no adequate one, of the Magna Charta, of the Hanseatic League, of Simon de Montfort, Margaret of Denmark, Louis the Great of Hungary, John Hunyady, Scanderbeg, Van Artevelde, Gonsalvo di Cordova, Philip the Fair and Louis XI., Maurice of Nassau, Olden Barneveldt, John Hampden, and Mirabeau. It is very well to begin mediæval history at A.D. 300, but we do not agree to having modern history commence at 1300. Surely Wallace, Froissart, and Joan of Arc belong to the Middle Ages, if anybody ever did. So with the term "Great Schism"; this is generally understood to belong to the period when there were two and three popes; but this event is not even mentioned, while the term is applied, with some theoretical correctness, we admit, to the Reformation.

In the Genealogical Tables, it would have been well if the Guises could have been added to Table VIII.; if Table IX. indicated the *kings* of the line of Savoy; if Table XIII. told who Frederic IV. was; and if Table XIV. gave the Polish kings of the house of Vasa, and thus explained the Polish war of Charles X. In regard to the Treaty of Oliva, by the way, page 206, the important fact is not mentioned of Prussia being made independent of Poland. In Table XIII. it would have been very easy to show how the marriage of John Sigismund of Brandenburg with the daughter of Albert Frederic of Prussia united these two provinces under one sceptre; and it would not have been hard, in so open a table, to add the important Cleve genealogy.

We have observed very few errors or misprints. We do not know, page 180, where the author finds twenty-eight centuries of the fifth class; both Livy and Dionysius give thirty. Page 163, Christian I. should be II.; page 20, Alexander II. should be III.; Table IX., at bottom, Amadeus VII. should be VIII.; page 135, we find Septimus Severus; page 25, the Great Elector died 1688. Sir Robert Cecil stands in the table, but his father, Lord Burleigh, in the Alphabetical List.

One criticism of a more general nature. We do not think it wise to adhere so rigidly to the system of equidistant dates. We should like to have a few important dates given exactly, and fixed in the student's memory; particularly when a career culminates, or is especially associated in all minds with a particular year, it should stand *on the table*. Thus, everybody associates William the Conqueror with the year 1066; and such dates as 476, 622, 1453, and 1789 should, we think, be made prominent. Either the plan itself should be made more elastic, or—which is better—a few special dates should be added in a peculiar type. As it is, we fear that the student will sometimes get an important event associated with the wrong year, because, although the right year is always to be found in the book, it is the table which will be fixed in the memory. Thus, 1712 is given for the Bourbons in Spain; but this is no date at all, while the Treaty of Utrecht cannot be given because it came in an odd year. So we have the battles of Agincourt, Wakefield, Bosworth, and Mohács, but not Cressy or Poitiers, Towton, Mühlberg, Naseby, or Blenheim—that is, not in the tables. In fine, this system gives historical periods and distances admirably; but the *emphasis* must be supplied by the teacher, and a competent teacher can easily supply it.

Congregationalism: What it is; Whence it is; How it works; Why it is better than any other form of Church Government; and its Consequent Demands. By Henry M. Dexter. (Boston: Noyes, Holmes & Co.)—Dr. Dexter is an example of the true historic spirit; patient of investigation, careful of details, of a microscopic accuracy in facts and dates, candid almost to a fault, of good powers of generalization, and a broad and catholic philosophy. For many years, the history of the Pilgrim Fathers and of their ecclesiastical polity has been his specialty, and this has now become the passion of his life. To him we are already indebted for a careful and satisfactory search after the earliest traces of the Pilgrims in Austerfield, Bawtry, and Scrooby—*maximæ gentis incunabula*—and for the identifica-

tion of Robinson's house at Leyden, and the erection of a tablet to mark the site; and he has again gone abroad to spend a year in further investigations of Pilgrim history in England and Holland. With Congregationalism as a polity, in comparison with other forms of church government, the *Nation* has no concern. Dr. Dexter's manual has long been accepted in his own communion as an authority upon the principles and usages of the body. This third edition contains an appendix of nearly 100 pages, in which several controverted points of administration are discussed at length—chief among which is the question of "Female and Minor Suffrage in Congregational Churches." Upon this point the ancient practice of the fathers, which restricted voting to male members of lawful age, has been departed from by many Congregational churches in the West, and by some in New England. After a candid and able review of the whole discussion, Dr. Dexter decides against female suffrage upon very cogent grounds of reason and Scripture. The Scriptural argument, so universally discarded, if not scouted, from the platform of Women's Rights Conventions, still has weight with bodies which profess to receive the Bible as the sole authoritative rule of faith and practice. Mr. Beecher and others have attempted to set aside Paul's injunction, "Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak," by the plea that this precept was local, having reference to the condition of women among the Greeks. But the argument of Paul in his Second Epistle to Timothy concerns the entire race: "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression." Unless Mr. Beecher can show that Adam was a Greek, and that already in the time of Eve there were pre-Adamic women in Corinth who had made themselves notorious by their shameless behavior in public, it will be difficult to make out that Paul's declaration, "It is a shame for women to speak in the church," had reference to a passing phase of Corinthian society. To contemn Paul's precept as that of a "crabbed bachelor" is of course to invalidate his authority as an apostle, which the churches will hardly consent to do, whatever the platforms may say on that point. Hence, Dr. Dexter's argument, as addressed to churches, is valid; and even the platforms might profitably consider its sterling common sense.

Amid the diversities of usage in minor matters which obtain among Congregational churches, it is not to be expected that Dr. Dexter's ruling upon "practical points" will be acquiesced in by all; but those who have suspected Congregationalism of looseness will be surprised to find how strong and consistent a body of common law has grown up about its fundamental principles.

It is important always to distinguish the Pilgrims from the Puritans. The Puritans were a reforming party within the Church of England, and were quite willing to use the power of the state to further their reformation. The Pilgrims were Separatists, who abandoned every form of state church for the simple, independent brotherhood of believers, which they regarded as the church of the New Testament. But Congregationalists are as tenacious of the spiritual fellowship of the churches as of the independence of the local church. Both these aspects of the system are developed by Dr. Dexter as the two *foci* of an ellipse about which the system revolves with freedom and order conjoined.

The War Correspondence of the [London] *Daily News;* continued from the Recapture of Orleans by the Germans to the Peace. Edited with Notes and Comments, forming a continuous History of the War between Germany and France. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.)—All we need say of the merits of this volume is, that it forms a perfectly homogeneous and in every respect worthy continuation of the first collection, the great merits and slight defects of which we pointed out to our readers in a late review (*Nation*, No. 296). About half of the letters it contains are devoted to the siege of Paris and the condition of that capital immediately after its surrender, but the military operations and changing situations in the North, the West, and the East also receive their full share of attention; the introductory "notes" filling up the gaps arising from the absence of descriptions by eye-witnesses. The camps, the scenes, the impressions, are varied. Some of the best correspondence comes from the successive seats of the Delegation of the Government of National Defence, Tours and Bordeaux, probably from one and the same pen. The following, on the impressions of aeronauts of various nationalities, may serve as a specimen:

"Mr. May, the American, who left the French capital simultaneously with M. Gambetta, though in another balloon . . . intensely enjoyed the easy locomotion. . . . 'Nothing could,' he said, 'be more beautiful. There you went, ever so much faster than an express train, without a single jolt, or the least sense of friction. The wind was not in your face, and you hardly felt it at your back. There was no noise, no dust, no racket, but the most lovely gliding motion. Apart from the Prussian bullets that whistled unpleasantly around the ears of the balloonists, the single drawback was the faint smell of gas, which, throughout the journey, betrayed the bad quality of the varnish used by Nadar in the manufacture of his cotton balloons.' . . . Gambetta's impressions were entirely different. He was almost, to use his own language, 'stunned with the overpowering idea of Nature's force and man's weakness. He felt, to his great astonishment, that he had no sense of the abyss.' The world seemed to recede from the balloon. Instead of being dazzled with the vast horizon which was open to his gaze, he was stupefied at the total obliteration of the picturesque in the boundless expanse beneath him. The earth had to him the appearance of a badly designed carpet, or rather a carpet in which the different-colored wools had been woven entirely by chance. Light and vastness were deprived of the value which shade and proportion give them. Nature seen from the balloon was, in M. Gambetta's estimation, *une vilaine chinoiserie*, and the art-loving child of the South thanked heaven when he touched earth again, and got into a sphere where man has a *point de résistance* in struggling against the tyranny of creation. M. Spuller, M. Gambetta's companion, who, I presume, is of German origin as he is of German appearance, was otherwise affected. He enjoyed a sensation of being carried along as helplessly as if he were a log of wood floating down a river. The pantheistic leanings of the Teuton came out in him. He was glad, as the Hindoos put it, to be lost in the Great Whole. In M. Gambetta there was manifested that tendency of the Gallo-Latin family to react against Nature which is at the bottom of every truly artistic organization. The American studied 'ballooning' as compared with steam locomotion. He had suffered from the inconveniences of travelling across continents in 'railway cars,' and his attention was turned from the picturesque side of the question to the practical."

The revision of this second volume is not better than that of the first. We have noticed "two months" for *three months* (p. 4), "October" for *September* (p. 33), "Voigts-Rhetz," "les dernières événements," and similar mistakes.

Ghardaia; or, Ninety Days among the B'ni Mozab: Adventures in the Oasis of the Desert of Sahara. By G. Naphegyi, M.D., A.M., Author of the "Album of Language," "Among the Arabs," "The Cause of the Yellow Fever," "History of Hungary," etc. (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons. 1871.)—We have praised, in our notice of Mr. Naphegyi's "Among the Arabs," the likeness of the author which precedes its title-page. We can do the same in regard to the picture of "The Author in the Desert," which is the opening page of "Ghardaia," and shows him standing in the shade of a graceful and richly-saddled camel. We can do more. We can praise not only the external ornaments of "Ghardaia," which are varied, but also the sweetness of its title, which, our readers can bear us witness, we like to repeat, the readableness of its fiction (for fiction its contents are, in spite of all that is stated in the introductory letter to "Bugat Pal"),* and, above all, the good English style in which that tale of romance and adventure is presented to us. For Mr. Naphegyi, whose name is so purely Magyar, but whose Magyar is terribly barbarous—witness his "mil es dárab" (p. 273), a mixture of bad Slavic and bad Magyar, which stands for *mérföld és darab*—can at least boast of writing or publishing good English. He seems to cultivate this the most diligently of all the hundred tongues he has written on in his "Album of Language." That he has forgotten the language of the country of which he loves to speak so often and so tenderly in his discursive reminiscences, is doubtless to be attributed to his having been so long away from it, and so exceedingly remote, that even its mountain *ranges*—"the Tatra, Fatra, and Matra"—appear to him as "*peaks*" (p. 197). And yet, the things of the past stand so vividly before his mind that he speaks of them as if they were facts of the present. Thus he says of Munkács, in Hungary, where not a single Polish prisoner of state is now to be found: "In the bowels of that hill hundreds upon hundreds of human beings are immured, cursing the day that gave them birth. Yes, that hill, so luxuriantly covered with the delicious vine, hides in its interior the flower of the nobility of crushed, unhappy Poland. It is the place where all the nobility of Poland, who attempted to revolt against the oppressor, are kept as prisoners." We are sorry to find that his French, too, is getting somewhat rusty—"Poulet fricassée," "De [s] dattes fraîches" (in the Nom.)—but his Desert Arabic may be better; at any rate he talks glibly of the B'ni Mozab, their language, their present and their past, although "Herodotus, Sallust, Pliny, and Dr. Shaw, all differ in regard to the antiquity of this race."

* That is, to Paul Bugát, the names as above being given in the inverse Magyar order. And here we have a fit opportunity to correct an error in our review of the Dakotah *Iapi Oaye*. The words, "Hunfalvy Páltól," taken from the title-page of a Pesth publication on that Indian language, signify *By Paul Hunfalvy, tól* being the Magyar for *by*.

Life of Major André. By Winthrop Sargent. New edition. (New York: D. Appleton & Co.)—The author of this memoir was one of the few young men in this country to whom, by good fortune and by choice, the practice of letters was only an outlet for a studious mind and a zeal for progress, and his reward lay in the consciousness of "having done the subject justice." His youthful and elegant mind found a congenial task in the biography of Major André, and he treated his theme in the most skilful and conscientious manner. No name suggests more sympathetic interest or awakens more tender memories than that of André. Every schoolboy knows that this unfortunate officer was executed for a technical offence, from the result of which he could not consistently be allowed to escape. Not the most partisan history has ever imputed to him anything but high and honorable intentions, and his mournful fate has never been anything but deplored. The part which Washington took in this sad drama is one of the most important events of our Revolutionary war, and it may almost be said that his claim to the respect of posterity hangs upon their verdict on his conduct regarding André. To the tale of this story Mr. Sargent brought remarkable historical knowledge, painstaking accuracy, and a lucid and graceful style. The collateral information and historical gossip which he gives are worthy of Dr. Dryasdust. His description of the manners of our Revolutionary period is quite fascinating, and the characters of our national ancestors are set forth in a way which brings them into the very presence of the reader. The analysis of the motions and conduct of Washington regarding André is made simple by the light of the correspondence, conversation, and diaries of those concerned in the melancholy controversy, and it is impossible to arise from the book without a satisfactory sense of the wisdom and discretion of our great captain. Amid all, the portrait of André, the refined, sensitive, chivalrous victim, is painted with a force and particularity almost beyond praise. The very excellence of this work stands in the way of its popularity, but it is none the less a monument and model of biographical writing which will outlast brass.

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ERRATA.

Page 3, column 1, line 21 from bottom. For *Hartford* read *New Haven*.
Page 68, column 1, line 21. For *Judge* read *E. Spencer*.
Page 70, column 1, line 10. For *l'Indre* read *Maine*.
Page 75, column 1, line 16 from bottom. For *Charles X.* read *Louis Philippe*.
Page 77, column 1, line 46. For "1730" read "1781."
Page 160, column 1, line 23. For *France* read *London*.

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Theology, Metaphysics, and Ethics.

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